

HISTORY of a FREE PEOPLE

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There was once a boy named Carlton, who said he didn't know anything.

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Dance

Lincoln President

12/5/80
92

ROSE LAM

8503

Brillhart

F'83

Gabriela Carrillo

8722

Romagnolo

F'86

Shao Huang

8902

Romagnolo

F'87

Jennifer Walsh

9019

Fuller

F'88

Allen Wong

9309

OW

HISTORY OF A FREE PEOPLE

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Henry W. Bragdon Samuel P. McCutchen



HISTORY OF A FREE PEOPLE

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CONTENTS

Prologue

THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT xi

Part One

A FREE COUNTRY IN A NEW WORLD

1. The Heritage of the Colonial Period **3**
The Age of Discovery–The Spanish Colonies–The French Colonies–The Founding of the English Colonies–Making a Living in the English Colonies–Colonial Society–English Colonial Government–Benjamin Franklin, Printer
2. Road to Revolution **32**
The Struggle Between France and England–England Tightens Control–American Resistance–Calm Followed by Storm–The First Continental Congress
3. The Struggle for Independence **50**
The Colonists Mobilize–Moving Toward Separation–The Declaration of Independence–Which Side Would Win?–The Revolutionary War: Principal Campaigns–The Revolution Within America–Wide Influence of the American Revolution
4. Trials of a New Nation **76**
The Articles of Confederation–Foreign Affairs Under the Confederation–The West Hangs by a Hair–Disputes Between States and Economic Groups–The Constitutional Convention–Concord, Conflict, Compromise–The New Federal Government–The Struggle Over Ratification

Part Two

LAUNCHING THE REPUBLIC

5. The Constitution of the United States **109**
The Preamble–How Congress Is Organized and Conducts Business–Separation of Powers–Checks and Balances–The Federal System–The Presidency–The Federal Judiciary–Interstate and Federal-State Cooperation–The Amending Process–Ratification of the Constitution–The Bill of Rights–The National Supremacy Amendments–The Progressive Amendments–The Unwritten Constitution
6. The Washington Administration **156**
The First President–The West–Foreign Affairs–Washington Steps Down
7. Federalists and Republicans **179**
The Formation of Parties–President John Adams–The Election of 1800–A New Capital and a New Kind of President–The Republicans in Office
8. Foreign Entanglements **199**
Trouble with Tripoli–The Louisiana Purchase, 1803–Internal Dissensions–Indian Removals–Defending American Neutral Rights at Sea–The War of 1812

9. Forces for Union and Disunion 223
 The Spirit of Nationalism–Nationalist Legislation–Roads and Waterways–The Nationalist Decisions of John Marshall–Foreign Affairs, 1815–1825–The Monroe Doctrine–Sectionalism
10. Jacksonian Democracy 253
 Intersectional Compromise–The “Favorite Son” Election of 1824–Mudslinging Election of 1828–Andrew Jackson: The Myth and the Man–Jacksonian Democracy–Tariff and Nullification Controversies–Jackson’s War on the Bank–Rise of the Whigs
11. The Spirit of Reform 276
 Advances in Education–Cultural Achievements–Women’s Rights–The Antislavery Crusade–The Labor Movement–The Temperance Movement–Care for the Mentally Ill–International Peace–Socialism–Religious Movements–Variety of Reform: Permanent Influence

12. Manifest Destiny 301
 Westward to the Pacific–A Victory for Peace–The Opening of Oregon–The Annexation of Texas–The Mexican War–The Union in Danger
13. From Compromise to Conflict 322
 “Take-Off” in the North–Transportation–Immigration–The South: “King Cotton” and Slavery–New Interest in the Caribbean and the Far East–Slavery Dispute Reopened–The Lincoln–Douglas Debates–Drifting Toward War
14. The Civil War and Reconstruction 347
 Comparison with the Revolutionary War–Strategy: Naval Operations–The War in the West–The War in the East–Behind the Lines–Government in Wartime–Wartime Diplomacy–Slavery and the Civil War–Lincoln Faces the Peace–How to Deal with the Defeated South?–Radical Reconstruction–Radical Reconstruction on the Wane–“The New South”–Foreign Affairs

15. Industrial America 387
 Causes of Rapid Industrial Growth–The Growth of Big Business–John D. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Trust–Andrew Carnegie, Master of Steel–The Growth of Cities–The New Leisure–Advances in Education–Scientific Advance
16. The Opening of the Trans-Mississippi West 409
 Railroad Building and Consolidation–Fate of the Buffalo and the Indians–The Cattle Kingdom–The Mining Frontier–Peopling the Great Plains
17. Protest Movements 426
 Curbing the Railroads–Demand for Cheap Money–Attempted Regulation of Trusts and Monopolies–The Growth of Labor Unions–Reformers and Radicals

18. Parties and Politics **447**

Political Corruption—The Major Political Parties—Fluctuating Party Fortunes, 1877–1893—The Populist Party—Silver vs. Gold—Foreign Affairs

Part Six

NEW HORIZONS

19. Imperialism **475**

The Spanish-American War, 1898—Problems of an Overseas Empire—New Commitments in China—Imperialism as a Political Issue

20. Theodore Roosevelt and Foreign Affairs **490**

Roosevelt: the Man and his Career—The “Big Stick” in the Caribbean—Balance of Power in the Far East—Other Rooseveltian Diplomacy

21. The Square Deal and the New Freedom **504**

Roosevelt’s Domestic Policies—Taft in Office, 1909–1913—Woodrow Wilson and the “New Freedom”—Reforms in Tariffs, Banking, and Trust Busting

22. The Progressive Movement **526**

Causes for Alarm—Sources of the Progressive Movement—Direct Democracy—Control of Private Enterprise—Other Reform Movements—Failures of Progressivism

Part Seven

CRUSADE AND DISILLUSION

23. The First World War **547**

Wilson’s Foreign Policy—Outbreak of War in Europe—Neutrality—America Enters the War—The War Abroad—The Home Front—Wilson’s Peace Program—Aftermath of the War

24. Normalcy **572**

The Election of 1920—Foreign Affairs—Domestic Policies and Politics—The Golden Twenties—The Plight of Agriculture—New Directions

25. Crash **592**

The Election of 1928—Hoover in Office—The Great Depression—Attempts to Stem the Depression—“A Deep Passion for Peace”—Rock Bottom—The Promise of a New Deal

Part Eight

THE ROOSEVELT YEARS

26. The New Deal: First Phase **617**

F.D.R.—A Complex Personality—First Phase of the New Deal: “Try Something”—Banking, Securities, Currency—Aid to Agriculture—Industry and Labor—Relief Measures—Social Planning: The TVA—Attacks on the New Deal

27. The New Deal: Second Phase **634**

“Thunder on the Left”—The Advance of Labor—The New Deal on Trial—An Estimate of the New Deal—New Advances

28. The Good Neighbor and the Axis Threat	650
The Good Neighbor Policy in Latin America—Relations with Europe—Aggression, Isolation, Appeasement—Europe at War Again	
29. The Second World War	668
The Battle of Britain—The Election of 1940—Global Warfare—The Home Front—Wartime Diplomacy—Birth of the United Nations	
Part Nine	THE COLD WAR
30. The Cold War Begins	695
Shift to Peacetime Economy—Opening of the Cold War—The United Nations—The West Organizes—Commitments in Asia—Fears of Internal Subversion—Estimate of the Truman Administration	
31. The Middle Way	718
Eisenhower Administration: Domestic Affairs—The Dulles-Eisenhower Foreign Policies—New Dimensions in Foreign Policy—The Changing Scene	
32. New Frontiers	748
The Kennedy Administration—A New Tack in Foreign Policy—Tragedy and a New President—"The Road to the Great Society"—Johnson and Foreign Affairs—Affluence and Insecurity—The Negro Revolution—A Year to Remember—The Age of Anxiety	
Epilogue	THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT: ON TRIAL 782
Glossary	787
Appendix	792
Documents	799
The Declaration of Independence—Jefferson's First Inaugural Address—The Monroe Doctrine—Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address—Populist Party Platform—Wilson's First Inaugural Address—The Philosophy of Rugged Individualism—F. D. Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address—John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address	
Index	815

HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Anthropology, Economics, Geography,		Economics, Sociology	458
Political Science, Sociology	80-81	Sociology	519
Political Science	189	Sociology, Economics	599
Geography, Economics	248	Economics	624
Economics	337	Economics, Sociology	776

MAPS

Early Maps of the New World	5	Bland-Allison Act, 1878	431
Topographical Map of the United States	8-9	Election of 1896	461
European Claims, 1689, 1713, 1763	35	United States and Possessions in 1900	464-465
English Colonies, 1774	43	Expansion and Intervention in the Caribbean	493
Revolutionary War	61	Election of 1908	513
The United States in 1783	85	Election of 1912	515
Northwest Territory	85	Federal Reserve Districts	522
Westward Movement	168	Competition for Empire in the Pacific, 1914	550
United States in 1800	174-175	Election of 1916	554
Election of 1796	182	United States in World War I—On Land	556
Election of 1800	187	United States in World War I—On Sea	557
The War of 1812	209	Europe 1914-1921	569
Main Transportation System, 1840	229	Election of 1920	575
Boundary Settlements, 1817-1824	236	Fordney-McCumber Act, 1921	578
"Fire Bell in the Night"	253	Election of 1928	593
Election of 1824	254	Election of 1932	608
Status of Slavery after the Missouri Compromise	255	The TVA	630
Election of 1828	257	South America and the Good Neighbor Policy	653
Maysville Road Bill	266	Inter-American Pact Areas	653
Annexation of Texas, 1845	308	United States in World War II in Europe	679
The Mexican War	310	United States in World War II in the Pacific	681
Election of 1848	316	Election of 1948	700
Compromise of 1850	317	Tension—Europe and the Middle East	714
United States in 1850	320-321	Tension—Asia and the Far East	715
Election of 1860	341	Election of 1956	726
The United States in 1861—Secession	342	Africa, 1966	735
The Civil War	352	Election of 1960	749
Reconstruction	375	The World in 1969	756-757
Growth of the Steel Empire	395	Election of 1964	758
Railroads and Western Development	413	The United States	762-763
		Election of 1968	775

CHARTS, GRAPHS, AND TABLES

Types of Colonial Governments	12	Growth of Population, 1860–1900	421
Triangular Trade Routes	26	American Development, 1850–1900	470–471
Products of the English Colonies about 1750	27	Mobilization of Manpower, World War I	556
The Changing Tide of Colonial Discontent	39	Control of Submarine Menace	557
Effects of Land Ordinance of 1785	87	United States Changes from Debtor to Creditor Nation	576
Types of Governments (Royal Colony and Territory)	88	Methods of Corporate Control	584
First Votes on Ratification of the Constitution	98	The Downward Spiral of Deflation	594
Functions of the Bank of the United States	160	Prices Farmers Received and Paid, 1914–1955	626
United States Foreign Trade, 1800–1817	235	A.F.L. Craft Unions and C.I.O. Industrial Union	638
Growth of Population, 1800–1840	246	The Upward Spiral of Inflation	697
American Development, 1800–1850	296–297	Alignment in the United Nations, 1945–1966	707
Flow of Commerce, 1820–1860	324	Growth of Population, 1890–1960	741
Resources of the Union and the Confederacy	356	American Development, 1900–1969	778–779
Horizontal Consolidation—1880: Standard Oil Company	396	The States of the Union	791
Vertical Consolidation—1890: Carnegie Steel Company	396	Presidents, Parties, Elections, 1789–1969	792–795
		The Founding of the Thirteen Colonies	796–797
		European Explorers	798

VIGNETTES

Samuel Sewall, Yankee Puritan	22	Ignatius Donnelly, Populist	456
Sam Adams, Agitator	44	Lillioukalani, the Last Queen of Hawaii	481
Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys	51	Gorgas Defeats the Mosquito	496
Montesquieu, Political Philosopher	94	John Mitchell, Miner	506
John Jay, Conservative	172	Jane Addams, Social Reformer	539
Benjamin Banneker, Man of Many Talents	190	The Doughboys	559
Tecumseh, the Great Failure	204	Electrical Genius—Charles Steinmetz	585
DeWitt Clinton and the Erie Canal	230	Herbert Hoover, Humanitarian	601
Robert J. Walker, Politician	273	Madam Secretary, Frances Perkins	620
Elizabeth Peabody, School Teacher	279	Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Municipal Reformer	641
Narcissa Whitman, Pioneer	305	Cordell Hull, Secretary of State	660
Samuel Morse, Artist and Inventor	329	Arthur Vandenberg, Statesman	687
Clara Barton and the American Red Cross	358	George C. Marshall, Soldier and Statesman	708
Land Grants and Cow Colleges	405	GI Joe Goes to College	743
Annie, Get Your Gun	418	Arthur Goldberg, Conciliator	768
John Peter Altgeld, the Eagle Forgotten	440		

Prologue

The American Experiment

*What you have inherited from your fathers,
earn again for yourselves, or it will not
be yours.*

—JOHANN WOLFGANG von GOETHE

In terms of wealth and strength, the United States is one of the great nations of the world. It covers over 3,000,000 square miles from sea to sea, plus Alaska and Hawaii, and has vast material resources. Amazing productive capacity has given it the world's highest average standard of living

But the true greatness of a nation may have relatively little to do with its size or its ability to produce goods. We can talk of the greatness of the city-state of Athens in the fifth century before Christ, even though its area was smaller than Rhode Island and its population one-thirtieth that of modern New York City. The glory of Athens lay in the fact that it produced men whose ideas and actions have affected the world ever since. The lasting greatness of the United States must rest on something more than material things. What ideals has this country preached and tried to practice? What in American life, in addition to mere abundance, has made this country a desirable place to live?

Outstanding characteristics of "Americanism" have varied from period to period and section to section, but the following can be traced from colonial times to the present:

(1) **Economic opportunity.** There has generally been a fair chance for individuals to improve themselves by their own efforts. For over two centuries there was abundant cheap land, and even now the United States contains great untapped wealth. Americans have prized willingness to work as a primary virtue and have been skilled in turning natural resources into food, clothing, houses, luxuries, and gadgets. Furthermore, they have found means to see that wealth is widely shared without going as far as socialism. When, in certain circumstances, Americans have used the power of government to promote prosperity, it has seldom been in the direction of sharing wealth through state-owned enterprise. Instead, they have used government to aid private enterprise as well as to regulate it. They have also used government to prevent monopoly.

(2) **Wide participation in politics.** From colonial times to the present there has been widening opportunity for Americans to have a share in government. The United States was the first large nation to attempt "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." In the twentieth century, while many countries

have fallen under totalitarian forms of government, Americans have continued to maintain democracy.

(3) **Belief in reform rather than revolution.** The United States is now nearing the close of its second century. During this period there has been only one major armed conflict within the country. In general, Americans have agreed to settle even the most bitter disputes by ballots rather than by bullets.

(4) **A mobile population.** People of this country have been continuously on the move. That American invention the rocking chair may be evidence of an inability to be still even when at rest. Americans have usually been ready to "pull up stakes" and move to other sections of the country. They have also been socially mobile: people do not have to remain fixed in one social class or occupation. Although in fact there have been large disparities between the rich and the poor, Americans have cherished the ideal of a "middle class" society, without noblemen or commissars at the top and without serfs or proletarians at the bottom.

(5) **A high position and freedom for women.** It is only recently that American women have achieved anything close to political, economic, and educational equality. From the first, however, they have been accorded greater freedom and opportunity than existed in the countries from which their ancestors came.

(6) **Belief in education and widespread educational opportunity.** From the Massachusetts School Law of 1647, which directed that all children in the Massachusetts Bay Colony be taught to read and write, to the present, there has been ever-increasing educational opportunity. Without schooling for all, there cannot be effective democracy or equal economic opportunity.

(7) **Concern for the welfare of others.** When Americans lived under frontier conditions, they

had to cooperate in order to survive. Today Americans are noted for their private and public generosity. Concern for others has been shown in innumerable private organizations, such as the Community Chest and the March of Dimes. It was shown in national legislation such as the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which attempted to end the abuses of alcohol. It has been seen on the international scene in the Marshall Plan, which helped to restore western European prosperity after World War II.

(8) **Toleration of differences.** To this country have come people of many nations, speaking different languages and practicing different religions. To weld these different groups into one nation, Americans have had to learn tolerance. The first clause of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution promotes the right of all to speak, think, and worship freely.

(9) **Respect for the rights and abilities of the individual.** This is the most fundamental characteristic of all, and to some degree includes all the others. Free public education is based on the idea that people have the right to an equal start in the race of life. Freedom of speech and press are based on both the right of persons to speak their minds and the faith that people have enough intelligence to choose wisely between voices urging different courses of action.

(10) **World-wide responsibility.** At the time they declared their independence, in 1776, American political philosophers had a sense of responsibility to the world. They thought it their mission to show mankind something new: a free society governed by reason and law. But until the twentieth century the people of the United States hoped to be isolated politically from the Old World; their foreign policy was generally confined to the Western Hemisphere. In the twentieth century, however, they have been drawn into two world wars. They have

come to realize that they cannot isolate themselves from the rest of a world that is rapidly shrinking as communication and transportation continue to improve. The United States has been suddenly thrust into a position of world leadership, and its people have accepted—although sometimes reluctantly—world-wide responsibility.

Taken together, these characteristics have helped to form the American system of values from the first. They have been celebrated by orators, preached from pulpits, taught in schools, and celebrated in song and story. It must be remembered, however, that none of them should be thought of as exclusively American. Participation in politics is wider in several other countries than it is here. Belief in the ballot box is so strong in England that there has been no civil war there for over three centuries. Technical skill, tolerance, belief in education, respect for the individual, and the rest—none of them is the exclusive possession of Americans.

It should also be noted that many of the qualities described as typical of America have not been completely realized. Negro slavery, which existed in this country until 1865, was an absolute denial of the ideals of equal op-

portunity and respect for individual rights, and in the century since emancipation the Negro has been generally the "invisible man" in our society, a second-class citizen. Opportunity of every sort has generally been less open to recent immigrants than to those whose ancestors have been here for two or three generations. There are still large inequalities in educational opportunity; there is still a tendency to pay women less than men for the same work. It is also true that the American people have shown traits not to be admired. They have permitted vast waste of their natural resources and corruption in government. Their crime rate is higher than that of any country in western Europe and is still rising. Occasionally they have been stampeded into unwise or unjust actions.

But to say that American ideals have not been fully carried out is merely to say that Americans are human. Taken as a whole, the history of the United States has been that of a bold and exciting experiment, an attempt to found a society on faith in human intelligence, human freedom, and human brotherhood. So far this experiment has been on the whole a success. Its future success depends on the intelligence, good will, and sense of responsibility of coming generations.



Maryland Historical Society

Part 1

A FREE COUNTRY IN A NEW WORLD



BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, 1752

DON'T FORGET THE "BACK TIER"

We tend to think of the early American colonists as frontiersmen, hewing farms out of the wilderness, building homes, gradually establishing a relatively prosperous and comfortable society "from Europe's woes and wars remote." But we must also remember that behind this frontier was a "back tier." The ancestors of all of us (except the few of Indian descent) came from across the seas, bringing with them technical skills, art, music, language, literature, and religious beliefs. They brought social and political skills as well, as can be seen by the way the Pilgrims organized their community before they disembarked from the *Mayflower*. The first eight amendments to the Constitution, on pp. 138 and 140, are rights of Americans that the federal government is forbidden to invade. They are rights for which Americans fought the Revolutionary War. But every one of these was previously one of the "rights of Englishmen" whose every phrase was hammered out in nearly five hundred years of struggle between the British people and their monarchs. To carry the point further, the court procedures in all but one of our fifty states come from the common law of England.

Furthermore, the thirteen colonies were very much part of what we have recently come to call the "Atlantic community." What they gathered or produced was what Europe or Africa or the West Indies would buy, whether tobacco from Virginia, cod and lumber from Massachusetts, rum from Rhode Island, or furs from New York. A complex web of trade tied together the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean (see diagram, p. 26). The books the Americans read, their costume, their architecture, were dictated by Europe. And whenever England and France went to war, the English and French colonies dutifully enlisted Indian allies and fought each other.

And yet—something unique was also developing in the thirteen colonies. The French settler, Crèvecoeur, writing at the time of the American Revolution, maintained that the American was "a new man" living in "a new society," a society in which there was far greater chance than in Europe for the average man to make his own way by his own efforts. And the American Revolution owes its enduring importance to the fact that it was much more than a rebellion against England. It was also, as Lincoln said in the Gettysburg Address, an attempt to found "a new nation...dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."



Chapter 1

The Heritage of the Colonial Period

*The land was ours before we were the land's.
She was our land more than a hundred years
Before we were her people. She was ours
In Massachusetts, in Virginia,
But we were England's, still colonials,
Possessing what we still were unpossessed by,
Possessed by what we now no more possessed.
Something we were withholding made us weak
Until we found that it was ourselves
We were withholding from our land of living,
And forthwith found salvation in surrender.
Such as we were we gave ourselves outright
(The deed of gift was many deeds of war)
To the land vaguely realizing westward,
But still unstoried, artless, unenhanced,
Such as she was, such as she would become.*

— ROBERT FROST

Robert Frost recited the above poem at John F. Kennedy's inauguration as President of the United States on January 20, 1961. Thousands in the audience, shivering in the cold winter winds, and millions more glued to television screens heard the white-haired poet as he directed their thoughts back to when our land was first settled.

At first America was simply an obstacle in the way of mariners seeking to get to Asia, and more than two centuries after Christopher Columbus discovered the New World, men were still searching for the fabled Northwest Passage that would lead to the riches of China, Japan, and India. With the discovery of gold in Mexico and Peru, the new continents also became a prize in their own right. The stories of the

wealth to be found there did not lose in the telling. In 1605 a play called "Eastward Ho," dealing with voyaging to America, was put on in London. In it one character asks: "But is there such treasure there, Captain, as I have heard?" The answer was: "I tell thee, gold is more plentiful there than copper is with us . . . Why, man, all their dripping-pans and their pots are pure gold; and all the chains with which they chain up their streets are massy gold; all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds, they go forth on holidays and gather 'em by the sea-shore to hang on their children's coats."

Only the Spanish found precious metals in abundance, although the French, the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English, all of whom com-

peted for a foothold in North America, found other resources quickly convertible into cash, such as fish in unbelievable abundance off the Grand Bank of Newfoundland and furs gained from barter with the Indians. But the greatest resource of all, especially in that portion of the coast where the English established settlements, was the land itself. Here were untold millions of fertile acres awaiting the plow, once the forests were cut or burned out and the scanty population of Indians driven off. To develop this land, however, the transplanted Europeans had to put up with starvation, disease, Indian raids, cold in winter, and in summer the petty and incessant torture of flies and mosquitoes. They had to learn new skills and new methods of organization. Above all, they had to work, for, as Captain John Smith remarked of Virginia: "Nothing is to be expected thence but by labor."



The aqueduct of Queretaro in Mexico was built in the early 1700's by the Spanish colonists. Its terra cotta pipes are still used today, suggesting what a high degree of development the vigorous Spanish colonization reached.

THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

The first European colonies in America were established during the so-called Age of Discovery, which lasted from about 1450 to about 1550, and which saw the greatest increase in geographical knowledge in the history of man. Like the twentieth century, it was a "space age," although the space involved was the surface of the earth, not that outside it.

The men who performed almost incredible feats of heroism and endurance in making the great voyages of discovery were driven by powerful motives. The hope of immense wealth

QUESTION • Since the English were notable as "sea-dogs" of this age, why were so few of them discoverers? For whom did the Italians sail? Why?

lured both the discoverers of the sea routes to the Far East and the men who first explored the east coasts of America.

Missionaries dared innumerable hardships in hope of bringing Christianity to the peoples of

Asia, Africa, and America. This was the period of the Renaissance in Europe, when many men were intensely curious about the world about them. Excited by fabulous reports of the first voyages, adventurers flocked to new lands in search of more marvels.

The Age of Discovery would not have taken place except for the rise in Western Europe of the new middle class of bankers and merchants who were gaining wealth at the expense of the landowning nobility. From this class came many of those most eager to find new sources of wealth. They financed many of the explorers and established trading posts throughout the known world.

In Europe central governments were increasing their power and seeking new sources of revenue. On the Atlantic seaboard no less than six countries—Portugal, Spain, France, the Neth-



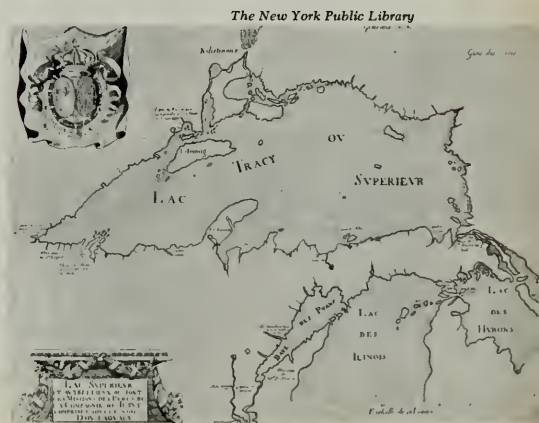
Yale University

erlands, Sweden, and England—undertook voyages of discovery. At first they were intent on breaking the monopoly of eastward trade held by Genoa and Venice, but later they engaged in bitter rivalry to establish colonies and control the new trade routes.

A number of technical discoveries enabled Europeans to sail the great oceans for the first time. Previously, sailors had to depend on landmarks. Now the compass, the astrolabe (for determining latitude), and the development of more accurate mapmaking enabled them to navigate the open seas with at least a rough idea of where they were, although it was not until the invention of the chronometer (for measuring time) in the eighteenth century that really accurate navigation was possible.

In less than a hundred years, European explorers traced the outlines of all the major continents except Australia and Antarctica. This was done in ships as small as fifty tons. The

Scandinavian mariners knew about the New World long before Columbus. The Vinland map (above) was drawn by monks around the year 1000. Jesuit missionaries drew an amazingly accurate map of Lake Superior in 1670-1671, revealing how carefully they had explored in their zeal to convert the Indians. No map as accurate as this appeared until after 1850.



propellers of a modern liner like the *Leonardo da Vinci* weigh as much as Columbus' flagship, the *Santa Maria*. These early vessels were so slow, and so little was known of prevailing winds, that a journey across the Atlantic often took three months. Seamen regularly suffered from scurvy, a terrible disease caused by lack of vitamin C that sometimes carried off whole crews. (A chart in the Appendix, p. 798, gives information about the major European explorers to the New World and Asia.)

From Obstacle to Goal

At first North America was thought to be part of Asia. Columbus believed that Haiti was part of Japan and died not knowing he had discovered new continents. When it was realized that North America barred the way to the Far East, explorers sought a way around it to the north. On a map of Canada today the names Davis Strait, Hudson's Bay, and Labrador commemorate men who took part in these fruitless explorations. Even after gold was discovered in Mexico and Peru, the search for a northwest passage went on.

During the two centuries after Columbus, Spain, France, and Great Britain gained control over large portions of North America and started colonies. Thus they determined how people have lived on this continent ever since. One must go back to colonial times to explain the different ways of living of today's French Canadians, Mexicans, and people of the United States.

The carry-over of patterns of life inherited from Europe is understandable when you realize the length of the colonial period. It was almost as many years from the founding of the first permanent English colony at Jamestown in 1607 to the winning of the independence of the United States in 1783, as from the latter event to the present. And the Spanish colonies

were founded more than a century earlier than the English.

THE SPANISH COLONIES

The Spanish were the first to find wealth in the Americas, and the first to establish colonies. In the century after Columbus, the Spanish founded an empire that was larger than the United States today and that lasted for over three centuries. The Spanish empire-builders, the *conquistadors*, have often been pictured as bent on looting the lands they discovered and enslaving their people. Many conquistadors were certainly cruel; they wiped out some Indian tribes and made slaves of others.

Yet a traveler in Mexico in the year 1600—before the English had started a single permanent colony—would have seen aqueducts, theatres, bookshops, a university, great cathedrals, and scores of fine churches. He would have found that the Spanish had introduced European crops such as wheat and alfalfa; fruits such as oranges, figs, and pears; and livestock such as cattle, sheep, and horses. The Spanish had found mineral wealth that was the envy of all Europe. From Peruvian and Mexican mines flowed so much precious metal that ships returning to Spain were sometimes ballasted with silver. Many Spaniards had become farmers on great estates worked by Indian or Negro labor, producing grain, livestock, and sugar.

Protection of Indians and Negroes by the Church

Although the Indians were subdued and put to work for their conquerors, their interests were guarded by the Roman Catholic Church. As worthy of remembrance as any conquistador was the Spanish priest Bartolomé de Las Casas, who devoted most of his ninety-two years to defending Indians from his own countrymen. Las Casas was only one among thousands of

missionaries who regarded the Indians primarily as souls to be saved. The missionaries influenced the kings of Spain to issue orders defending Indians from oppression. They taught the Indians agriculture and handicrafts. Both the Church and the Spanish government approved of marriage between whites and Indians, so that the distinction between the races was gradually reduced. In the United States today probably less than 1 per cent of the population has any Indian ancestry; in Mexico, however, *mestizos* (those people who are of mixed Indian and white descent) form the great majority of the population.

Almost from the first, the Spanish imported Negro slaves from West Africa to work in plantations and mines. That the lot of the slaves was hard was demonstrated by several desperate insurrections against their white masters. As in the case of the Indians, the Catholic Church tried to better the lot of the Negro slaves whose souls were as worth saving as those of their white masters. The Church taught that "Slavery is not to be understood as conferring on one man the same power over another that men have over cattle. . . . For slavery does not abolish the natural equality of man." Church authorities therefore insisted that slaves be baptized, that they marry, and that they be granted holidays when they might work for themselves and earn money to buy their freedom. Both the Spanish government and the Church encouraged masters to free slaves. Slavery as an institution was not abolished, however, until the nineteenth century and usually only after the colonies had gained independence.

Weaknesses of the Spanish Empire

Although the founding of the Spanish Empire was one of the great achievements of history, it was not followed by vigorous development after the first century of conquest and settlement. There are several reasons for this.

(1) Spain tried to do too much in the "Spanish century." In addition to founding an empire in America and in the Philippines, Spain led the fight against the Turks in the Mediterranean, was embroiled in costly wars in Italy, tried to put down the revolt of the Dutch, and attempted the conquest of England. After the defeat of the great Spanish Armada by the English in the year 1588, Spanish power declined.

(2) The Spanish kept colonial trade in a strait jacket. Until 1713, goods could be legally imported to Spain only in Spanish ships, and only at a few ports. Any colonist trading with a foreigner was liable to the death penalty. Although these rules were poorly enforced, such excessive control stifled commerce and industry.

(3) Society in the Spanish colonies became fixed in a pyramid. There were a few wealthy landowners and officials at the top, while the mass of the people lived in poverty. Many of the latter were *peóns*, tied to the soil they cultivated. Such a society kept down initiative and ability.

Despite these drawbacks, the Spanish extended their culture over an area many times larger than their own, and kept control for three centuries or more. Furthermore, they protected the native population from extermination and from the worst forms of oppression.

THE FRENCH COLONIES

Compared to that of Spain, French colonization in North America was late and feeble. France had sent early explorers such as Giovanni da Verrazano and Jacques Cartier to the New World, and her fishermen had been on the Grand Bank since about 1500, but there was no serious attempt at colonization until after 1600.

The colonies established by France in North America were little more than a long string of

TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

To understand the history of the United States it is necessary to understand the way it has been affected by land formation and climate. Examine the map carefully, making careful note of the following:

(1) **The Atlantic Coast.** The first Europeans who came to this coast were favorably impressed. There were many good harbors, although more above Chesapeake Bay than below, and the numerous rivers flowing into the Atlantic provided the early "highways" into the coastal plain. Most of the early settlements were made at or near the points where rivers entered the sea. The first settlers could adjust themselves to life in America because the climate was similar to that of Europe, except that our winters are generally colder and our summers hotter.

(2) **The Fall Line.** This marks the boundary between the flat Atlantic coastal plain and the piedmont, a gently rolling plateau which slopes up to the Appalachians. Where eastward-flowing rivers cross the fall line, there are rapids and waterfalls blocking navigation from the sea. In colonial times the great plantations lay in the tide-water area, while the piedmont was an area of small farms. Many early towns grew on the fall line because on it were the points of transshipment from ships to land transportation or canals. Water power also furnished the basis for industry and further urban growth.

(3) **The Appalachian Mountains.** For over one hundred and fifty years after the founding of the first English colonies along the Atlantic Coast, these mountains were a barrier to westward settlement. When settlement of the region west of the mountains did begin, in the late eighteenth century, the Appalachians made communication between East and West so difficult that there was fear the Union would be split apart. The Hudson-Mohawk route to the West was the only natural break in that barrier, but in the nineteenth century canals and railroads cut through the Appalachians and linked the sections together.

(4) **The Mississippi-Missouri River System.** This is the third largest drainage basin in the world. Nearly all of it is fertile, and for many years it has sent out more grain and meat than any other agricultural region in the world. Rivers were the early means of transportation. Until canals and railways were built, the sole outlet for the produce of this area was through New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi.

(5) **The Area with 210 or More Days Free of Frost.** Here is "the land of cotton." It is not practicable to raise most varieties of cotton north of this line, so it has become a sectional crop. In this region slavery was concentrated.

(6) **The Great Plains.** The eastern half of the United States has sufficient rainfall so that streams are abundant and drought unusual.

West of a line running roughly along 98 degrees west longitude, however, rainfall averages less than 20 inches a year. Here lie the Great Plains, which slope gently upward from an elevation of 1,000 to 2,000 feet on their eastern edge to 5,000 to 6,000 feet at the base of the Rockies. Almost without trees, this vast natural grazing area was formerly the principal home of the buffalo. Inhabited by warlike Indians and thought to be infertile, it was once a barrier to the westward march of the frontier. Now the region contains valuable farming lands, although the lack of rainfall presents special problems.

(7) **The Rocky Mountains and Great Basin.** This great highland, most of which is more than a mile above sea level, is generally unsuitable for cultivation, because of either lack of rainfall or the steepness of mountain slopes. It contains abundant mineral wealth, however, and large grazing areas. It is the most sparsely settled portion of the country.

(8) **The Pacific Coastal Region.** The attractions of this narrow strip along the Pacific brought settlers to the region long before it was part of the United States. All except the southerly portions are well-watered because winds from the Pacific rise when they come to the mountains and discharge their moisture in the form of rain or snow. Where it is at its heaviest, this moisture so encourages tree growth that the Pacific Northwest is today our most important source of timber. Several excellent harbors along the coast are among the distinctive geographic features.

Basic facts about the geography of the United States *not* shown on the map are:

(1) **The area covered by the United States contains vast natural resources.** The few hundred thousand Indians who occupied this area before the white men scarcely touched its resources. So far as is known, no other region of equal size on the globe is so well endowed with fertile soil and mineral wealth. "From almost any point of view the United States is the outstanding mineral country. . . . It is the only country in the world possessing adequate quantities of nearly all the principal industrial minerals, and leads the world in the production of coal, oil, natural gas, iron, copper, lead, zinc, aluminum metal, phosphates, gypsum, and sulphur."

(2) **The United States is isolated.** For nearly nine hundred years the English Channel, 20 miles wide at its narrowest point, protected England from invasion. The United States, protected east and west by great oceans, and north and south by relatively unpopulated countries, has not had to fear invasion until the twentieth century. Its people thought themselves isolated from the problems of the rest of the world.

outposts, extending from Biloxi and New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico to Nova Scotia by way of the Mississippi River system, the Great Lakes, and the St. Lawrence River (see map, p. 35). Only Acadia (now Nova Scotia) and the shores of the St. Lawrence were settled.

Obstacles to French Colonization

The French did not consider their holdings on the continent of North America as valuable as their West Indian "sugar islands"—Guadeloupe, Martinique, and what is now Haiti. Furthermore, the kings of France were far more interested in extending their dominions in Europe than in settling the North American wilderness.

The French government had great difficulty in recruiting colonists, and was even reduced to such dishonest practices as ordering regiments of soldiers to Canada and disbanding them there without means of transportation home. The French missed an opportunity to gain an energetic group of settlers when they forbade French Protestants, called Huguenots, to settle in America. Denied the right to practice their religion at home, many Huguenots would have been glad to come over to the New World. They were mostly well-to-do merchants and craftsmen whose industry and organizing ability would have greatly increased the prosperity and strength of the French colonies.

Government and Society

The government of the French colonies resembled that of the Spanish in that the colonists enjoyed almost no self-government. Political power centered in the person of the royal governor. As in the Spanish colonies, land was often parceled out to great landlords, called *seigneurs*. They were supported by fees from the peasants, who were called *habitants*. The society that developed, like that in the Spanish colonies, was aristocratic. The habitants were,

however, considerably more independent than the Mexican peons. The influence of the Roman Catholic Church was, as in the Spanish colonies, very great, the bishop wielding practically as much power as the royal governor. The descendants of the habitants are today among the most devout Catholics in the world.

In the French colonies, as in the Spanish, trade was strictly controlled by the government. The greatest efforts to colonize North America were made in the reign of King Louis XIV under the direction of Jean Colbert, finance minister from 1661 to 1683. Colbert was a defender of the economic theory known as mercantilism. According to this theory, a nation should make itself wealthy by taking in more specie (gold and silver) from exporting goods abroad than it spends abroad for imports. It should make itself secure by becoming self-sufficient, depending on no other country for vital imports. A colony, therefore, existed for the good of the mother country. If the colony lacked deposits of precious metals, it should furnish commodities such as sugar and tobacco that were readily salable in other countries. Or it should produce goods the mother country would otherwise have to buy elsewhere—especially those of military importance, such as masts and ship timber. The industry of a colony should not compete with that of the mother country because the colony was supposed to provide a market for goods produced at home.

Putting mercantilism into practice demanded state regulation at every turn. In France, Colbert raised tariffs on foreign goods, paid foreigners to come and start new industries, and forbade skilled workmen to leave the country on pain of death. In the colonies the government required that furs, lumber, and fish be sent only to France or to other French colonies. Fur traders had to swear not to trade with the Dutch or British. Colonists might import only French goods carried in French ships.



In the English colonies, the way of life developed differently in different parts of the country. In Williamsburg, Virginia (left), a bedroom in the Governor's Palace reflects the formality of the English way of life — fine furniture and elegant accessories. New England (below) developed a distinctive pattern suited to the economy — white frame homes with fine furnishings collected by sea captains on their voyages.

French Treatment of Indians

The French generally treated the Indians well, as useful allies in war and also as a source of furs. French missionaries, like those of Spain, devoted their lives to the conversion of Indians to Christianity. Undaunted by starvation and torture, Jesuit priests made heroic journeys far into the middle of the continent. The French made one serious mistake, however. In 1603, Samuel de Champlain, founder of French Canada, joined a war party of Algonquins and Hurons in a raid against their enemies, the Iroquois. From then on the Iroquois, the most formidable warriors in eastern North America, were the sworn enemies of the French and the allies of the British. Occupying rich lands south of Lake Ontario, the Iroquois protected the colonies of New York and Pennsylvania from invasion and forced the French to use a roundabout route to the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. (See map, p. 35.)



TYPES OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS

FRENCH AND SPANISH

CROWN
AND
CHURCH

sent out
officials
and clergy
from
the mother
country

COLONISTS

obeyed
them

ENGLISH

CROWN AND
PARLIAMENT

appointed
colonial
governors
and judges

but

laws and land
grants were
made and
governors'
salaries
controlled by

COLONIAL
LEGISLATORS
(elected)

An examination of colonial governments in the New World reveals how English limited monarchy differed from French and Spanish absolutism.

As a result of mistakes in policy and lack of interest at home, the French colonies grew very slowly. By 1750, after nearly a century and a half of colonization, only about 80,000 whites inhabited the huge area claimed by France. Meanwhile, the English had started colonies which grew so rapidly that by 1750 their population approached two million.

THE FOUNDING OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES

England, like France, participated in the early voyages of discovery, but then failed to establish colonies for more than a century. In 1497 the merchants of the city of Bristol sent the Venetian seaman John Cabot westward in

order to discover a route to the Far East. Cabot explored the shores of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Labrador. Like Columbus, he believed he had found Japan. But when a second expedition found only the barren coasts of Labrador and Greenland, English interest in westward exploration and settlement waned. The great Tudor monarchs—Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth I—had little money to spend on colonization, their country being disturbed first by religious difficulties and later by the threat of war with Spain.

Rivalry Between England and Spain

The rivalry between England and Spain was one reason why the English became interested in colonization. English buccaneers, such as Francis Drake, cruised the shores of Spanish America, capturing treasure ships and looting towns. But a better way to strike at Spain was obviously to attempt to seize the Spanish colonies, or at least to set up permanent English bases in America. As long as Spain seemed the strongest power in Europe, founding colonies in America appeared a risky business.

The way for English colonization was cleared by the defeat of the Spanish Armada that sailed against England in 1588. Comprising 130 ships manned by 27,000 men, this was the greatest naval expedition the world had ever seen. The English fleet sent out to meet it had a new idea of naval warfare: that a warship should be a floating platform for artillery. The Spanish had the older idea that it should carry soldiers who would board the enemy ships. The English ships were also far easier to handle than the Spanish galleons. Able to choose its point of attack and pound Spanish ships to pieces without coming close enough to allow them to grapple, the English fleet harried the Armada up the English Channel and out into the North Sea. Most of the surviving Spanish ships were later destroyed in a storm north of



Although the over-all English policy toward the Indians was harsh (see page 21), some settlers did treat the Indians favorably. Above is Edward Hicks's painting of William Penn's treaty with the Indians, 1682, which provided for purchase of their land and proclaimed "that the Indians and the English must live and Love as long as the Sun gave light."

Scotland. Disheartened by this disaster, Spain was no longer a serious threat to settlement of North America. The English gained new faith in their ability to undertake great enterprises.

Motives and Methods of English Colonization

Rivalry with Spain was only one of several reasons for English colonization in America. Clergymen hoped to bring "savages from the Devil to Christ." Colonies would provide an outlet for idle women and "sturdy beggars." American fisheries and trade would strengthen English naval power by increasing the number of ships and sailors. Above all, there was the hope of wealth.

Although they started late, the English had certain advantages in the race to establish colonies in America. England's island position,

her good harbors, her fisheries, and her extensive trade with Europe all encouraged seafaring. Her people enjoyed a relatively high level of prosperity, and there was capital available for investment in the expensive business of planting new settlements.

English society was aristocratic; it was dominated by a few great lords at the top and many more "gentlemen," who boasted coats of arms and were considered to be above the common people. But by the standards of most other European countries the society of Elizabethan England was remarkably mobile. An industrious apprentice might become a rich man and marry his daughter to a nobleman, and in turn the penniless younger son of a nobleman might himself become an apprentice or hire himself out as a soldier in foreign wars. Changes in agriculture drove some farmers off their hold-

ings, and they were ready to go anywhere they could make a living. English women were less restrained by social taboos than the women on the Continent. They were free to come and go and marry as they pleased. Many of them worked at trades, and some owned their own businesses. Thus of all the countries in Europe, England probably had the highest proportion of men and women ready to travel to a new and strange environment and to survive when they got there.

The first permanent English colony was started at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. By 1640, Englishmen had made several more settlements on the Atlantic seaboard (see map, p. 43). English methods of planting colonies differed from the Spanish and French in three major respects.

(1) *The English colonies were founded by private enterprise instead of by the government.* The expense and risk of founding the English colonies were borne by individual proprietors such as George Calvert in Maryland, or by joint-stock companies such as the London Company, which founded Virginia. These companies were organized by businessmen who shared in the profits and losses resulting from the company's trading, according to the number of shares they owned.

(2) *The English permitted religious dissenters to settle in their colonies.* Avoiding the mistake of the French in excluding the Huguenots, the English government allowed men to worship in the colonies in ways forbidden at home. Most of the settlements made before 1640 were led by men who came to America to worship as they pleased.

(3) *The English colonies enjoyed a large measure of self-government.* The English settlers enjoyed personal freedom and rights of self-government unknown in other colonies. Ever since Magna Carta in 1215, the idea had been developing that there were certain "rights of

Englishmen" which even the king was bound to respect. The charter granted to Sir Walter Raleigh before he established the ill-fated colony on Roanoke Island stated that the settlers and their descendants "shall

QUESTION • If a modern American corporation secured a land concession in Africa or South America and sent a body of men there to develop the natural resources, would a colonial government such as that of Virginia develop?

and may have all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England." Even before they landed at Plymouth in 1620, the Pilgrims signed the Mayflower Compact whereby they agreed to be bound by such laws as they themselves should make. In 1619 the settlers in Virginia first elected their own legislature, the House of Burgesses, to manage local affairs. In 1639 the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield drew up the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, the first written constitution in modern times that actually worked.

"A Newe English Nation"

A generation after the first settlement of Massachusetts, a Salem clergyman could exult about the success of the young colony as follows:

Look on your habitations, shops, and ships and behold your numerous posterity and great increase of blessings of land and sea. . . . Lord thou has been a gracious God, and exceedingly good to thy servants. . . . We live in a more comfortable and plentiful manner than ever we did expect.

By 1700 all but one of the English colonies later to become the thirteen original states had been founded, and all were growing rapidly due to immigration and the natural increase of the population. "A newe English nation" was beginning to appear. (Details of the thirteen colonies are found on pp. 796-797.)



The Conestoga wagon was a major means of transportation over rough roads. Sturdily constructed to withstand bumps and jolts, it could also float across streams too deep to ford. In such a wagon, it might take twenty-one days to travel from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt.

MAKING A LIVING IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES

Captain John Smith complained of the first settlers at Jamestown that they thought of nothing but to “dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold.” But the hope of finding quick and easy wealth proved to be a mirage; it turned out that the two great sources of wealth in the thirteen colonies were land and labor. Colonial proprietors learned that the kind of settlers they most wanted were those described by William Penn in a prospectus for Pennsylvania: “industrious Husbandmen and day Laborers . . . Carpenters, Masons, Smiths, Weavers, Taylors, Tanners, Shoemakers, Shipwrights, etc.” The great attraction of America for such people was the opportunity to own land, and the cheap land available in the English colonies acted like a magnet drawing poor men and women with the ambition to better themselves. Eventually perhaps 90 per cent of the colonists made their living by farming. Most of them were subsistence farmers—that is, they supplied nearly all of their wants from what they raised

or made themselves. The cities were still so small that there was not a clear-cut distinction between urban and rural life. “A prosperous tradesman of Boston might graze his cows on Boston Common and drink milk from his own dairy. A New York or Charleston merchant would expect to eat vegetables grown in his own kitchen garden, and he might own a nearby farm upon which he kept a watchful eye.”

Although agriculture was everywhere the main pursuit, differences in geography and climate produced different ways of making a living in the various colonies. Three distinct regions appeared: New England, the middle colonies, and the southern colonies.

The Southern Colonies: The Plantation System and the Piedmont

The chief products of the southern colonies—rice, indigo, turpentine, and above all tobacco—either commanded a ready market in Europe or were needed by the mother country. Except for turpentine, these products were best grown on large estates worked by cheap labor. As a result, a plantation system of agriculture



Shelburne Museum Inc.

Whaling was a profitable industry in New England, but also dangerous. When a whale attacked one of the small boats then in use, many a sailor was lost. The widow's walks atop homes in such coastal towns as Nantucket gave wives a view of the water from which they anxiously awaited the return of husbands and sons.

grew up, similar to that in the sugar islands of the West Indies. The large-scale farming of the plantations was limited, however, to the tidewater area, where crops could be loaded directly on ships instead of being hauled long distances overland.

Upstream from the tidewater lay the piedmont (see map, p. 27), where the land was tilled by small farmers. Here was that characteristic American phenomenon, "the frontier," a region where men were pushing back the wilderness, living partly by farming and partly by hunting and trapping, in frequent danger from Indian attacks. The people of the piedmont, poor for the most part, tended to resent the aristocratic planters of the coastal areas.

The "Bread Colonies"

The middle colonies, blessed with rich soil and navigable rivers, were sometimes called the "bread colonies." Their principal exports were grain and livestock. These were produced on family-type farms, except in the Hudson Valley, where there were large estates. Pennsylvania attracted some excellent German farmers, the "Pennsylvania Dutch," many of whom have kept their language and traditional ways to this day. To send produce to market, the Ger-

mans invented the Conestoga wagon, a roomy, high-wheeled vehicle which horses or oxen could pull over rough roads; it was the ancestor of the "prairie schooner" which later carried pioneers to California and Oregon. The great Philadelphia Road, the most heavily traveled highway in America in colonial times, was crowded with Conestoga wagons. By the end of the colonial period, Philadelphia, with perhaps 30,000 inhabitants, was not only the largest city in the colonies, but had become the second largest city in the English-speaking world.

The back country of nearly all the colonies produced furs and other pelts that were not only used here but provided an important export to Europe. The great center of the fur trade was Albany, New York, where pelts were obtained from French smugglers and from the Iroquois Indians.

New England: Fisheries and Shipping

New England, with thin soil and a harsh climate, had the scantiest natural resources; the region's only important native product was lumber. But the inhabitants developed qualities of thrift, industry, and practical ingenuity that made the term "Yankee" synonymous with these qualities. From the first, New Englanders

took to the sea. They exported great quantities of salted fish to the West Indies and to the Mediterranean. By the close of the colonial period, 30 per cent of the ships in the British merchant marine were American, and most of these sailed from New England ports. New Englanders carried on a large share of the African slave trade. They were the first to hunt whales in the Antarctic; in 1774, 360 whaling ships sailed from the island of Nantucket alone.

In these activities New England became a formidable competitor of the mother country. In no colony, however, did the colonists offer much competition to the British in manufacturing. They usually obtained from Britain any manufactured goods not homemade.

As transplanted Europeans, the colonists demanded European goods—fine clothing, books, wine, cutlery. But to pay for them they had to produce staples that Europeans wanted or to send gold or silver. They acquired the latter mostly through trade with the West Indies. There the Spanish dollar was the common currency, and this explains why the United States today uses the dollar instead of the pound as its monetary unit.

COLONIAL SOCIETY

In each of the thirteen colonies there was an upper class whose superior position was fixed by law or custom. In New England this class was composed of merchants, shipowners, and clergymen. In the South and along the Hudson River in New York, the great landowners made up an aristocracy who aped the country gentry of England. Early colonial laws forbade any but men in the upper class to wear silver buttons, and any but their wives and daughters to wear silk dresses. Social rank was indicated in college catalogues and marriage certificates, and even on tombstones. By modern standards, therefore, life in the English colonies might

appear undemocratic. It was, however, an even more mobile society than that of England, one in which a man could move up or down according to his ambition, ability, and energy, or his lack of such qualities.

At the bottom of the scale were "indentured servants," men who by contract were bound to serve a master for a number of years in return for nothing more than their keep and the cost of passage to America. When the contract expired, the servant was a free man able to sell his labor for what he could get. Since labor was scarce, wages in the colonies were two or three times those in England. In some colonies an indentured servant received as much as fifty acres of land on achieving his freedom. So a man who started life in America practically a slave might end it an independent landowner. Shortly after 1660, thirteen of the twenty-eight members of the Virginia House of Burgesses were men who had originally come to the colony as indentured servants.

Effects of the Frontier

The frontier was a leveling force in colonial life. With land to be had almost for the asking, any energetic man could try to improve his lot by moving west. In the hard life on the edge of the wilderness a man was judged not by his ancestors but by his practical abilities and character. The violence of frontier life brutalized some men, but it did promote equality of opportunity for all.

Life on the frontier also made women more self-reliant. A visitor to the North Carolina-Virginia backcountry in 1710 gave this description of a frontierswoman:

... she is a very civil woman and shows nothing of ruggedness or Immodesty in her carriage, yett she will carry a gunn in the woods and kill deer, turkeys, etc., shoot down wild cattle, catch and tye hoggs, knock down beeves with an axe and perform the most manful exercises.



Colonial Art and Architecture

The art and architecture of colonial America reflected European models. A fine example of early American building is St. Michael's Church in Charleston, South Carolina (above). The interior of Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island (right), is remarkable for its beautifully designed woodwork. Stratford Hall in tidewater Virginia (below) shows the grace, simplicity, and fine proportions characteristic of the colonial Georgian style.



And what was true of women on the frontier was true throughout the colonies. They had more freedom of action and more chance to take part in life outside the home than in England. Colonial laws gave them more protection. In England, for instance, the common law allowed a husband to beat his wife with any "reasonable instrument"; according to Massachusetts law, he could beat her only in self-defense. Widespread home manufacturing allowed wives as well as their husbands to learn trades. In the South the mistress of a plantation was a full partner in directing the working force. When seafaring New England husbands left their wives, sometimes for years at a time, women were successful as merchants or storekeepers. Still other women were printers, newspaper publishers, druggists, and doctors.

Widespread Prosperity

During the first half century or so of colonization, life in English America was hard. A high proportion of those who sailed for these shores died within the first year because of the hardships of the voyage. Settlements were prey to Indian attacks, to starvation from crop failures, to disastrous fires, and to epidemics of smallpox, dysentery, malaria, diphtheria, and yellow fever.

By the eighteenth century, conditions were much improved. Epidemics were still common and human life was therefore uncertain, but this was also true in Europe. There was widespread prosperity—a product of cheap land, a ready market for colonial exports, and hard work. Idleness was generally regarded as a sin akin to drunkenness or gluttony. There were no beggars and few paupers. Organized crime was almost unknown, except for occasional piracy on the high seas and banditry on the frontier. It was a society of mixed origins. At first most of the settlers, except for the Dutch

and the Negroes, came from England. From about the time of the founding of Pennsylvania in 1681, American prosperity began to attract people of different nationalities and religions—Scots, Irishmen, Huguenots, Jews, and Germans.

Just as there was no class of beggars at the bottom, there was no class of idle rich at the top. Even the wealthiest men, whether New England merchants, Hudson Valley patroons, or Virginia plantation owners, habitually arose at dawn and worked until dark.

Crèvecoeur on American Life

By the eighteenth century the people of the thirteen colonies were beginning to call themselves "Americans" and to think of themselves as a breed apart, free of the constraints and corruptions of Europe. This view was sometimes confirmed by the observations of visitors to these shores. The most notable of these was a young French nobleman, Michel Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, who came here in 1759 and eventually bought a farm of his own. In 1782 he published a book on life in America, entitled *Letters from an American Farmer*. When a European comes to America, he wrote, "a modern society offers itself to his contemplation." Here are no great lords with everything and a horde of common people with nothing. Here are no kings, no courts, no luxuries, and—no poverty. Instead, "a people of cultivators" work for themselves; all can afford enough food, "a dry and comfortable habitation," and clothes of "neat homespun." "The American, this new man," as Crèvecoeur called him, might have an English grandfather, a Dutch wife, and a French daughter-in-law. "Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men," wrote Crèvecoeur, "whose labor and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world."

Negro Slavery

One group of settlers must be omitted from this happy picture—the Negro slaves. By the time of the American Revolution they were numerous in all the colonies, the proportion being highest in the southern colonies because slave labor proved most profitable on rice and tobacco plantations. In South Carolina three-quarters of the population were Negroes. About 20 per cent of the total colonial population were colored.

The slave trade that furnished Negroes to American markets was a horrible example of man's inhumanity to man. It has been estimated that about 30 per cent of the Negroes put on shipboard in Africa died crossing the Atlantic, it being a common practice to throw the sick overboard. Probably half the survivors died soon after reaching America, because of strange food and diseases for which they had built up no immunity.

At first it was not clear that the Negroes were to be treated differently from white indentured servants, who were temporary slaves. The white servants had usually chosen to migrate to America, however, and the Americans wanted to persuade more to come. They inherited the rights of Englishmen and so had the protection of the law. The Negroes, on the other hand, had been totally uprooted; they were protected by no law or tradition and by no powerful institution like the Catholic Church in the Spanish colonies. Thus white indentured servants gained freedom and even wealth, while methods were found to rivet the Negro into hopeless bondage.

Slave labor was especially well adapted to the southern plantation system, where much of the work demanded little skill and was done in gangs so that it could be easily overseen. Slavery came to be considered necessary to the prosperity of the South, and slaves came to compose a high proportion of the population

in the tidewater areas. The laws of the southern colonies declared Negroes to be slaves for life, and their children after them; they even forbade mas-

QUESTION • How much of their former rich African culture did the Negroes retain in America?

ters to teach Negroes to read for fear that they might acquire dangerous ideas. Whereas in the Spanish colonies slaves were obliged to marry and the integrity of the family was protected, in the English plantation colonies slave marriages had no standing in law and children might be sold away from their mothers. Slaves could own no property and had slight legal protection against irresponsible or cruel masters. In brief, Negroes were treated as cattle. Their only protection was that they were such a valuable commodity that it was to the interest of the master to keep them reasonably healthy and reasonably provided with food, clothing, and shelter.

In the North, where slavery was less profitable and slaves less numerous, and where religious convictions sometimes operated against slavery, Negro slaves were treated less harshly. In New England they were not only allowed but required to marry; they could acquire property and testify in court. They might be punished by their masters, but a master who killed a slave was held guilty of murder. There was also increasing feeling that slavery was a moral wrong. In 1700 Samuel Sewall, a famous Massachusetts judge, published *The Selling of Joseph*, a pamphlet that maintained that slavery was contrary to the Bible. In Pennsylvania the institution was denounced by both the Quakers and the Mennonites, a German religious sect. The number of free Negroes increased, and a few even became prosperous. In Jaffrey, New Hampshire, Amos Fortune bought other Negroes out of slavery and left money for the town school. Even when free,

however, Negroes did not attain equality with whites in the northern colonies. Custom kept them usually in menial positions, and the laws denied them the right to vote or hold office.

In the South, there were masters who disapproved of slavery, but hesitated to free their Negroes because the lot of the freedman was not a happy one. Since his color marked him as different, the free Negro was kept in an inferior position, lacking the security of the slave, who was at least clothed and fed. Freedmen were feared as possible leaders of slave insurrections. Most southern colonies therefore had laws that made it difficult or impossible to give Negro slaves their freedom.

English Treatment of Indians

The coming of the English was a disaster for the Indians. A few colonial leaders, notably Roger Williams and William Penn, tried to treat them fairly, and some Protestant ministers regarded the Indians principally as souls to be brought to knowledge of Christ. The Iroquois were so valuable as allies in war and as a source of furs that they were not molested. But the

overall English policy was one of expulsion and extermination, and various reasons were put forth to justify it. It was held that since the Indians did not have settled dwellings, but

QUESTION •

*Now we live in a land
of plenty,
But where would we be if
in 1620,
Indians, fired with
a racist notion,
Had tossed our fathers into
the ocean?*

were on the move like "the foxes and wild beasts . . . so it is lawful now to take a land which none useth; and make use of it." Some Puritan ministers held that the Indians were children of the devil, in the same category as witches; they therefore might be killed in good conscience.

Man for man, the Indians were better fighters than the white man—more skillful, more inured to hardship, more self-reliant, more daring. But they were divided into scores of tribes and never united for long. The Indian warrior was often unreliable. He might or might not fight on a particular day according to his mood, or omens, or dreams; he did not cooperate easily with others. The whites had the advantages of far better organization and larger numbers. They also had grim allies in diseases such as smallpox, which sometimes wiped out whole Indian communities. Rum, which white traders exchanged for furs, destroyed Indian character and self-respect.

In any case, the English lived in compact settlements, and constantly pushed inland. The historian James Truslow Adams wrote:

When a French trader or trapper plunged into the forest, and the green leaves closed behind him, it was to mingle with the life of the natives, which, in its main aspects, flowed on unaltered by his presence. When, on the other hand . . . the English frontier crept ever farther and farther inland, and town succeeded town, it was as if, adding stone to stone, great dykes were being built, which more and more dammed up the waters of native life.

Religion

The variety of religious beliefs in the English colonies was almost as great as in western Europe. In the South the planter aristocracy usually belonged to the Church of England, but there were also Roman Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. In New England the great majority of the people were Congregationalists, but there were small groups of other Protestant sects. The middle colonies had the greatest variety—Dutch and German Lutherans, Mennonites, Quakers, Presbyterians, and members of the Church of England. In most colonies a single official church was "established"—that is, supported by taxes.

Although many people came to America to worship as they pleased, this did not imply that they were ready to grant others the same privilege. Thus the Massachusetts Puritans believed that religious toleration was a weakness inspired by the devil and that one who favored it must be "either an atheist or a heretic or a hypocrite or at best a captive of some lust." They banished both Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson for preaching what Puritans considered dangerous doctrines, and they hanged Quakers on Boston Common. Virginia, on the other hand, expelled ministers who came from Massachusetts to preach. In time, however,

toleration of religious differences developed. Roger Williams claimed that it was "the will and command of God . . . that a permission of the most Paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or Anti-christian consciences and worships be granted to *all men*," and his colony of Rhode Island followed this principle from the first. In the seventeenth century no other colony went as far as that, but in Maryland the Toleration Act of 1649 granted liberty of worship to Christians, and later Pennsylvania welcomed people of all Christian sects. By the eighteenth century, religious persecution in the colonies was a thing of the past, although all religious groups were

Samuel Sewall, Yankee Puritan



A grim Judge Sewall faced the woman accused of witchcraft and condemned her to death. The law of the colony of Massachusetts Bay decreed that witches must be hanged, and the Judge believed that laws must be enforced strictly and literally. Five years later, however, he stood up in the church congregation to hear the minister read his public confession of "blame and shame" for his part in persecuting the unfortunate "witches." Thereafter, he marked his repentance with an annual day of fasting.

A man of strange contradictions, Samuel Sewall was generous, yet thrifty; humane, yet macabre; kindly, yet stern; an orthodox Puritan, yet outspoken when convinced that injustice had been done. His diaries—written in code—reveal his many facets. One year he refused to dine with Governor Edmund Andros and the Council to celebrate the pagan feast of Christmas. Instead he spent the day rearranging the coffins in the Sewall family vault. Friendly and warmhearted, he loved to gossip with farmers along the road as he followed the judicial circuit. Yet in his diary at the end of each year, the two-hundred-pound magistrate counted up the gloves and scarves and rings he had received during the year as pall-bearer at funerals, like a girl counting the times she has been a bridesmaid.

Sewall was able to fix his affection on and wed the only daughter of a wealthy merchant. That, and the fact that he traded shrewdly, lent money wisely, and speculated in land, made his fortune prosper. Generous in gifts to the deserving poor, at the same time he "set down carefully in his diary what his benefactions cost, that there might be no mistake when he came to make his reckoning with the Lord."

He was courageous in his outspoken attacks on slavery. His tract, *The Selling of Joseph*, much in advance of his time, included a memorable measure of the man: "There is no proportion," he declared firmly, "between twenty pieces of silver and liberty."

(Theme 2, see p. xi)

not equal before the law. Foreigners were especially struck by the freedom granted Jews, who still suffered severe penalties in most European countries. A foreign traveler to New York about 1750 was astonished to find that Jews owned prosperous shops, farms, and trading vessels. In Newport, Rhode Island, another prosperous Jewish community built a handsome synagogue.

Arts and Architecture

The lack of leisure in colonial America may be one reason why little attention was paid to the arts. Another reason was that many pious people regarded the visual arts as "vanity," and music or the theatre as positively immoral. In spite of such handicaps, colonial craftsmen produced work that is prized and imitated today. Artistic expression found its outlet in objects of practical usefulness—furniture, chests, glassware, andirons, silver bowls and teapots. Colonial handicraft is often more pleasing to modern taste than the more elaborate work of European craftsmen because American workmen, aiming at usefulness rather than display, produced objects that were simpler and cleaner in design. There was an increasing demand for portraits, since people of means wished to pass likenesses of themselves on to their descendants. Early colonial portraits were crude and flat, but by the middle of the eighteenth century a few American portrait painters had achieved real skill. Two of them, John Copley and Benjamin West, went abroad and practiced their art in London with success.

In the field of architecture great advances were made. The first colonial houses were crude huts made of poles with branches woven between. Soon after settlement began, the settlers started to erect simple frame or brick buildings. By the eighteenth century, amateur colonial architects, using European textbooks to guide them, were quite accomplished. Using the

Georgian style, which is characterized by elegance of form and delicacy of ornament, they designed handsome churches, public buildings, and private mansions.

Schools and Colleges

The New England Puritans believed that citizens should learn enough English to read the Bible and understand the laws of the country. The famous Massachusetts General School Act of 1647 stated:

It being one chiefe project of the oulde deluder Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the scripture . . . it is therefore ordered, that evry township . . . after the Lord hath increased them in number to 50 householdrs shall appoint one to teache all such children as shall resort to him to write & reade, whose wages shall be paid eithr by the parents or mastsr of such children or by the inhabitants in genrall.

This law contains two principles of American education today: local communities have a duty to set up schools, and this duty is enforced by law.

In the middle colonies, schooling was not as universal as in New England, but it was widespread nevertheless. William Penn proposed that all children should be taught some useful trade, "to the end that none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want." Penn's ideas were not carried out completely, not even in Philadelphia. But throughout the middle colonies, religious groups established schools for their own children; in the cities, schools for orphans and children of the poor were endowed.

In the southern colonies, book learning was generally limited to children of large landowners and professional men, and there was some feeling that education should be reserved for the few. Governor Berkeley of Virginia expressed this sentiment in a letter to England:

... there are no free schools, or printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world . . . God keep us from both!

Even where there was a will to establish schools, the widely separated plantations and farms of the South made them impractical, as compared to the close-knit communities of New England.

By modern standards colonial schools were primitive. One New England teacher wrote of his schoolhouse, "one might as well nigh as good keep school in a hog stie." There were few books, and instruction was given only two or three months a year. Most girls received no instruction at all. Two-thirds of the women whose names appear on Massachusetts legal documents in the early 1700's could not write their signatures. In spite of all shortcomings, however, colonial schools taught so many children that in no other region of equal size in the world could such a high proportion of the population read and write.

Religion was the principal force behind the founding of most institutions of higher learning in the English colonies. Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Rhode Island College (later Brown), the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), and Rutgers were founded principally to train young men for the ministry. Colleges were also attended, however, by sons of wealthy families and by ambitious poor boys anxious to improve their situation in life. By the middle of the eighteenth century, college curriculums began to change because there was a growing interest in science and a demand for practical subjects. Thus when King's College (later Columbia) was opened in New York City in 1754, it was announced that the "comprehensive scheme of studies" would include not only the traditional Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also "Surveying and Navigation, Geography, History, Husbandry, Commerce, Government, the Knowledge of All Nature in

the Heavens above us and in the Air, Water, and Earth Around us, Meteors, Stones, Mines and Minerals, Plants and Animals, and of everything *useful* for the Comfort, Convenience and Elegance of Life."

The colonial colleges had an important influence outside their classrooms. By bringing young men from different colonies together, they helped to break down local loyalties and to create a larger attachment to America. Their debating societies helped to train many of the men who later became the leaders of the American Revolution.

Science

As the curriculum of King's College suggests, there was genuine and widespread interest in science in the colonies. A professorship of science was established at William and Mary in 1711 and one at Harvard in 1727. The new physics and astronomy of Isaac Newton were taught in both institutions. Later, David Rittenhouse of Philadelphia built the first American orrery, a moving mechanical model of the universe that included the moons of Jupiter (see page 92). Some twenty-five Americans were elected members of the Royal Society, founded in London under the sponsorship of King Charles II to promote the advancement of scientific knowledge. Thus the Reverend Cotton Mather of Massachusetts sent to the society information concerning rattlesnakes, rainbows, and variations in the magnetic needle. Mather learned how to inoculate against smallpox from his Negro servant, who had brought the knowledge with him from Africa. He practiced and promoted inoculation in spite of the denunciation by other clergymen, who insisted that Mather was interfering with God's will, and of mobs, which surrounded his house and threatened bodily harm. John Bartram, a Philadelphia Quaker, was appointed botanist to George III; he supplied the royal horticultural gardens with American plants and shrubs.

The Enlightenment

This interest in science produced in America, as in Europe, a new confidence in human reason which came to be known as the Enlightenment. Characteristic works of the Enlightenment widely read in America were those by the English philosopher John Locke, a friend of Newton. In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke maintained that man could best gain knowledge of and power over the universe by observation of the world around him and by experiment. In the second of two *Treatises on Government*, Locke taught that men were born with certain "natural rights" to life, liberty, and property; that men formed governments to protect these rights; and that a government interfering with these might rightfully be overthrown. Practical Americans readily accepted his idea that government was the agent of the people, not their master.

Schools and colleges were not the only educational influences in the colonies. Newspapers, almanacs, books, and circulating libraries all helped to raise the level of public information. Since paper and type were expensive and the reading public in America small, most books came from England. But by 1750 there were twenty-five or thirty newspapers, mostly four-page sheets, printed weekly. The subscription lists were never more than a few thousand, but readers were more numerous. Printed on tough rag paper, these newspapers were passed from hand to hand until half the men in a village often read a single copy at the local tavern.

Colonial editors occasionally criticized British laws or officials. In 1735, Peter Zenger of the *New York Weekly Journal* accused the royal governor of corruption. As a result, copies of the paper were publicly burnt by the sheriff, and Zenger was brought to trial on a charge of libel. His lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, argued that the editor was not guilty, since the charges against the governor were true, and since free speech was one of the rights of Englishmen.

Zenger was acquitted. Later, the case came to be regarded as a landmark in the development of a free press in America, but at the time it was of less importance. During the colonial period, most newspapers made money by doing business for the colonial governments, and their editors were not likely to bite the hand that fed them. Until the eve of the American Revolution, few found fault with their rulers.

Almanacs attracted as many readers as newspapers. In addition to a calendar, dates of holidays, and times of sunset and sunrise, almanacs published advice on farming, accounts of scientific discoveries, poems, jokes, news of the year, and practical advice.

European travelers in America were amazed to find that political discussions in public inns were joined intelligently by everybody from college-educated gentlemen to stableboys. The schools and other agencies of information had extended general knowledge and interest in public affairs to a degree previously unknown.

ENGLISH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

Crèvecoeur attributed much of the prosperity of Americans to freedom from governmental control. The degree of power exercised by British officials varied from colony to colony, but it was limited everywhere. In all colonies the voters elected their own legislature, and in "charter" colonies, such as Connecticut, their governor as well. In "proprietary" colonies, such as Pennsylvania, the governor was appointed by the proprietor or by his heirs to whom the colony had been granted; in "royal" or "crown" colonies, such as Virginia, the governor was chosen by the king. The governor of a proprietary or crown colony had wide powers, such as a veto over the legislature and control of land grants. Yet he was often at the mercy of the legislature which might refuse to vote him his salary. (See chart, p. 12.)

Government at the town and county levels was run entirely by the colonists themselves. In New England, the important local unit was the township, and all major decisions were in the hands of the town meeting, which most heads of families had a right to attend. The town meeting was (and is) one of the most democratic types of government ever devised. In the southern and middle colonies, local government was usually less democratic, but nevertheless entirely independent of British control.

None of the colonies was so democratic as to allow full political rights to all men or to any women. Active citizenship and the right to vote and hold office were everywhere limited to adult males owning property, who usually had to be members of the established church. In spite of these limitations, a higher proportion of people was involved in government in the English colonies than anywhere in the European world.

This wide participation gave Americans the idea that governments existed to serve them rather than to rule them. It also gave training that was valuable when the colonies later declared independence.

The Acts of Trade and Navigation

While allowing her colonies to run local affairs pretty much as they pleased, Britain attempted to control their foreign trade in the interest of the British Empire as a whole. Here the basic idea was the same mercantile theory which Colbert put into effect in France (see p. 10). The Acts of Trade and Navigation, passed by Parliament in 1651 and repeatedly amended, ruled that certain "enumerated commodities," all of them goods that Britain lacked or produced in small quantity, must be sent to England. Among these were tobacco, cotton, indigo, and sugar. This was a profitable

Always short of gold and silver with which to buy British manufactured goods directly, the colonists found in these triangular trade patterns a way to overcome their lack of specie by trading certain products for others that could be exchanged for the goods or cash they needed and desired.

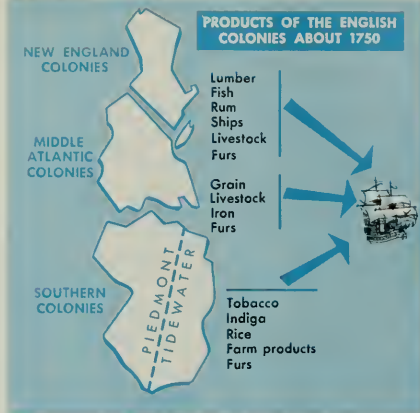


arrangement for British merchants, who resold many of the enumerated commodities outside their own country. American ships returning from European ports were required to make a "broken voyage," stopping at a British port on the way home to pay duty on goods acquired on the Continent before returning to America. By raising the price of non-British goods, this widened the colonial market for British products. The Navigation Acts said that all trade within the British Empire should be carried in British ships. This helped colonial shippers, however, because in this case they were given the same rights as inhabitants of the British Isles.

A number of British laws were clearly designed to help special groups at the expense of the thirteen colonies. The Molasses Act of 1733 was designed to help the owners of sugar plantations in the British West Indies, by putting a heavy tax on the import of sugar and molasses from any other source. To protect the farmers of the mother country from competition, the export of grain from the colonies to England was forbidden. Large-scale manufacturing in the colonies was prohibited in order to prevent competition with British manufacturers. One British law forbade the export of hats from the colonies; another, the construction of steel and iron works. Benjamin Franklin expressed himself sarcastically on this kind of legislation:

A colonist cannot make a button, a horse shoe, nor a hobnail but some sooty ironmonger or respectable buttonmaker of Britain shall bawl and squall that his honor's worship is . . . maltreated, injured, cheated and robbed by the rascally Americans.

In spite of all these laws, Britain regulated colonial trade much less strictly than did other European nations. The English colonies might ship their fish, lumber, grain, and furs wherever they could find a market. Certain laws



Even in the self-sufficient economy of colonial life, each section produced some staple that it could export. Common to all sections were furs, for which there was a constant demand in Europe.

were designed to help the colonists, such as the one ruling that no British merchant could buy tobacco except in the colonies, and that tobacco might not be grown in England itself.

British regulations were seldom strictly enforced. Revenue officers, receiving their positions through political pull, often did not bother to go to America, but hired deputies. In regard to the Molasses Act, the British pursued a policy of "salutary neglect," and did not provoke colonial resistance by trying to enforce the law. The colonists naturally got into the habit of evading British legislation, and smuggling assumed the position of a long-established right. When smugglers were occasionally brought to court, colonial juries seldom found them guilty, no matter how strong the evidence.

Although British trade regulations were deliberately designed to subordinate the colonies to the mother country, on balance they may have helped as much as they hindered. The colonists benefited from those regulations that favored them and evaded those that hurt them. But if ever the latter should be enforced, there were certain to be outcries in America.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, PRINTER

In 1706 a child destined to achieve world-wide fame was born to a candle- and soap-maker in Boston, Massachusetts. Benjamin Franklin was a tenth child, and his family was so poor that he went to work at the age of ten after only two years of school. But he had little need of schooling, since from boyhood until death he never stopped teaching himself.

To escape family jealousy caused by his superior abilities, Ben ran away to Philadelphia at the age of seventeen. His possessions on entering the city of which he later became the most famous citizen consisted of the clothes on his back and a few copper coins. He had no difficulty making a living, however, because he was already a skilled printer. Before long he was the best and busiest printer in the colonies. He published a newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which enjoyed a large sale partly because he criticized British officials.

As Postmaster of Pennsylvania, and later of the thirteen colonies, Franklin greatly improved the mail service, even to the extent that a merchant might send a letter to New York one day and get a reply the next. His best-known business venture, *Poor Richard's Almanack*, became the most widely read publication in the colonies, next to the Bible. "Poor Richard" preached the American gospel of thrift and hard work in sayings that became part of American folklore:

God helps them who help themselves.

Early to bed and early to rise

Makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.

Franklin acted on the principles of *Poor Richard* so successfully that he was wealthy at forty, and at the same time did much to advance the welfare of Philadelphia. He helped organize the first police force and the first fire department in the colonies. He promoted a circulating library, debating societies, a city hospital, street lighting, and better paving.

A true child of the Enlightenment, Franklin had tremendous intellectual energy and curiosity. He taught himself French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Latin. He investigated the temperature of the Gulf Stream, the effect of lime on soil fertility, and the direction of storms. His electrical experiments made him world famous. He developed the theory of positive and negative charges, constructed an effective battery, and proved that lightning was an electrical phenomenon. Indeed, it has been said that Franklin "found electricity a curiosity and left it a science." He made his discoveries serve humanity by putting them to immediate practical use—hence the lightning rod, the bifocal lens, and the Franklin stove. He sought no money from these, but was honored both here and abroad, being elected to every important scientific society in Europe. He also founded the American Philosophical Society to promote scientific advance.

During his latter years, Franklin spent many years abroad in public service. From 1757 to 1775, he spent all but two years in Britain, as an agent explaining the colonial point of view to the British government. From 1776 to 1785, he was the first minister from the United States to France, and after his return took part in making the Constitution. During his many years abroad he was in constant association with important people and received many honors, yet never let his head be turned. Continuing to refer to himself as "Benjamin Franklin, Printer," he remained the same busy, patient, humorous person he had always been.

Europeans were tremendously impressed with Franklin because he seemed to represent what Crèvecoeur meant when he said that "a modern society" had developed in America. Here was a man with no advantages of birth or formal education, who spoke as an equal with European kings and scholars. Franklin's career seemed proof that a free society helped human beings to develop their highest capacities.



Ben Franklin, American Genius

Franklin's versatility is evidenced in his many inventions, including the Franklin stove and the lightning rod. His practical wisdom was reflected in his *Almanack*. The first cartoon in an American newspaper was Franklin's "Join, or Die," promoting his 1754 proposal for the Albany Plan of Union. And his sense of humor comes through in the epitaph he wrote for himself. (See also the portrait of Franklin on page 58.)

*The Body of
B. Franklin, Printer,
Like the Cover of an old Book,
Its Contents torn out,
And Signs of its Lettering & Gilding
Lies here, Told for Worms
But the Work shall not be lost;
For it will, as he wishes, appear once more
In a new and more elegant Edition
Corrected and improved
By the Author. —*

*Given by B. Franklin to Saml Morris
August 31 1776 —
B. F. is his own hand writing —*

Poor RICHARD improved :
BEING AN
ALMANACK
AND
EPHEMERIS
OF THE
MOTIONS of the SUN and MOON;
THE TRUE
PLACES and ASPECTS of the PLANETS;
THE
RISING and SETTING of the SUN;
AND THE
Rising, Setting and Southing of the Moon,
FOR THE
YEAR of our LORD 1755:
Being the Third after LEAP-YEAR.

Containing also,

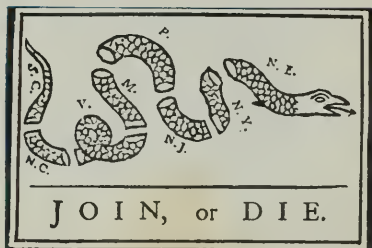
The Lunations, Conjunctions, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Rising and Setting of the Planets, Length of Days and Nights, Fairs, C^{ts}, Roads, &c. Together with useful Tables, chronological Observations, and entertaining Remarks.

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of near Five Hours West from London; but may, without sensible Error, serve all the NORTHERN COLONIES.

By RICHARD SAUNDERS, Philom.

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JOIN, or DIE.

Activities: Chapter 1

TO THE STUDENT

The activities at the end of each chapter and of each part are to help you direct, organize, and retain your learning. They are also designed to lead you on to further exploration.

Different classes and different individuals will use these suggested activities in different ways, but the important thing if you want to enjoy history and do well in it is to learn to study actively. When you are asked to compare something with something else, for instance, think of both similarities and differences. Also, try to make your own comparisons and connections. Since a textbook by its nature must point out only the principal landmarks and must sometimes oversimplify complex events, treat it critically. Don't hesitate to question the text or to look for places where it omits information.

In this first chapter the purposes of each section are explained, so that you may know how to make more intelligent use of them.

For Mastery and Review

Use these questions and directions to focus your reading on the main points and help you to understand them at the time you do your daily assignments. These are also useful in reviewing for tests.

1. What were major reasons for the Age of Discovery? Explain each.
2. What improvements did Spain bring to the New World?
3. What were the main ideas of mercantilism, especially as applied to colonies? Outline briefly how mercantilism affected the Spanish, French, and English colonies.
4. In three parallel columns, list reasons for the limited success of Spanish and French colonies in America and for the greater success of the English colonies.
5. What was the importance of the defeat of the Spanish Armada?
6. Give as many reasons as you can why the English colonies were established and why settlers went to them.
7. After studying the diagrammatic map on p. 27, describe the major products of the southern, middle, and New England colonies.
8. Describe the various social classes and groups in the English colonies in America. Which groups found in Europe were missing?
9. Describe and explain the differing treatment of Negro slaves in the Spanish and English colonies.
10. Describe and explain the differing treatment of Indians in the Spanish, French, and English colonies.
11. Study the diagram on p. 26, and then explain three triangular trade routes.
12. Why were schools and colleges founded? Explain the variations between the New England, middle, and southern colonies in the amount of schooling available. What was the importance of newspapers and almanacs?
13. What were the achievements of colonial Americans in science?
14. Examine the statement that Benjamin Franklin was "the first modern American." Do you agree?

Unrolling the Map

It is as important to study the maps in this book as to read the text itself, since it is impossible to grasp the history of the United States without a firm knowledge of geography. Geographers do not merely tell where; in analyzing the spatial aspects of human life they also help to tell why. The geographical exercises throughout the book are intended to enable you to read the maps with attention and understanding.

1. What were the effects of land formation on the English colonies in North America? Study carefully the topographical map and accompanying text on pp. 8-9 to find answers to this question.

2. On an outline map of the eastern United States locate the thirteen colonies. Indicate also Maine (then part of Massachusetts) and Vermont.

3. On the map of the thirteen colonies locate the following cities and towns: Portsmouth, Salem, Boston, New Haven, Providence, New York, Albany, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, Jamestown, Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah. What is the common feature of all these cities, and what does this indicate about the economy of the thirteen colonies?

Who, What, and Why Important?

Relate these terms to the historical background. If you really understand the "Why important?" angle, you will find that the "Who?" and "What?" will stick in your mind. This section, too, is useful for review.

middle class	tidewater area
Las Casas	pedmont
mercantilism	bread colonies
Samuel de Champlain	indentured servants
John Cabot	Negro slavery
Spanish Armada	frontier
Jamestown	Amos Fortune
Mayflower Compact	Roger Williams
House of Burgesses	Maryland Toleration Act
Fundamental Orders of	Massachusetts General
Connecticut	School Act of 1647

Royal Society
John Locke
Peter Zenger
colonial governments
town meeting

triangular trade
Acts of Trade and Navigation
salutary neglect
Benjamin Franklin

To Pursue the Matter

The more history is studied in detail, the more interesting it becomes. This section suggests voyages of exploration beyond the safe and ordered world of the textbook.

1. Why in the English colonies did the Negroes alone suffer the fate of being pushed down into slavery? Why were there differences between the treatment of Negro slaves in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies and their treatment in the English colonies, and differences within the English colonies between different sections? See Elkins, *Slavery*, and/or Ginzberg and Eichner, *The Troublesome Presence: American Democracy and the Negro*.

2. How did the Indians get to America? What were some of their extraordinary discoveries and achievements? See Driver, *Indians of North America*.

3. How did Columbus get there? See Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 2-6.

4. How did the French establish a claim to the Mississippi Valley? See "Sieur La Salle and the Mississippi," in Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 12-16.

5. How did the Spanish, with mere handfuls of men, overthrow the great kingdoms of the Incas and the Aztecs? See Wellman, *Glory, God, and Gold*.

6. What qualities and points of view did the early English settlers bring to America? See Note-stein, *The English People on the Eve of Colonization*.

7. Prepare a report, with maps, pictures, and diagrams, on the African slave trade. Possible sources: prelude to Benét, *John Brown's Body*; Cowley, *Black Cargoes: A History of the African Slave Trade*; "The Middle Passage," *American Heritage*, February 1962.

Chapter 2

Road to Revolution

The Revolution was effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people.

—JOHN ADAMS

The American Revolution was an unforeseen event. The people of the thirteen colonies had prospered under the mild rule of Britain and had seemed devoted to George III, who came to the British throne in 1760 and who was known to his affectionate subjects as “farmer George.” Benjamin Franklin, who knew as much as anyone about colonial opinion, later wrote, “I never heard in any Conversation from any person drunk or sober the least Expression of a wish for Separation or Hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America.” Two centuries later historians still argue why the freest colonies of any European nation were the first to rebel. In any case, the revolution had its origins far back in the colonial period.

By the mid-1700's most Americans of English descent were three to six generations removed from their immigrant ancestors. The original settlers themselves had not been the most loyal English subjects, since many came here to escape poverty, or imprisonment. Other settlers, such as the Dutch, the Irish, and the Germans, had been either indifferent or anti-British from the first.

The colonies had been founded with little help from the British government and had developed their prosperous agriculture and extensive trade on their own initiative. In a fertile area many times larger than the mother country, they were doubling their population every twenty-five or thirty years. They had learned to govern themselves. Above all, they had developed a sense that they were different from Europeans—more free, more able to rise in the world by their own exertions. Ten years before the Americans declared their independence, John Adams wrote, “I always consider the settlement of America as the opening of a grand scheme and design in Providence for the illumination of the ignorant and the emancipation of the slavish part of mankind all over the earth.”

One great tie holding the Americans to the mother country was the need for protection. Without aid from Great Britain they had difficulty defending themselves from the French in Canada. Not until France was expelled from North America did the thirteen colonies take the road to revolution.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND

In 1689 England and France began a contest that went on for generations with only short intervals of peace. It was on a world-wide scale, with active military operations in Europe and the Mediterranean, in the East Indies and India, in the Caribbean and North America. The long rivalry for the control of North America was a drama full of excitement and horror played against the romantic background of a vast wilderness.

Francis Parkman, Historian

The heroism of the men who engaged in the struggle for a continent was hardly greater than that of the man who best described it. As a sophomore in college, Francis Parkman (1823-1893) made it his life's aim to tell the story of the rise and fall of the French empire in America. He achieved his ambition—although it took him fifty years—in spite of eyesight so poor that he could only read through a magnifying glass and such a fragile physique that he could sometimes write only five or six lines a day. To learn about Indian life, he went west and lived with a party of Sioux Indians along the Oregon Trail. The ten books resulting from this courageous life of effort are still read because Parkman was both a great historian and a great storyteller.

Comparative Strength of Britain and France

The Anglo-French contest for North America had two phases. Between 1689 and 1713 occurred wars known in the thirteen colonies as King William's War and Queen Anne's War, in Europe as the War of the League of Augsburg and the War of the Spanish Succession. At the close of this first phase, Great Britain gained

Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay Territory (see map, p. 35). The second phase, from 1742 to 1763, included the wars known in the colonies as King George's War (1742-1748) and the French and Indian War (1754-1763); in Europe they were called the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. This ended in complete victory for Britain, with the French giving up all their holdings on the mainland of North America.

It is not as difficult to see why Great Britain won the war in America as it is to understand why France was able to hold out so long. The British colonies were many times more populous than the French, and the British navy generally had control of the sea, over which supplies and troops were sent to America. The French, however, had the great advantage of a unified command; on the other hand the thirteen colonies were highly independent of one another.

In 1754, on the eve of the Seven Years' War, delegates from seven northern colonies met at Albany to find some means of union. Benjamin Franklin presented to the conference a remarkable document, the so-called Albany Plan of Union. Franklin proposed that the colonies form a Grand Council to deal with Indian relations, new settlements, raising troops, and taxes for defense. The actions of this inter-colonial legislature would be subject to the veto of the British crown. The plan never went through because both the colonial and British governments feared loss of power. The resulting lack of cooperation handicapped the war effort. American militiamen would seldom consent to serve outside their own colony. Colonies evaded taxes imposed by Britain for their own defense, nor would they tax themselves. Colonial merchants and ship captains continued illegal trade with the French West Indies.

The French and Indian War

The final round of the great struggle began in the Ohio Valley. In the mid-eighteenth century the French, determined to possess this rich and beautiful area, drove out English fur traders. In 1753 they built Fort Duquesne at the point where the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers meet to form the Ohio River. Fort Duquesne, in territory claimed by both Virginia and Pennsylvania, was a threat to these colonies and a barrier to their expansion westward. In 1754 a force of 150 Virginia militiamen under the command of young Major George Washington advanced on the fort and ambushed a party of French troops sent out to scout them. But later, the French captured Washington's entire force at Fort Necessity. Thus hostilities began without a declaration of war. In the next year, the English General Edward Braddock, commanding 1,300 men, advanced again only to suffer a defeat even more disastrous than Washington's. Two-thirds of Braddock's force were killed or wounded, and he himself was mortally wounded. He was buried on the line of march; the survivors with their baggage trains passed over his grave, obliterating all traces of it, so that the Indian allies of the French might not find the body and mutilate it.

Disasters continued after Great Britain and France formally declared war in 1756. French Canada had a great military commander in General Louis Montcalm, while British generals were poorly chosen. Utter failure met British expeditions seeking to advance on Montreal by way of Lake George and Lake Champlain and to take the French fort of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island (see map, p. 35). These setbacks coincided with equally severe defeats elsewhere. All along the frontier the Indian allies of the French attacked outlying settlements, massacring men, women, and children. They even wiped out a settlement only sixty miles from Philadelphia.

In the midst of disaster, William Pitt, England's greatest war minister before Winston Churchill, came to power. Pitt's supreme self-confidence was expressed in the famous sentence, "I know that I can save this country and that no one else can." Immediately he instilled new vigor into the British war effort. By the end of the year 1758, Louisburg and Fort Duquesne were in British hands; and in June 1759, a British army of 9,000 men was encamped on the St. Lawrence River a few miles below the great fortress of Quebec.

The Fall of Quebec, 1759

The British forces at Quebec were commanded by James Wolfe, an able young officer whom Pitt had advanced from lieutenant colonel to temporary major general in less than two years. For over two months, Wolfe tried in vain to find a weak spot in the defenses of "the Gibraltar of America." Time was running short, for winter would soon set in. Finally the English commander hit upon a plan so daring that his staff refused to approve of it. This was to land at night and scale a wooded cliff almost under the guns of the fortress. Wolfe gambled on surprise, suspecting that the French would not have a strong guard at a point considered completely safe from attack. As Wolfe sat with his officers the night before the assault, he perhaps foresaw his death the next day, for he read them Thomas Gray's recently published poem, "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," emphasizing the verse:

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

Led by Scottish Highlanders wearing kilts, Wolfe's soldiers clambered up the cliffs and overpowered the few guards. Before daybreak 4,500 men were drawn up for battle on open

EUROPEAN CLAIMS -1689



LATER CHANGES

1713

1763



Wolfe's army, including killed Highlanders (in the far background), scaled the cliffs at Quebec and fought the battle that ended French rule.

fields known as the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm was quick to gather a force to meet them. In the ensuing battle, the volleys of the British infantry mowed down the French and Canadians, who were driven back into the town and forced to surrender. Both commanders were mortally wounded in the battle. The fall of Quebec meant the end of the French empire in North America.

The Peace of Paris, 1763

Great Britain was equally successful elsewhere, and by the Peace of Paris, which ended the Seven Years' War in 1763, she secured control of the largest amount of territory ever gained by a single nation in a single treaty. From France, Great Britain obtained all of Canada not yielded earlier, and all the eastern watershed of the Mississippi. From Spain, France's ally, Great Britain gained Florida. To repay Spain for her losses, France transferred the Louisiana Territory to her at this time, although in 1800 Napoleon took it back, just

before selling it to the United States. On the other side of the globe, Britain gained a dominant position in India. It is no wonder that Englishmen were dazzled by the brilliance of their triumph. "Burn up your Greek and Roman books, histories of little people!" exulted the English author Horace Walpole. From this time dated England's sense of being a great imperial power with a mission to hold "dominion over palm and pine."

The French defeat was as bitter as the British victory was exciting. One hundred and fifty years of colonization, all the enterprise and heroism of her great pioneers, missionaries, and soldiers had proved utterly fruitless. There was only one small crumb of comfort—the thirteen colonies might revolt. A French statesman likened them to a "ripe fruit," ready to drop off the bough. Within two years after the Peace of Paris, secret agents of the French government were traveling through the English colonies to investigate the chances of a revolution.

With the coming of peace in 1763, Benjamin Franklin wrote verses to celebrate the loyalty of the colonies:

Know ye, bad neighbors, who aim to divide
The sons from the mother, that she's still our pride,
And if ye attack her, we're all on her side,
Which nobody can deny, deny,
Which nobody can deny.

Thirteen years later Franklin had completely reversed himself: he was a member of the Continental Congress that declared America's independence of Britain and was fighting a war to make it good. He had been caught up in a revolution. Ask anyone today what comes to mind when you say the words, "American Revolution," and you will usually get some such answer as "redcoats," "Yorktown," or "Don't fire until you see the whites of their eyes." People naturally think of the Revolution in terms of the war against Great Britain. Yet in

the words of John Adams, who played a large part in it, "The Revolution was effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people."

Although it was not immediately apparent, the Seven Years' War had caused a change in the relationship between colonies and mother country. Freed from the French menace, the Americans no longer depended on British reg-

QUESTION • The Spanish colonies were held down much more than the English colonies. Why didn't they revolt first?

iments and wars for their very lives. The British had a new sense that they must rule their colonies. The former

slipshod practice of leaving them pretty much alone should be replaced by strict and efficient control. British taxpayers, furthermore, felt that the Americans should pay a fair share of the immense cost of the victory over France.

ENGLAND TIGHTENS CONTROL

The new British attitude was apparent as soon as the Seven Years' War came to an end. It showed itself in stricter enforcement of existing laws, in attempts to tax the colonies, in an effort to take over control of the West, and in attacks on colonial rights of self-government.

Stricter Enforcement of Laws

George Grenville, British minister of finance from 1763 until 1765, was an energetic administrator who believed that existing laws should be enforced. He was said to be the first minister in a generation who read the dispatches from American revenue collectors and so was really aware of the degree to which the Americans had become habitual smugglers. The revenue service in the thirteen colonies was costing the British government four times as much as it collected in customs duties!

During Grenville's term of office, customs men were required to go to their posts in America rather than stay in England and hire deputies. They were armed with Writs of Assistance—general search warrants allowing them to seek smuggled goods without swearing out a particular warrant for every building they entered. British men-of-war helped in the suppression of smuggling, and alleged smugglers were tried in Admiralty Courts, where the accused person had no right of trial by jury and the judges pocketed five per cent of the fines they imposed.

New Taxation

Between the years 1764 and 1767, the Parliament levied new taxes designed to shift part of the burden of the war debt from British landowners to the colonists. Never before had the British government seriously tried to raise revenue in America. The idea of previous taxes had not been so much to collect money as to steer colonial trade into channels that would make it profitable to England or to other portions of her empire.

Grenville increased the number of enumerated commodities that had to be shipped to the mother country; this reduced the profits of colonial trade with Europe. He persuaded Parliament to pass laws levying new duties on colonial imports, the most important of these being the Sugar Act of 1764. This law cut in half the rates of the Molasses Act of 1733 (see p. 27). The British government had winked at evasions of the earlier act; the appalling thing about the new one was that it was likely to be enforced. It would reduce the profits of the trade with the Spanish and French West Indies that brought much-needed specie (gold and silver) into the colonies. In the same year as the Sugar Act, Parliament forbade colonial governments to issue paper money, so that specie became scarcer than ever. Caught in a

"two-way squeeze" of lower profits and scarcity of money, many colonial merchants faced bankruptcy.

In 1765 Parliament, on Grenville's advice, passed the famous Stamp Act designed to raise revenue *within the colonies themselves* instead of through customs duties collected at the ports. It required that stamps be affixed to 54 kinds of articles and documents, including wills, playing cards, newspapers, dice, almanacs, and licenses. Duties ranged from 1 cent on newspapers to \$10 for college diplomas. Payment was to be made in specie. Whereas the previous laws devised by Grenville affected principally those engaged in foreign trade, especially in New England, the Stamp Act angered colonists everywhere. It especially affected those best able to stir up feeling against it: lawyers, newspaper editors, and ministers. On the day it was supposed to go into effect, men and women wore mourning, and church bells tolled in towns all the way from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to Savannah, Georgia.

For reasons shortly to be described, the Stamp Act proved to be unenforceable and was repealed in 1766. In 1767 the so-called Townshend Act attempted to raise revenue by import duties on tea, paper, glass, and paint. These could not be collected either, and all the Townshend duties except the tax on tea were repealed in 1770.

British Attempt to Control the West

In 1763 the violent Indian uprising known as Pontiac's Rebellion broke out in the West. Pontiac, one of the greatest Indian leaders, had foreseen that the defeat of France by Britain meant a hard fate for his people. The French had traded with the Indians, protected them, intermarried with them; the ever-advancing settlers of the British colonies threatened to wipe them out. Pontiac's Rebellion began with

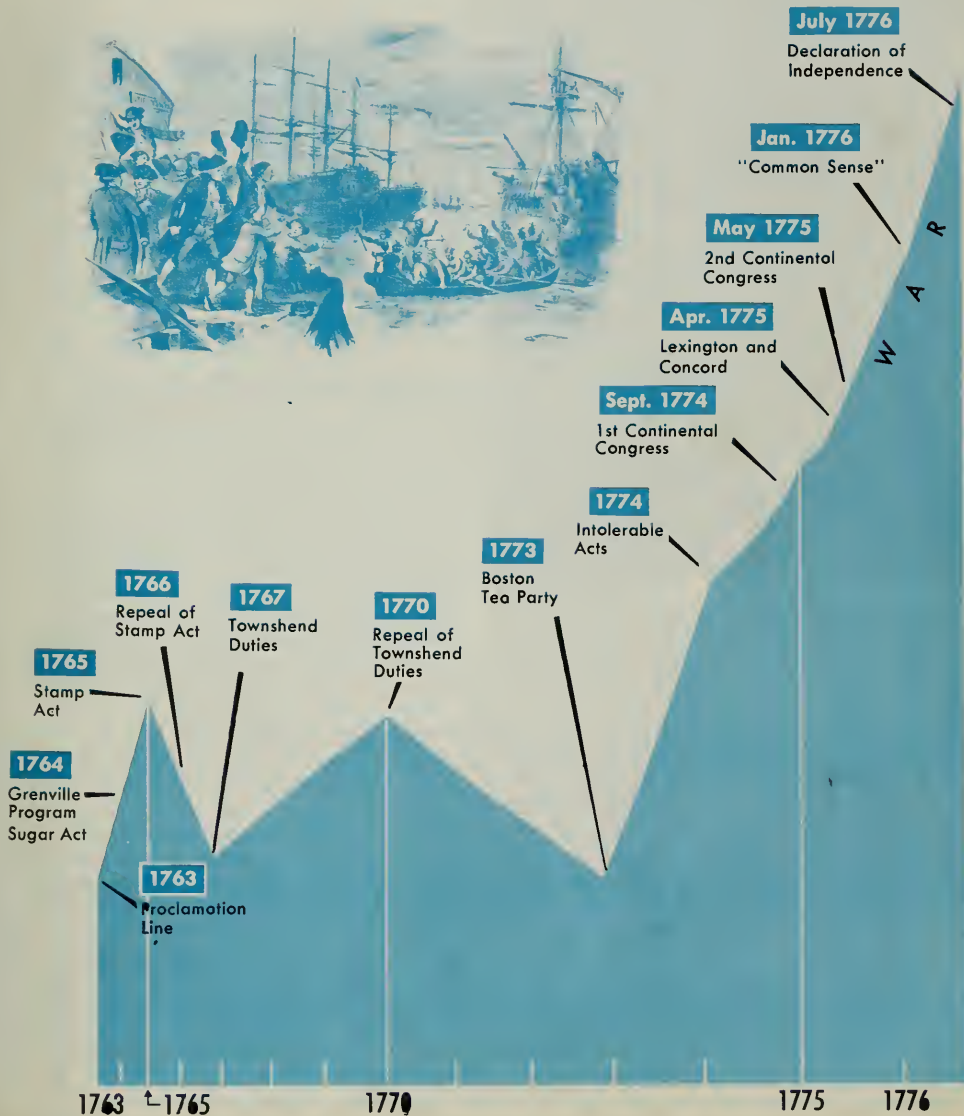
simultaneous surprise attacks on the English posts beyond the Appalachians, destroying eight of eleven. It was suppressed by British regulars, specially trained in wilderness fighting, after nearly two years of warfare.

To pacify the frontier and prevent American pioneers from being massacred, the British government issued the Proclamation of 1763, whereby all settlement west of a line running along the crest of the Appalachian Mountains should cease (see map, p. 43). The entire western region was to be reserved for Indians. Although this was alleged to be a temporary measure, some members of the British government hoped it would be permanent. It would divert settlers to Georgia or Nova Scotia "where they could be useful to their Mother Country instead of planting themselves in the Heart of America out of reach of Government where, from the great difficulty of procuring European commodities, they would be compelled to engage in commerce and manufactures to the infinite prejudice of Britain." Although the Americans at first accepted the Proclamation of 1763 as a means of averting bloodshed, they later resented it. They claimed that it deprived them of land rightfully theirs for settlement and interfered with the charter rights of colonies whose grants extended "from sea to sea." American interests, it appeared, were being sacrificed in order to fill the pockets of British fur traders who wished to see the Indians undisturbed.

Threats to Colonial Self-Government

There could be no question that the British government now pursued a deliberate policy of increasing its power within the thirteen colonies. Grenville's new customs collectors and admiralty judges were followed by ten thousand British regulars, for whom the colonists were required to provide barracks and supplies. These troops were sent, it was said, to protect the

THE RISING TIDE OF COLONIAL DISCONTENT





The New York Public Library

Revere's depiction of the landing of British troops in Boston harbor in 1768. The caption says the troops "Marched with insolent Parade, Drums beating, Fifes playing, and Colours flying, up to King Street."

Americans. But to protect them from whom? The French had been defeated and the Indians pacified. The redcoats, furthermore, were not stationed in frontier posts, but in towns such as Boston and New York, where there was no more danger from Indians than in London or Paris. The British motive for sending the redcoats may have been simply to find a way of taking care of veterans, but they also served to strengthen the hand of colonial governors and to overawe colonial legislatures.

That the British were eager to free royal officials from colonial control could be seen by the shifting of customs cases to the Admiralty

Courts. In 1767 the Townshend Acts provided that British judges and governors were to be paid out of customs revenues collected by British revenue officers. No longer could colonial legislatures restrain royal governors by holding up their salaries.

When colonial legislatures became centers of resistance to British measures, royal governors prevented them from meeting. Thus the New York legislature was suspended in 1767 for protesting against the quartering of redcoats in the colony, and the Massachusetts legislature suffered the same fate in 1768 for issuing a Circular Letter which asked other colonies to join with Massachusetts in resisting the Townshend Act. Such actions denied the Americans' long-established rights of self-government.

AMERICAN RESISTANCE

The efforts of the British government to tighten control met resistance so determined that it surprised even the Americans themselves. It took a variety of forms, including simple disobedience of British laws, formal protests against British violations of American rights, increased cooperation among the thirteen colonies, boycotts, and violence.

Disobedience of British Laws

The Americans, long used to evading British revenue laws, did not hesitate to evade the new ones. In spite of a more vigorous customs service, smuggling went on much as usual. The coast of America was so long that revenue officers could not inspect all ships landing, especially when the local inhabitants were constantly working to thwart them.

When the ten thousand redcoats were sent to America, Parliament passed the Mutiny Act of 1765, which directed the colonies to provide the soldiers with barracks and supplies. The New York and Massachusetts legislatures flatly

refused to vote the necessary money, regarding the act as a concealed means of taxation, and most other colonies found means of evading it.

The Proclamation of 1763, forbidding trans-Appalachian settlement, was flouted by the Americans. In the long years of bitter Indian warfare that started with the struggle for the Ohio Valley, there had developed a new breed of frontiersmen, as familiar with the wilderness as the Indians they had fought, as brave and as wily in warfare, and as contemptuous of all direction from above. Governor Dunmore of Virginia wrote to England of the impossibility of controlling these men:

I have learnt from experience that the established authority of any government in America, and the policy of government at home, are both insufficient to restrain the Americans. . . . They acquire no attachment to place; But wandering about seems engrafted in their nature; and it is a weakness incident to it, that they should forever imagine the Lands farther off are still better than those upon which they are already Settled. . . . impressed from earliest infancy with Sentiments and habits, very different from those acquired by persons of a Similar condition in England, they do not conceive that Government has any right to forbid their taking possession of a Vast Tract of Country, either uninhabited, or which serves as a shelter to a few scattered tribes of Indians.

It was in this period, when the Proclamation of 1763 supposedly forbade them, that the colonists made their first settlements across the Appalachians (see map, p. 43).

Formal Protests Against British Violations of American Rights

Simple disobedience was not enough to meet the crisis presented by Britain's measures. Again and again the colonists protested that they could not submit to the new policies without surrendering their rights as Englishmen. Protesting the Stamp Act, the Virginia House



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

A British satirist's view of a North Carolinian patriotic society, printed in March 1775. The "Ladies" are pledging, among other things, "not to Conform to that Pernicious Custom of Drinking Tea. . . ."

of Burgesses declared, in a set of resolutions drawn up by Patrick Henry:

Resolved, That the first adventurers and settlers of this His Majesty's Colony and Dominion of Virginia brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, . . . all the liberties, privileges, franchises, and immunities, that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

The principle to which the Americans appealed most frequently was that of "no taxation without representation." Great Britain, they said, had no right to tax the colonies, since the Americans elected no members to the British

Parliament. The colonists could be rightfully taxed only by their own legislatures. Such arguments appeared again and again in resolutions by town meetings by colonial legislatures, and by the Stamp Act Congress, a meet-

QUESTION • Young people who have not reached voting age are subject to sales taxes, excise taxes, and income taxes. Have they a legitimate grievance under the principle of "no taxation without representation"?

ing of colonial representatives in New York in 1765. The colonists revealed extraordinary awareness of the tradition of English liberties as embodied in such documents as Magna Carta (1215) and the Bill of Rights (1689). How strongly they felt is suggested by a resolution voted by the town meeting of Newburyport, Mass. Although professing loyalty to George III, it flatly repudiated the Stamp Act in these terms:

That a People should be taxed at the Will of another, whether of one man or many, without their own Consent is Rank Slavery. For if their Superior sees fit, they may be deprived of their whole Property, upon any frivolous Pretext, or without any Pretext at all.

Intercolonial Cooperation

Hitherto there had been very little cooperation among the thirteen colonies. The first time they ever seriously united on anything was in resisting the Stamp Act. A committee of the Massachusetts legislature sent letters to leaders of the other colonial legislatures urging that all send delegates to a convention of all the colonies to decide on a common policy toward the British government. As a result, the Stamp Act Congress met in New York in October 1765. Nine state legislatures were represented, and the others sent word that they approved of the

venture. The delegates drew up a set of resolutions and organized a general boycott of British-made goods. Unity was promoted in *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, by John Dickinson, published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1767 and 1768. Dickinson argued that the people of the thirteen colonies, "separated from the rest of the world, and firmly bound together by the same rights, interests, and dangers," formed "one political body of which each colony is a member." In 1768 the Massachusetts legislature helped to get common action against the Townshend Act by issuing a Circular Letter calling on all the other state legislatures to join with them in protest against the measure.

The new spirit of cooperation was accompanied and given strength by a rising spirit of patriotism. In a speech to the Stamp Act Congress, Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina declared, "There ought to be no New England Man, no New Yorker, known on the continent, but all of us Americans." At the Princeton College commencement in 1771, Philip Freneau delivered a poem, "The Rising Glory of America," that revealed his optimistic faith in:

The rising glory of this western world,
Where now the dawning light of science spreads
Her orient ray, and wakes the muse's song;
Where freedom holds her sacred standard high,
And commerce rolls her golden tides profuse
Of elegance and ev'ry joy of life.

An American nation was coming into being.

Boycotts and Violence

Colonial protests against the Stamp Act were given real bite because they were accompanied by an effective boycott of English goods. Men and women made solemn promises to wear homespun instead of British woollens, and merchants signed agreements to buy nothing from England until the unpopular law



should be repealed. Soon imports from England dropped to the lowest point in a generation, and British merchants, saying that they were faced with "utter ruin," besieged Parliament with petitions against the Stamp Act. Under such pressure, Parliament repealed the law in 1766.

Although most of the leaders of colonial resistance to the measures of the British Parliament were members of the colonial upper classes, they received assistance from an organization of small shopkeepers, clerks, and artisans

known as the Sons of Liberty, with a female auxiliary, the Daughters of Liberty. The Sons of Liberty, who formed the "action wing" of the organized resistance, kept watch on shopkeepers suspected of selling British goods and publicly denounced those they caught or threatened them with bodily harm. Their activities were sometimes accompanied by displays of violence. Because Thomas Hutchinson, a wealthy Bostonian, was suspected of favoring the Stamp Act, a mob attacked his

home and destroyed the finest collection of books and documents in the thirteen colonies. In New York a crowd of three thousand men wrecked the house of an unpopular British officer. Such actions succeeded in cowing British sympathizers into silence, but they also frightened many who favored the American cause. Colonial leaders attempted to prevent their recurrence.

At the time that Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, it passed the so-called Declaratory Act, by which it claimed full power "to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever."

Parliament was following the principle of this law when it passed the Townshend Act in 1767. The Townshend duties differed from the stamp duties in being external taxes on imports which, it was hoped, would irritate the Americans less than an internal tax. But the colonists argued that any law designed to raise revenue from them without their consent was a violation of their liberties. Again they voted non-importation agreements. Again the Sons of Liberty patrolled docks where English goods might be landed and shops where they might be sold. The Daughters of Liberty foreswore imported finery, made tea out of local herbs, and pro-

Sam Adams, Agitator



Some men have a genius for agitation. Eager for unrest and controversy, they search for incidents that can be blown up into conflicts.

Sam Adams was such a man—and as such became one of the architects of the American Revolution. Just possibly, without his constant efforts, there would have been no break with Britain. Why did this Harvard-trained provincial lawyer keep agitating against England even after the Stamp Act and Townshend duties were no longer in effect?

To be sure, he had personal reasons for disliking the British. His father had been a principal stockholder of the Land Bank organized in Massachusetts in 1740; when Parliament destroyed the bank, the family's fortunes were ruined. This seemed to flavor Sam's entire career, for, as Machiavelli wrote, "It is better to kill a man's father than to destroy his inheritance." Certainly Sam hated the tyranny of an aristocratic government of privilege. And, just as ardently, he believed in liberty.

Adams was perhaps the first American to fully understand the power of publicity. Using many pen names, he wrote untiringly against the government. He organized committees to take advantage of widespread colonial discontent. He stirred up the committees to write tracts and pamphlets on colonial rights to appeal to the educated. In town meetings he whipped up inflammatory debates and resolutions. The Sons of Liberty organized the artisans and craftsmen; the minutemen pledged instant action when needed. Constantly alert, this "Bostonian in homespun" was an instigator of it all. Considering his social class, Sam Adams might have been expected to be a conservative, even a Loyalist. But he was not, and the American Revolution perhaps came when and as it did because he was not.

(Theme 2, see p. xi)

duced homespun cloth. New England ministers organized the women of their congregations in great spinning contests. On one occasion, over a hundred Daughters of Liberty ran spinning wheels all day, while hundreds of spectators cheered them on. Perhaps never before in history had so many women taken an active role in politics. In 1770 Parliament gave in a second time, retaining only the tea duty as a symbol that it was not giving up the right to tax the colonies.

In 1770 the first clash between Americans and British troops took place. Two regiments of redcoats had been sent to Boston to support the governor and to overawe the radicals who, led by Samuel Adams, were making Massachusetts a center of opposition to Britain. One evening a squad of soldiers, commanded by a Captain Preston, was set upon by 50 or 60 men and boys led by a powerful Negro, Crispus Attucks. The redcoats fired into the crowd, without orders, killing five men, including Attucks. Later a colonial jury acquitted Captain Preston and all but two of the soldiers, who were found guilty of manslaughter. It is ironic that a member of a race deprived of freedom became the first martyr of the American Revolution. The event became known as the "Boston Massacre" and has come down in history as the first physical resistance to the British.

CALM FOLLOWED BY STORM

From 1770 to 1773 there was a lull in the controversy between Great Britain and the thirteen colonies. Having won relief from some taxes, the Americans allowed the British to collect others. The colonial boycott on tea was retained, but was widely violated. Imports of British goods rose from 8 million dollars in 1768 to 21 million dollars in 1771. The basic issues had not, however, been settled. The

British still held that Parliament had the right to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." The Americans, while admitting some vague parliamentary right to regulate their trade, continued to insist that they were no more obliged to pay taxes levied by Parliament than Englishmen had to pay those levied by the Virginia House of Burgesses.

That the calm would not last indefinitely was indicated by occasional acts of violence. In 1771 a British customs schooner that had taken a smugglers' ship into custody was attacked at night. The captive ship was released, the customs men locked into their own hold, and their schooner badly damaged. When another British revenue boat, the *Gaspée*, ran aground off Rhode Island, "persons unknown" attacked and burned it.

Meanwhile the men who led the resistance to British measures were improving their organization. Starting in Virginia and Massachusetts, under the leadership of such able agitators as Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams, they formed "committees of correspondence" in towns throughout the colonies. In forming this network, they were greatly assisted by the efficiency of the British intercolonial postal service that Franklin had organized. By keeping in constant touch with each other, these committees enabled the radicals to work out common policies and common lines of action.

The Boston Tea Party, 1773

The three-year truce came to an end with the so-called Boston Tea Party. This started a chain of events leading directly to war and a breaking of the tie between England and the colonies.

In 1773 the British East India Company was in difficulties for several reasons, among them being a terrible famine in the Indian province of Bengal, shrinking of the American tea market, and mismanagement. Bankruptcy



The Library of Congress

"The Repeal, or The Funeral Procession of Miss America Stamp." The Sons of Liberty expressed protest through political cartoons that often epitomized many of their grievances at once. Here the Stamp Act (see pages 41-42) is being carried to a tomb for burial alongside such other affronts as the Star Chamber and excises, "which tended to alienate the Affections of Englishmen to their Country."

for the company would be another disaster, because the savings of many individuals were invested in it, and government funds as well.

To save the East India Company, Parliament voted to relieve it of all taxes on tea at home and to grant it a monopoly of the American market. At the insistence of Lord North, the prime minister, the three-penny per pound tax on tea imported into the colonies was retained. Even so, the company would be able to undersell tea smuggled in from France or Holland. The move would thus be a blow to colonial tea merchants.

The announcement of the new plan produced an immediate outcry in America. It was

argued that if Parliament could give the East India Company a monopoly of trade in tea, it could arrange for monopolizing other commodities as well. Old religious fears came into the controversy. There had been rumors that the English government would appoint a bishop to preside over the Anglican churches in America, and that then the other Christian sects would be placed in the subordinate place they held in England. Once submit to Parliamentary taxation, went the argument, and you lay yourselves open to its tyranny over you in religion. Above all, objection to the arrangements for selling the East India Company's tea centered on the idea that they were designed to bribe

the colonies into accepting Parliament's claim that it had the right to tax. "The baneful chests [of tea] contain a slow poison . . .," wrote Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, "something worse than death—the seeds of SLAVERY."

The excellent organization of the radicals was revealed when the East India Company tea reached America. At none of the four ports where it was to be landed—Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston—did the company sell a pound. At New York and Philadelphia the tea ships were forced to turn back. At Charleston the tea was kept in a warehouse until after the Revolutionary War broke out. In Boston a great protest meeting in the Old South Meeting House was followed by the famous "tea party." Radicals disguised as Indians boarded the tea ships and threw 342 chests of tea, valued at \$75,000, into the harbor.

The Intolerable Acts

Benjamin Franklin called the Boston Tea Party "an act of violent injustice," and some Boston merchants were willing to take up a subscription to pay for the damage. To the British government, it was an act of lawlessness that had to be severely punished. Thomas Gage, an officer with long service in the colonies, told George III, "They will be Lions whilst we are Lambs, but if we take the resolute part they will undoubtedly prove very meek." Acting on this advice, in March 1774, Parliament passed what the colonists called the Intolerable Acts. They provided (1) that the port of Boston should be closed to shipping until the tea was paid for; (2) that British officials accused of violence in carrying out their duties should be tried in English courts rather than American; (3) that troops might be quartered in any town in Massachusetts—even in private homes; and (4) that the Massachusetts charter should be so amended as to greatly reduce the colony's right of self-gov-

ernment. Town meetings, for instance, could not be held more than once a year without special permission from the royal governor. Thus, the city of Boston and the whole colony of Massachusetts were to suffer severely for the actions of a handful of unknown men.

Passed at the same time, and considered by the colonists one of the Intolerable Acts, was the Quebec Act. This allowed the French inhabitants to use their own legal system (which did not include trial by jury) and to

QUESTION • What action should the British government have taken in regard to the Boston Tea Party?

practice freely the Roman Catholic religion. It also extended the boundaries of the Province of Quebec

to the Ohio River. In the excited state of American opinion the first two provisions seemed to prophesy abolition of jury trials and of the Protestant religion in the thirteen colonies unless the power of Parliament was checked. The change of boundaries seemed an attempt to exclude American settlers permanently from western lands; it also violated charter claims of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia. The Intolerable Acts revealed that the British government now intended once and for all to show the Americans who was master. This was partly because of the attitude of George III.

George III Tries to "Be a King"

During the reigns of George III's predecessors, George I and George II, the direction of English affairs had been taken over by the leaders of Parliament. During George III's childhood, however, his mother had urged him, "George, be a king!" When he ascended the throne he tried to carry out his mother's advice. "Farmer George" was a popular king and a good family man. He had some ability and a strong will. As monarch he could appoint

men to office; he used this power of patronage to influence Parliament. Members who voted as the king wished received government jobs with large salaries and few duties. By 1770 the king's power had become so great that Lord North, his personal nominee, became prime minister.

George III did not begin the quarrel between the British government and the colonies, but he intensified it because he came to believe that they must be ruled with a strong hand. After the Boston Tea Party he refused any compromise. "The colonies," he said, "must submit or triumph."

THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

The British Parliament had passed the Intolerable Acts in the expectation that the other American colonies would agree to Massachusetts being justly punished. William Pitt (now Lord Chatham) had warned, however, that the acts would give the colonies new reason to unite. Chatham proved to be right. The Intolerable Acts convinced many Americans that the men who ruled Britain were engaged in a conspiracy to extinguish their liberties. What happened to Massachusetts could easily happen elsewhere. Other colonies came to her aid, and hundreds of cartloads of food were sent to Boston to enable the city to hold out. All the colonies except Georgia sent delegates to the First Continental Congress, which held its first session in Philadelphia in September 1774. The Congress acted much as the Americans had done before in resisting the Stamp Act and the Townshend Act. It petitioned the king for relief from the Intolerable Acts, and cut off trade with England until they should be repealed. A Declaration of Rights and Grievances was designed to appeal to moderate men in that its tone was reasonable and it expressed devotion to George III. But it denounced every

step taken by Britain since 1763 to raise revenue or to tighten control as violating colonial charters or the colonists' rights as Englishmen.

"The Association"

The new boycott established by the First Continental Congress proposed to cut off exports to Britain as well as imports. To make the colonies able to bear such a self-inflicted blow to their commerce, the Congress urged Americans to set up local manufactures. Appealing to the spirit of self-sacrifice, the Congress also resolved to "discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gambling, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows, plays and other extensive diversions and entertainments." For the enforcement of its rules the Congress tried to set up "in every county, city, and town," an organization known as "the Association." By the very nature of its task the Association exerted a surprising degree of control over Americans, telling them what they should eat, drink, and wear, as well as how they should behave in public. The Association was extraordinarily effective; imports of British goods into New York, for instance, dropped from over two million dollars in 1774 to six thousand dollars in 1775.

Meanwhile in every colony a volunteer army was organizing, and military stores were being collected. In New England, minutemen assembled to drill on village greens, while the town officials gathered powder, ball, uniforms, and food. In Philadelphia a group of young men formed a company called "the Quaker Blues" and were "read out of meeting" for violation of the Quaker stand against war. In the southern colonies, wealthy planters undertook to recruit and equip companies of men at their own expense. It began to appear that the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies would be settled only by force of arms.

with
is
48
6
600

15-pound musket. Since the effective range of a musket of this period was scarcely more than 50 yards, the Americans were ordered to hold their fire until they could see the whites

QUESTION • How near must a person be for you to be able to see the whites of his eyes?

of their enemies' eyes. They repulsed two attacks with heavy slaughter, but were finally driven back to the mainland when they ran out of ammunition. The Battle of Bunker Hill, as it came to be called, was a moral victory for the Americans because their militiamen had stood up to professional troops. The British, whose casualties in the battle were over 40 per cent of those engaged, henceforth made no attempt to attack the besieging Americans.

Meanwhile, in May 1775, a handful of Green Mountain Boys from Vermont had overcome the little garrisons guarding the fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga on the vital Lake George-Lake Champlain route. The Americans thus gained much-needed artillery.

The Second Continental Congress

On the day Ticonderoga fell, a Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. Called merely to devise further protests against British actions, it immediately assumed the powers of a central government and took steps to prosecute the war that had begun on the village green at Lexington. It voted to ask the colonies for war supplies and troops, to send agents to France for financial assistance, to encourage rebellion among the French Canadians, and to

Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys



On May 10, 1775, Ethan Allen surprised Fort Ticonderoga and told the sleepy British commander he must surrender. Asked by what authority he made such a demand, he replied, "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." So says his own account; other sources hint that his language could not have been repeated in polite society.

Ticonderoga's conqueror was a real adventurer. A man of gargantuan strength, with showy manners and a taste for fine clothes, he was a frequent speechmaker and a natural leader. He had gone into the back country of New England with his brothers to speculate in land. There, he was made the "commander" of the local militia—the Green Mountain Boys.

Vermont, lying between New Hampshire and New York, was claimed by both colonies, but the residents rejected all outside rule. Rough pioneers, they resented any decisions they had not helped to make. They insisted that Vermont be separate from any other colony—and, after independence, from any other state. They defied the British Privy Council, the Continental Congress, Governor Clinton, and General Washington. Stoutly, they fought the British at Ticonderoga and at Saratoga. Just as stoutly, they prepared to be a separate nation rather than accept New York authority. This was the way frontiersmen played politics, a heritage still traceable in local political dog fights. The Vermonters were successful: New York gave up her claims in 1790, a convention at Bennington ratified the United States Constitution, and Vermont became the fourteenth state of the Union on February 18, 1791.

(Theme 4, see p. xli)



New-York Historical Society

The only known life portrait of Thomas Paine was painted in 1805 by John Wesley Jarvis. This was painted 29 years after Paine, the English-born spokesman of the American Revolution, had published *Common Sense*. On the last page of the Introduction (below), Paine declared that the cause of liberty in America "is in a great measure the cause of all mankind."

INTRODUCTION.

In the following Sheets, the Author hath studiously avoided every Thing which is personal among ourselves. Compliments as well as censure to Individuals make no Part thereof. The wise, and the worthy, need not the Triumph of a Pamphlet; and those whose Sentiments are injudicious, or unfriendly, will cease of themselves unless too much Pains are bestowed upon their Conviction.

The Cause of America is in a great Measure the Cause of all Mankind. Many Circumstances hath, and will arise, which are not local, but universal, and through which the Principles of all Lovers of Mankind are affected, and in the Event of which, their Affections are interested. The laying a Country desolate with Fire and Sword, declaring War against the natural Rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the Descenders thereof from the Face of the Earth, is the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of feeling; of which Class, regardless of Party Distinction, is the

AUTHOR.

COMMON SENSE.

Of the Origin and Design of GOVERNMENT in general, with concise Remarks on the ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

SOME writers have so confounded Society with government, as to leave little or no distinction between them; whereas, they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness *positively* by uniting our affections, the latter *negatively* by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. The first is a patron, the last a punisher.

Society in every state is a blessing, but Government even in its best state is but a necessary evil; in its worst state a intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries by a Government, which we might expect in a country without Government, our calamity is heightened by

dignify the motley array of militia besieging Boston with the name **Continental Army**. For commander in chief it chose **George Washington**, not only because of his experience and ability, but also because the fact that he was a Virginian would help to keep the southern and middle colonies from thinking of the struggle with Britain as "New England's War."

MOVING TOWARD SEPARATION

In spite of warlike measures, the majority of the **Continental Congress did not at first favor separation from England**. Instead, they wanted union with the mother country through common loyalty to the king, but with the right to rule themselves and not submit to Parliament. In a petition to George III, the Americans blamed all their troubles on his ministers, "those artful and cruel enemies who abuse your royal confidence and authority for the purpose of effecting our destruction." Congress appealed to the king for relief from Parliament and continued to open its meetings with prayers for his health. The Americans were careful to refer to the British armies they were fighting as "ministerial" troops.

No matter what Congress might have intended, events were driving them toward separation. First, there was the great fact of continuing war. Not content with bottling up Gage in Boston, the Americans invaded Canada—a possible base for British operations. One force under General Richard Montgomery, starting from Ticonderoga, took Montreal and advanced on Quebec by way of the St. Lawrence. Another little army under General Benedict Arnold also reached the great stronghold after an amazing march through the wilderness of Maine. When in December the two armies joined on the Plains of Abraham outside Quebec, they did not number more than 1,200. Yet the commanders attempted to surprise the defending garrison by an early morning assault. The attack failed when Montgomery was killed

and Arnold wounded; as a result, Canada remained in British hands.

George III's Inflexible Attitude

Meanwhile, the British government adopted a more and more inflexible attitude. George III refused even to read a conciliatory petition from the Continental Congress, but instead denounced the "diverse wicked and desperate persons" leading the Americans. He called on loyal subjects to bring the American leaders to justice as traitors. At this time the British punishment for treason was as follows:

... that the offender be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, that there he be hanged by the neck but not till he be dead, that while yet alive he be disembowelled and that then his body be divided into four quarters, the head and each quarter to be at the disposal of the crown.

In October a British naval force burned to the ground the defenseless port of Falmouth, Maine. Finally, in December, George III declared the thirteen colonies entirely outside his protection and all their ports under blockade by the British fleet. Unable to raise troops in England, because the war against the Americans was so unpopular there, the king hired soldiers from the rulers of small German states. They were generally known as "Hessians," because a large contingent was supplied by the Prince of Hesse, who was paid \$500,000 a year plus \$35 for each soldier killed and \$12 for each one wounded. It was increasingly obvious that compromise between Great Britain and the thirteen colonies was impossible. Yet the Americans still held back, unwilling to cut their ties with the mother country.

"Common Sense"

At this critical moment, there appeared one of the most persuasive and widely read pamphlets in all history. Entitled *Common Sense*, and published in January 1776, it was written by Tom Paine, an English radical recently ar-

rived in America. Paine hit directly at the strongest bond still keeping America tied to Britain—the sentiment of loyalty to the king, which was as ingrained an attitude as is respect for the Stars and Stripes in the United States today. Paine ruthlessly attacked monarchy in general and George III in particular. Hereditary kingship, he wrote, was a superstition that had been sold to the ignorant by means of lies and fables. A king was usually “the principal ruffian of some ruthless gang,” and George III, “the royal brute of Great Britain,” was typical of his breed. Paine added to the effect of this by explaining the advantages the Americans might gain when rid of English commercial restrictions and when no longer involved in England’s quarrels with her European neighbors. Above all, Paine appealed to the Americans’ sense that they were a chosen people, pioneers of liberty. “Freedom hath been hunted around the globe,” he wrote. “Asia and Africa have long expelled her.¹ Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind!”

Common Sense had an amazing circulation and helped to convince thousands of Americans that it was “time to part.” Its arguments were more persuasive because American arms were extraordinarily successful. In Virginia the royal governor and the soldiers defending him were expelled; in North Carolina the militia repulsed an attempted landing of redcoats; in South Carolina a full-scale British attack on Charleston was brilliantly driven back. The greatest victory was in Boston. At first Washington had almost no artillery, but during the winter over fifty cannon from Fort Ticonderoga, weighing two to six tons apiece, were lashed to sledges and dragged by oxen 200 miles over snowy trails and frozen rivers. This amazing feat was followed up by bold action. On the night of March 4, 1776, about 2,000 men set batteries of these guns on Dorchester Heights,



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Although most famous for his ride to arouse the countryside against the British, as depicted in Grant Wood’s famous painting (right), Paul Revere was a noted silversmith, artist, and political agitator. The above portrait by John Copley commemorates Revere as an outstanding silversmith in Colonial America.

overlooking Boston, and protected them with ingenious prefabricated fortifications. General William Howe (who had replaced Gage as commander of the British force) had no choice but to abandon the city. On March 17, he sailed for Halifax, carrying with him a thousand Loyalists who preferred exile to rebellion against George III.

A strong argument for independence was the need for military supplies and for reopening foreign trade. The Americans lacked guns, gunpowder, ammunition, uniforms, tents, and medical supplies, and did not have the facilities to make them in quantity. The stoppage of trade with the British Empire caused acute distress among American shippers and mer-



Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

chants. New markets were needed, and to get them commercial treaties with other nations had to be arranged. Such treaties could not be written by rebellious colonies, but only by independent states. Furthermore, the members of the Continental Congress hoped for aid from France. Ever since 1763 the French had been planning revenge on Great Britain for the terrible defeat suffered in the Seven Years' War (see p. 36). As early as November 1775, a French secret agent conferred with members of the Continental Congress. A few months afterward the French government started to smuggle arms to the Americans. But it was made clear that no alliance was possible and no commercial treaty guaranteeing American

ships the right to trade with French ports until the Americans declared themselves an independent nation.

Colony after colony, starting with North Carolina in April 1776, advised its delegates in Congress to vote for independence. On June 7, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia introduced a resolution calling for independence and foreign alliances. The Continental Congress debated this for nearly a month while the moderates made a last stand for further attempts at reconciliation. By July 2 twelve states had approved Lee's motion, and on July 4 Congress agreed to accept the public statement of American rights and grievances known as the Declaration of Independence.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for ^{one} people to
~~disolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to~~
~~assume among the powers of the earth the position~~ ^{independent equal} station to
which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect
to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes
which impel them to ~~the~~ ^{their} separation.

We hold these truths to be ~~self-evident~~ ^{self-evident} that all men are
created equal ~~independent~~ ^{that they are endowed by their creator with certain} rights, that
~~among these are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, & to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles & organising it in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. prudence indeed will declare that governments long established should not be changed for light & transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. but when a long train of abuses & usurpations [beginning at a distinguished period] & pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them to absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, & to provide new guards for their future security. such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; & such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. the history of the ^{the} present ^{King of Great Britain} is a history of ^{unremitting} injuries and usurpations, among which, ^{appears no solitary fact} ~~appears no solitary fact~~ to contra-
dict the uniform tenor of the rest, ^{in which have been} ~~in which have been~~ in direct object the
establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states, to prove this, let facts be
submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which we pledge a faith
not unsullied by falsehood.~~





The Library of Congress

Thomas Jefferson made the rough draft at left of the Declaration of Independence. The changes, mostly by Benjamin Franklin, were few, but each made the Declaration more forceful. On July 2, 1776, Washington wrote, "The time is now near at hand which must probably determine whether Americans are to be Freemen or Slaves." Two days later, the Congress voted for independence. The scene is shown above in a painting by Robert Edge Pine and Edward Savage, done in 1785.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Declaration of Independence was principally the work of Thomas Jefferson, a young Virginian who had been a rather inconspicuous member of Congress. Shy, a poor speaker in public, Jefferson was nevertheless known to be an able writer of pamphlets, so that when a committee was appointed to draw up a public statement justifying independence, he was included. Of the five members of the committee, two took no part in the work, and the other two, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, more prominent and busier than Jefferson, were glad to leave to him the rather routine task of drawing up the statement of a decision already made.

Since Jefferson was busy and time was short, he did not compose an entirely new document. Instead, he did a scissors-and-paste editorial job

of piecing together fragments from a declaration of grievances he had written earlier, from the new Virginia Bill of Rights (written by George Mason), and from Lee's resolutions. He then took his draft to Franklin who, wearing

bifocal glasses of his own invention, made a few changes, each one of which made the Declaration more effective. Finally, it went to Congress, where additional changes

QUESTION • Look carefully at the corrections made in Jefferson's original longhand copy of the preamble of the Declaration of Independence. Did the corrections strengthen the first draft?

es were made in it before its final acceptance.

When the Declaration is examined in detail, it falls into three parts: first, the preamble, which states the general ideas upon which the



The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

No American, not even Washington, made quite such an impact on eighteenth-century Europe as did Benjamin Franklin. This was partly because of his versatility: he was eminent as a scientist, a journalist, and a statesman. Also, his rise to fame from humble beginnings made him a symbol of a free and mobile society. This portrait by Charles Willson Peale was made when Franklin was 81 years old and a member of the Constitutional Convention.

American Revolution was founded; second, a long list of grievances against George III; and finally, the formal resolution of independence itself. (The text of the Declaration of Independence is found on pp. 799–800.)

The Preamble

Of the three sections, the preamble is the most important. It sets forth a philosophy of human rights and of democracy that has affected men's behavior ever since. This was by

no means Jefferson's own invention, but was especially derived from the *Second Treatise on Government* written by John Locke to justify the right of the English to overthrow James II in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688.

After a statement that the Americans are publishing the Declaration out of "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind," comes this famous sentence, the basis for all that follows:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by

their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

Few sentences in all human history have been so debated. It has been endlessly pointed out that it is self-evident that men are created unequal: no two men are exactly equal in physique, ability, circumstances, or character. Rights are not "inalienable": they are taken away by tyrants and surrendered by men unwilling to defend them. Such criticisms are based on misunderstanding of Jefferson's meaning. "Equal" does not mean "equal in abilities" nor "equal in circumstances," but simply "equal in rights." As all men are equal before God, so they are *equal in God-given rights*. Therefore society should see that men are *equal before the law* and that they should have *equal opportunities*. "Inalienable" does not mean that a tyrant is unable to take men's rights away, but simply that he may not do so without violating divine law. A contract to sell yourself into slavery is null and void from the first, because your God-given rights are not yours to abandon.

Government as the agent of the people. Out of the idea of natural rights flow the following "self-evident truths" about the relation of the people to government:

That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

Thus the origin of government is traced to a *contract* in which the people grant power to the rulers and in exchange are promised protection of their rights. It may be pointed out that most eighteenth century governments had their origin in conquest or seizure of power by

strong men in the distant past, surely not in any agreement by the people to set up a right-protecting agency. This passage, however, insists only that the *rightful* aim of government is to protect the individual, and that *government is the agent of the people, not their master*. Obviously, then, a rightful government is one in which the people continually and freely consent to the rule of the state because all officials are their servants. In 1776 this idea was stated in contrast to the notion that a king had a divine right to govern. It has had force in the twentieth century in contrast to the Fascist idea that man exists to serve the state or to the Communist tendency to sacrifice individual wants to the alleged needs of society as a whole.

The rights of revolution and self-determination. The idea that a just government rests on popular consent leads to the idea that the people may refuse their consent to an unjust government, may "alter or abolish it," and may set up a government of their own. This passage, then, is a statement of a right of revolution. It is also a statement of what has been called in modern times the right of "self-determination," meaning the right of a people to be free from foreign rule. When the Philippines gained their independence from the United States on July 4, 1946, it was an expression of this right. The United States was also acting in accordance with its principles in freely granting independence to the Philippines.

From the expression of the right of revolution, the Declaration turns to showing that the government of Great Britain had been attempting to put the Americans under an "absolute despotism," that is, to put them completely under the power of the king. An early version blamed British misdeeds on Parliament, but this was altered to "the present King of Great Britain." This change increased the effectiveness of the Declaration by helping to destroy that loyalty to the monarch already mentioned.

A Listing of Grievances

The greater portion of the Declaration is taken up with a list of grievances against "the present King of Great Britain" (note the hint that he may not be on the throne much longer). Relentlessly, Jefferson piles wrong on wrong. Note the effectiveness of the monotonous, dirge-like repetition: "He has refused . . . He has forbidden . . . He has utterly neglected . . . He has obstructed . . . He has plundered . . . He has . . . He has . . . He has . . ." There was a measure of unfairness in these charges. George III did not begin the quarrel with the thirteen colonies, nor did he play any important role in shaping policy toward America until 1774. From then on, to be sure, he resisted all concessions and so helped to bring on the Revolutionary War. But major blame cannot be truthfully laid at his door.

Jefferson, however, was not writing a cool appraisal of the causes of the Revolution. He was appealing to world opinion in the heat of battle. Write about the unwarrantable actions of the majority in Parliament and you have to explain the workings of the British constitution. How much easier, how much more effective it is to blame everything on George III and add him to the long roll of tyrants who have written their names in blood—Xerxes, Herod, Nero, King John, Genghis Khan, Ivan the Terrible!

Independence

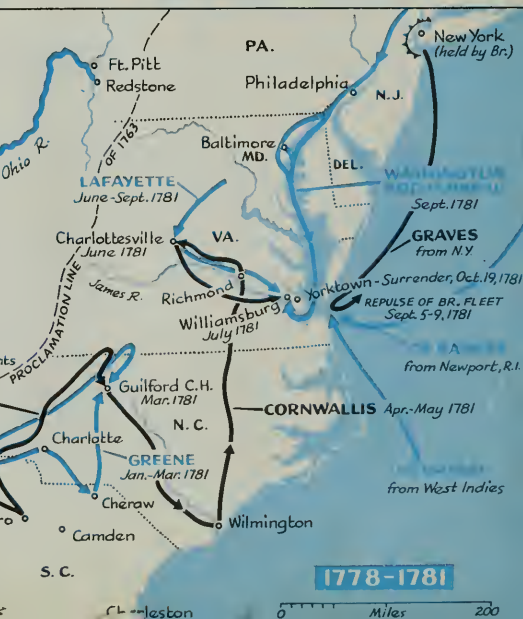
The Declaration of Independence closes by maintaining that the Americans have done everything possible to preserve peace with "our British brethren" and have been spurned. There is nothing left for them but to declare that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States." To defend this action, the Americans pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. Then come the signatures of the members of the Continental Congress, each man now a traitor in the eyes of the British government.

Widespread Influence of the Declaration

However casually it may seem to have been produced, the Declaration of Independence is one of the two or three most important documents of modern times. By it the Americans made a commitment, as Lincoln said in the Gettysburg Address, "to the proposition that all men are created equal." As a result, the Declaration has been a continual lever for change in American society, in the direction of equal rights, equal opportunities, and equal voice in government. At different times in our history, it has operated toward ending Negro slavery, giving women the right to vote, enlarging job opportunities, and extending the chances for education. With a genius for simple and eloquent prose, Jefferson managed to express the democratic faith in such a form that ideals of equality and self-government, while not yet fully realized, are embedded in the American tradition.

Up to 1776 the colonists based their claims to self-government within the British Empire on colonial charters and on their inherited rights as Englishmen. Now they demanded independence from Britain on the basis of the natural, inborn rights of all men. Thus the Declaration of Independence acquired worldwide significance. When Lafayette went back to France after fighting on our side in the Revolutionary War, he hung a copy of the Declaration in a niche in his dining room, with an empty niche beside it awaiting a similar French declaration of human rights. When the Spanish-American colonies revolted in the early nineteenth century, several of them drew up declarations modeled on ours. And in the twentieth century, the late Jawaharlal Nehru, who was the first prime minister of India, called the Declaration of Independence a "landmark in human freedom."

REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1775-1781





A LIST of the Names of the PROVINCIALS who were Killed and Wounded in the Engagement at Concord His Majesty's Troops at Concord. xc

KILLED.

Of Lexington.
• Mr. Robert Munroe,
• Mr. Jonas Parker,
• Mr. Samuel Hadley,
• Mr. John Harrington,
• Mr. Caleb Harrington,
• Mr. Isaac Mundy,
• Mr. John Brown,
• Mr. John Rymon,
• Mr. Nathaniel Venable,
• Mr. Jedediah Munroe.

Of Menotomy.

Mr. Tabor Russell,
Mr. John Wyman,
Mr. John Wadsworth.

Of Sudbury.

Deacon Haynes,
Mr. ——— Reed.

Of Concord.

James Miles.

Of Bedford.

Capt. Jonathan Willoughby.

Of Andover.

Capt. Davis,
Mr. ——— Hackett,
Mr. James Howard.

Of Wrentham.

• Mr. Asa Porter,
• Mr. Daniel Thompson.

Of Hingham.

Mr. Jonas Miller,
Capt. William Barber, Sen.

Of Salem.

Mr. Gaudin, Esq.

Of Cambridge.

Mr. John Hicks,
Mr. Moses Richardson,
Mr. William Maffey.

Of Needham.

Mr. Henry Putnam.

Of Lynn.

Mr. Ambrose Bantlett,
Mr. Daniel Townsend,
Mr. William Fox,
Mr. Thomas Hadley.

Those engaged with the Mass. Co.

Of Danvers.

Mr. Henry Jacobs,
Mr. Samuel Cook,
Mr. Ebenezer Goodwin, Jr.,
Mr. George Southwick,
Mr. Benjamin Daland, Jr.,
Mr. Joshua Webb,
Mr. Peckey Putnam.

Of Salem.

Mr. Benjamin J. Porter.

WOUNDED.

Of Lexington.

Mr. John Bulfinch,
Mr. John Tidd,
Mr. Solomon Price,
Mr. Thomas Wadsworth,
Mr. Nathaniel Farmer,
Mr. Joseph Cramer,
Mr. Ebenezer Nason,
Mr. Francis Brown,
Prin. Eastbrook.

(A Negro Man.

Of Framingham.

Mr. ——— Framingham.

Of Bedford.

Mr. John Lane.

Of Hingham.

Mr. George Reed,
Mr. Jacob Eacco.

Of Needham.

Mr. William Lilly.

Of Lynn.

John Fowl,
died June 2, 1780.

Of Danvers.

Mr. Nathan Putnam,
Mr. Dennis Wallis.

Of Beverly.

Mr. Nathaniel Claves.

Of Lynn.

Mr. Ambrose Bantlett,
Mr. Daniel Townsend,
Mr. William Fox,
Mr. Thomas Hadley.

Of Lynn.

Mr. Ambrose Bantlett,
Mr. Daniel Townsend,
Mr. William Fox,
Mr. Thomas Hadley.

Red to York Street

WHICH SIDE WOULD WIN?

The Declaration of Independence made all-out war a certainty. The Americans had taken a step that made reconciliation impossible. For the leaders of the rebellion, now branded as traitors to their king, failure would mean disgrace and death. As Franklin said, "We must all hang together now, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

What Favored a British Victory?

In the coming struggle there were so many reasons to predict victory for England that a historian of the war has written, "The British should have won the Revolution handily." The following factors favored Britain:

(1) **The British government**, even though corrupt and inefficient by modern standards, was probably the most powerful in the world, while the United States hardly had a government worth the name. When the Declaration of Independence referred to the United States as "one people," it expressed a hope rather than a fact. The fact was that the **Continental Congress** exerted no real power over the thirteen

Connecticut Historical Society



As this print made soon after the event shows, the engagement between British redcoats and the American minutemen at Lexington hardly deserved to be called a "battle." The British fired and the minutemen ran away, leaving several of their number dead or wounded. Real resistance to the British began at Concord Bridge.

states. Furthermore, only a minority of the American people actively supported the war. Most of them were indifferent to the Patriot cause except when fighting reached their doorsteps. There were portions of the country, too, where the Loyalists were in control, and thousands of Loyalists enlisted in the British army.

(2) The strength of the British government and the weakness of the Continental Congress meant that the British had the larger purse. The British paid their troops in hard cash and could always buy food for them in America. The Continental Congress, lacking the power to tax, printed paper money called "Continental Currency" which became so worthless that the phrase "not worth a Continental" has been part of American slang to this day. American soldiers starved, deserted, and sometimes mutinied because Congress could not pay them.

(3) The British had more disciplined troops and more trained officers. The easy victories won by American militia in 1775 were seldom repeated. The American cause, in fact, suffered from "the myth starting with the day of Concord and Lexington that amateur, half-disciplined militia were fully the equal of trained troops under any circumstances provided they possessed the ability to shoot." The fact was that militiamen were sometimes worse than useless. They were often unruly and mutinous. They were likely to run away in the face of danger, or to desert before danger was near. The only trustworthy force the United States possessed was the Continental Army, seldom numbering as many as 5,000.

(4) During most of the war, Great Britain had command of the sea. This gave British armies the choice of where to strike along the Atlantic coast and enabled them to supply their armies with ease. At one time or another the British held most of the principal ports of the United States—Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, Wilmington (North Carolina), Charleston, and Savannah.

What Favored An American Victory?

There were a number of reasons why the Americans overcame the advantages of the British and ultimately won the War for Independence:

(1) The United States had only to hold out to win, while the British had to utterly destroy American resistance. In this latter task they had to "conquer a map." Distances were so great in America and the people, living mostly on self-sufficient farms, were so scattered that Great Britain could not win the war just by taking the principal cities. When British forces ventured into the country, they could often march in any direction they pleased without meeting American forces strong enough to resist them, but they suffered continual losses from guerrilla attacks.

(2) The British had to carry on war across the Atlantic. It took whole fleets to transport as many troops as a single great liner could ferry across the ocean today. Sailing vessels were so uncertain that a British commander sometimes went six months without receiving dispatches from home. It was difficult, sometimes impossible, to keep in touch with commanders in the field. Because of this, the British lost a whole army at Saratoga.

(3) The war was not popular in Britain. The British could fill their regiments only by recruiting criminals and vagrants, as well as 30,000 Hessians. Many of these German troops deserted and some even joined the Continental Army. Although untrained "embattled farmers" were not to be relied on, when the Americans were disciplined, as in the Continental Army, they proved to be excellent troops—active, enterprising, inventive. Thousands of Negroes served in the Continental Army, generally receiving freedom as the reward for enlistment. "For great patience under privations, fatigue, and wounds," it was reported, "the Negro, trained in the hardest of schools, was not to



Although to Americans Washington seemed the embodiment of an aristocrat and his home at Mount Vernon quite a grand house, Europeans who met him were impressed by the simplicity of his manners and the lack of great style at Mount Vernon, which he used to call "my farm."

be surpassed." American troops were more

QUESTION • What is the difference between the musket and the rifle? Why is one superior?

skillful in the use of firearms than European soldiers, and some of them were equipped with

the "Pennsylvania rifle," a far more effective weapon than "Brown Bess," the British musket. The Americans might not have been perfectly united, but a far higher proportion of them than of the English people believed in their cause and were willing to risk their lives for it.

(4) American leadership was superior to that of Britain. In spite of its weakness, the American Congress displayed more statesmanship and devotion to duty than did the British Parliament. Favoritism and bribery were an accepted part of British politics. There was graft and self-seeking on the American side too, but there were also men like Nathan Hale, who regretted that he had but one life to give for



Metropolitan Museum of Art

his country, and leaders like John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, who freely gave their services to the Patriot cause. It has been estimated that nearly a third of the graduates of American colleges served as members of American state governments, as members of the Continental Congress, or as army officers.

Although handicapped at the start, the Americans eventually found able commanders. Some were men with little training but great natural ability, such as Nathanael Greene, Daniel Morgan, and George Rogers Clark. Others were foreigners such as Karl von Steuben, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Casimir Pulaski, and Marquis de Lafayette. In terms of leadership, Washington was undoubtedly the greatest American asset, even though he lost more battles than he won. He may have been mistaken in training his army on strictly European lines. He sometimes annoyed his men by his stiff manner and by a tendency to talk as though all were lost. But no man did more to win the war. While British commanders often returned to England for the winter, Washington's devotion to duty was such that he saw his home at Mount Vernon only once during the war, and then only for a few hours. He alone commanded sufficient respect to keep the Continental Army in being. Often soldiers remained with the army, even when they were unpaid and their enlistments were up, because, as one of them used to tell his grandchildren, "He was a fine man, General Washington—he was everything a man should be."

(5) Finally, the United States was able to win the Revolutionary War because of foreign help. It is hard to see how the Americans could have held out without the aid of France. In the latter years of the war, when money raised by the Americans Haym Salomon and Robert Morris had been exhausted, the French government provided more money as well as trained troops. The French navy briefly wrested control of the

sea from Great Britain. Also, the struggle gradually developed into a general European war in which Great Britain was fighting a ring of enemies in the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and India, as well as in the United States.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR: PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGNS

The Declaration of Independence had been signed during a period when there were no British armies on our soil. But in August 1776, perhaps the largest single military force ever sent from Europe to America appeared off New York—over 400 transports bearing 32,000 troops, guarded by 30 warships, under the command of Sir William Howe. Easily defeating 20,000 ill-trained militia under Washington's command, the British took New York City and held it until the war was over, seven years later. They followed Washington up the Hudson and, when he crossed to New Jersey, pursued him southward to the Delaware River. The American army was now reduced to 5,000 men and the Continental Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

Washington's Victories at Trenton and Princeton

Then, when all seemed lost, Washington won brilliant victories in New Jersey at Trenton and Princeton. Trenton was held by three regiments of Hessians under the command of a Colonel Ralls, who regarded the Americans as "country clowns." Ralls took few precautions against attack. Washington, knowing that these German troops would be likely to celebrate Christmas by getting thoroughly drunk, took a chance on surprising them the morning after. He recrossed the Delaware River and attacked the Hessian force just at dawn on December 26. In only three-quarters of an hour, over 1,000 of about 1,300 Hessians were killed or cap-



Historical Society of Pennsylvania

American victory at Princeton, where British forces were caught offguard, boosted colonial morale at a critical juncture in the war. British surrender at Yorktown, (below), was idealized by painter John Turnbull. Actually, Cornwallis stayed in his quarters, and a staff member carried his sword to Washington.

Worcester Art Museum



tured, with a loss of only two American lives. Ralls was killed in the battle; on his body was found an unopened note from a Loyalist who had warned him the night before that Washington was coming. Had Ralls read this note, he might have ambushed Washington instead of the reverse, and the course of history might have been changed.

When General Howe heard of the defeat at Trenton, he sent General Charles Cornwallis from New York with 6,000 men to capture Washington's force. Washington, whose troops numbered only 1,500, pretended to be trapped, then slipped away and successfully attacked a surprised British force at Princeton on January 3, 1777. He then moved his army into the highlands of New Jersey out of reach of Cornwallis.

These victories saved the American cause. There were great celebrations at Philadelphia when the Hessians captured at Trenton were paraded through the streets. Because of his repeated failures, Washington had been in danger of being removed from command. Now a hero again, he was given more power by Congress, and new enlistments filled the ranks of his army.

British Attack from Canada

Although the American attempt to conquer Canada in 1776 had been a failure, it forced the British to divert to Canada troops who might have been better used in New York and New Jersey. In 1777 the British government planned to bring these forces into the war, as part of a great three-pronged attack which would cut the colonies in half along the line of Lake Champlain and the Hudson Valley. While Howe moved up the Hudson from New York City, an army under General John Burgoyne was to come south from Montreal, and a lesser force under Barry St. Leger was to invade by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk River (see map, p. 61). The three armies were eventually supposed to meet near Albany.

Because the British war office could not keep in touch with him, Howe's army never participated in the plan at all. Instead Howe made the fatal mistake of leading an expedition to Philadelphia, leaving Burgoyne in the lurch. He took the city in September, overcoming Washington's forces at the Battle of Brandywine and inflicting a further defeat on the Americans at Germantown in October. Congress fled to York, Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile, Burgoyne's force of 8,000 men had started south. Claude Van Tyne in *The War of Independence* described the spectacle as the army came down Lake Champlain:

As the great fleet pushed out into the lake, the Indian forces were first, in great birchbark canoes. Then came the British advance guard, followed by the flotilla which had beaten Arnold, and the bulk of the army, in row galleys, forming the rear. Into the still blue of the lake, and against the varied greens of the wooded shore, came a rainbow of color such as the wilds had seldom seen. There were, in the combined British and German troops, companies and regiments in blue coats, others in red or in green with cuffs of red. The breeches might be of yellow buff, or of white, or even the leather of the dismounted dragoons. In headdress there were little caps of black leather, plumed cocked hats, and the high hats of the grenadiers. . . . In footwear the most notable things were the high-spurred jackboots of the German dragoons, whose whole outfit was far too heavy for forest warfare. Finally, as if to clog the dragoon still further, he carried a broadsword with a three-pound scabbard. Swelling this riot of color were the varied regimental flags flaunting in the breeze.

Opposed to Burgoyne's army were ill-trained, ill-equipped American soldiers, commanded by officers who employed so much energy quarreling among themselves they could scarcely control their men. Burgoyne easily took Ticonderoga in midsummer and moved toward Albany, where he expected to meet Howe. But then his troubles began. A force of 1,000 Ameri-

can axmen felled trees across the only road, so that Burgoyne's army could move only about a mile a day. A British force sent toward Bennington was surrounded by Vermonters under

QUESTION • How might later history have been different if Ralls had read the message from the Loyalist? If Howe had gone to Albany instead of to Philadelphia?

John Stark. Soon came news that St. Leger's advance from Lake Ontario had been stopped at the bloody battle of Oriskany, and that Howe had gone south to take Philadelphia instead of north to meet Burgoyne.

Saratoga—Turning Point of the War, 1777

In spite of his own difficulties near Philadelphia, Washington sent some of his best troops to General Horatio Gates, the American commander opposing Burgoyne. Meanwhile, with their homes actually threatened by the British advance and Burgoyne's Indian allies scalping civilians, New York and New England militia began to gather. Eventually, Burgoyne was surrounded by a force nearly twice as large as his own. He was unable to get food, to retreat to Ticonderoga, or to advance on Albany. After making one unsuccessful attempt to cut through the American lines, the entire British army surrendered at Saratoga in October 1777.

Saratoga proved to be the turning point of the war because it brought France into the war. Although the French had been providing so much secret aid that most of the guns and half the powder used at Saratoga had come from them, they had refrained from full support until the United States had proved that it could carry on effective war. Saratoga offered this proof. Furthermore, England now offered to grant the Americans generous rights of self-government within the British Empire, and the French were afraid the offer might be accepted. In February 1778, the French signed two

treaties with the United States: the first recognized American independence and granted commercial privileges; the second offered an alliance on generous terms.

The French alliance proved absolutely invaluable to the American cause. From then on, the Continental Army was largely supplied and paid with French gifts and loans, and was reinforced by disciplined French regiments. The French navy interfered with the ability of the British to move troops as they pleased up and down the Atlantic coast. Following the lead of France, Spain and the Netherlands entered the war against England, while Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal formed a League of Armed Neutrality to resist British sea power.

Benjamin Franklin in Paris

One reason why French aid came so generously was that Benjamin Franklin was America's principal envoy to France. Perhaps no foreign diplomat in all history enjoyed such popularity as did Franklin in Paris. His homely face appeared everywhere, not only in books and pamphlets, but on rings, watches, brooches, and snuffboxes. Women even did their hair in a "*coiffure à la Franklin*," designed to imitate his beaver hat. The middle class admired him because of his successful business career and the sayings of Poor Richard. Intellectuals admired him as a scientist. To radicals and liberals, he represented the way a free society allowed a man to rise by his own talents. The French officials whom he pressed for more troops, money, and supplies to America were won over to his cause by his ability, courage, cheerfulness, and tact.

American Fortunes at Low Ebb

French aid did not win the war at once. When the militia returned to their farms after Saratoga, the American military effort again



The Library of Congress

One of the persistent myths of American history is that the American Revolutionary War was won by militiamen — “Yankee Doodles.” Actually, militia were very poor troops, and the only really effective American forces were the trained regiments of the Continental Army. Much of their training was under the direction of veteran European officers. The Prussian drillmaster Baron von Steuben is shown here at Valley Forge.

slackened off. It was only with the utmost difficulty that Washington held a starving army together at Valley Forge, outside Philadelphia, during the winter of 1777–1778, while the British inside the city lived well on food bought from American farmers.

In 1778 the British evacuated Philadelphia and marched across New Jersey toward New York. While they were on their way, Washington attacked their 12-mile baggage train at Monmouth, New Jersey, but a mistaken order and possible treachery prevented an American victory. This was the last major battle in the north, although New York City remained in British hands and Washington kept his headquarters in New Jersey.

From 1778 on, the British made their major military effort in the South, partly because they had the idea that the region was a stronghold of Loyalists and partly because the southern colonies were considered more valuable, since they fitted better into the mercantile system. For three years the redcoats marched almost at will through Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, their main forces never suffering defeat.

The year 1780 was one of gloom for the American cause. British armies were victorious in the South. A French army of 6,000 men landed at Newport, Rhode Island, but was promptly blockaded by a British fleet. Benedict Arnold turned traitor and attempted to turn over the important fortress of West Point, New

York, to the English. The unpaid Continental Army was mutinous. There was great suffering among civilians because of high prices; tea sold at \$90 a pound in the paper money with which the Continental Congress and the new state governments had flooded the country.

Military Victory: Yorktown, 1781

The British were having their troubles too. Ireland was in a state of rebellion and there were pro-American riots in London. The British armies could not keep their conquests in the south because they could not win the loyalty of the inhabitants. A British officer likened the force in which he served to a ship at sea: it moved in any direction at will, but left no trace behind. The British were also harassed by guerrilla fighters under the leadership of Francis Marion, "the Swamp Fox." Sometimes commanding as few as 30 men, sometimes as many as 900, Marion repeatedly surprised and defeated small British forces.

The worst aspect of the British position in 1780 and 1781 was that they suffered naval defeats at the hands of the French and so lost command of the sea. This made possible the capture of the principal British force in the South, under Lord Cornwallis, who was stationed at Yorktown, Virginia. At the urging of General Jean Baptiste Rochambeau, commander of the French troops in America, Washington agreed to a remarkable combined operation against Cornwallis. A French fleet sailed north from the West Indies and blocked the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, beating off a British fleet sent to relieve Cornwallis. Meanwhile, a French army sailed from Rhode Island to Virginia, and Washington went south with most of his best troops from the New York area. Besieged on land and hemmed in by sea, Cornwallis was forced to surrender in October 1781. After this disaster, and defeats elsewhere at the hands of Spain and France, the British government

was finally ready to make peace, even if it meant recognizing American independence.

Diplomatic Victory: The Treaty of Paris, 1783

The peace treaties ending the Revolutionary War were not finally signed until 1783, because it took some time for France and her ally Spain to stop fighting. Spain, more or less backed by France, was not eager to see the United States extend its boundaries beyond the Appalachians and become a threat to the Spanish control of Louisiana and Florida. This situation allowed Great Britain to drive a wedge between the United States and France by offering the former thirteen colonies generous terms.

According to the Treaty of Paris between Great Britain and the United States (not to be confused with the Peace of Paris, 1763), the United States gained independence and land from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. This resulted partly from the British effort to bribe its way out of war, partly from the ability of the American peace commissioners John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, and partly from a brilliant expedition of 180 Virginia soldiers under George Rogers Clark in 1778. Clark's capture of the British posts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes (see map, p. 61) gave the United States a claim to the trans-Appalachian West.

Although several provisions of the Treaty of Paris led to later disputes, it was a great diplomatic victory. The United States gained an area four times that of France and nearly ten times that of the British Isles, so that from the first they had the natural resources to become a great power. (See map, p. 85.)

THE REVOLUTION WITHIN AMERICA

The American Revolution involved a civil war as well as a war against Great Britain. In every one of the thirteen states there were Loyalists who refused to abandon allegiance to



Courtesy, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum

One of the ablest delegations the United States ever sent to a diplomatic conference: (left to right) John Jay, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin. Henry Laurens, the fourth delegate, did not reach the conference until it was almost over — he was held captive by the British. The man on the right is Franklin's grandson. The British delegates refused to sit for this Benjamin West painting.

King George III. Antagonism between them and the Patriots was even more bitter than that between the Patriots and the English, since the Loyalists were regarded as traitors to the American cause. John Adams said that if his own brother became a Loyalist, he would not hesitate to have him hanged. Loyalists tended to belong to the wealthier classes, but this was by no means universal. In some southern states, for instance, backcountry farmers became Loyalists because they disliked the Patriot merchants and planters of the coastal areas. Sometimes the division between the two groups, involved religious differences.

Where Loyalists were few in number, they either lay low or fled, but in some parts of the country they were numerous and well enough organized to carry on military operations. At one time there were as many Loyalists

in the British Army as there were Patriots serving in the Continental Army. Westchester County, north of New York City, was the scene of an ugly struggle. Bands of Loyalists plundered and tortured, destroying houses, barns, and even whole villages. Supporters of the American cause retaliated in kind. Parts of the county became entirely depopulated, and the fields began to go back to the wilderness.

In most areas, known Loyalists lost their property and were banished. It is estimated that a hundred thousand people fled to Canada, where their descendants still live. Many Loyalists who remained were tarred and feathered, not a few killed by angry mobs. Their confiscated estates were put up to public auction. Since these were often divided and sold to small owners, a wider distribution of property among the people resulted.

Trends Toward Greater Equality and Democracy

The division of Loyalist estates was only one example of a general trend toward greater equality. State laws promoted more equal property division by abolishing primogeniture, a legal arrangement whereby property was inherited entirely by the eldest son. Following the principles of the Declaration of Independence, most of the thirteen states solemnly proclaimed bills of rights, spelling out in detail the equal rights of citizens that it was the duty of government to protect.

A result of the war was an increase in religious freedom. Throughout the southern states, the Church of England was disestablished, that is, it was no longer supported by taxation. The state of Virginia passed a bill for religious freedom written by Thomas Jefferson. It asserted:

... that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, ... nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion.

In New England, although religious differences were tolerated, the Congregational Church continued to be supported by taxation, and only Protestants were allowed to vote.

There was no way to square the proposition that all men were created equal with Negro slavery. One important result of the American Revolution was that nearly all the northern states arranged to free their slaves. In some states this was done by "compensated emancipation," that is, by paying off the masters; in others by declaring that children of slaves born after such and such a date would be free. In two states the courts held that provisions in the state constitutions that "all men are born free and equal" meant the end of slavery.

In the South there were many slave owners who felt that slavery was a terrible wrong. In 1782 the Virginia legislature passed a law allowing slave owners to free their slaves, and 10,000 Negroes were granted freedom within eight years. Little was done elsewhere. The slaves represented a large proportion of the wealth of the South, and the plantation system was dependent on their labor. Thomas Jefferson hated slavery and wrote, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that His justice cannot sleep forever. ..." Yet Jefferson, and men like him, could see no immediate way to end the institution of slavery in the southern states.

The break with England made it necessary to set up new governments to take the place of the former colonial administration. The only exceptions were Connecticut and Rhode Island, formerly self-governing colonies, where the old charters continued to operate. The new constitutions revealed the influence of John Locke in their insistence that government existed to protect individual rights and that it was the agent of the people. They also revealed a distrust of strong executive power, the result of experience with the former royal governors and with George III. Most state governors were elected for only one year at a time and had no power to veto bills passed by the legislature.

Although the new governments were supposed to represent the people as a whole, there was a question as to who should be allowed to vote. According to John Locke, a major purpose of government was to protect property, and so in every state the right to vote depended on the possession of a certain amount of property, such as fifty acres of land. Qualifications for office-holding were often more restrictive. There was also some debate in northern states as to whether the franchise should be limited to whites. In 1778 the town meeting of

Sutton, Massachusetts, protested a proposed provision of the state constitution that denied the franchise to Negroes and Indians in these strong terms:

This [provision] is manifestly adding to the already accumulated burden of guilt lying upon the Land in supporting the Slave Trade, when the poor innocent Africans who never hurt or offered any Injury or Insult to this country have been . . . cruelly brought from their Land, and sold here like Beasts, and yet now by this Constitution, if by any good Providence any of their Posterity gained their Freedom and a handsome Estate they must be excluded from the Privileges of men! This must be the *bringing or incurring more Wrath upon us*. And it must be thought more insulting tho not so cruel, to deprive the original Natives of the land the Privileges of Men.

This protest was not heeded, and Massachusetts, along with the other states, limited the franchise to white males.

Although the American Revolution did not immediately bring the full equality and democracy that a literal reading of the Declaration of Independence would indicate, it did push American society in that direction. As revolutions go, the domestic revolution was a comparatively mild affair. Many Loyalists were treated harshly, but there were no heads on pikes, and no guillotines set up in city squares. The American Revolution was led by men of property and position in society who desired reform without violent overthrow of existing arrangements. Here, there was no oppressed class of peasants consumed with a desire to plunder the nearest castle, nor at the other end of the scale was there a hereditary class of noblemen. Colonial society was already one in which property was widely distributed, and there was a large measure of freedom. The Revolution simply hastened processes that had begun long before.

WIDE INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

When the British troops marched out of Yorktown to lay down their arms, their band played a tune called "The World Turn'd Upside Down." The defeat of England, a strong, established nation, by a raw, new country was considered amazing. The success of the United States promoted ideas of freedom and equality. It gave new hope to the friends of the oppressed in Europe, and endangered the old system of monarchy and a privileged upper class.

France was the country most immediately affected by the American Revolution. The ideas found in the preamble of the Declaration had already been popularized by famous writers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau. The contention of these authors that a free society made men virtuous seemed borne out by the honesty and patriotism of American diplomats such as John Adams, Jefferson, and Franklin. It was even more impressive when Washington quietly returned to Mount Vernon, instead of using his position as head of the army to make himself a dictator or a king. The French watched Americans establish successful state governments; they read state bills of rights; they marveled at the reports of widespread prosperity, so unlike the unequal distribution of wealth in France. The example of America was a trump card in the hands of those who planned revolution in both society and government.

The amount of money France poured into the Revolutionary War brought the government to the verge of bankruptcy. When in 1788 the king's ministers proposed new loans or taxes to balance the budget, Frenchmen raised the familiar cry of "no taxation without representation" and forced King Louis XVI to call representatives of the people together in a body

known as the Estates-General. In the summer of 1789, the French Revolution began. The Estates-General set itself up as a national assembly to make over French government and law, according to the principles of equality and self-government; French peasants seized the land of the nobles; and a Paris mob took the great royal fortress and prison called the Bastille. That the French revolutionaries fully realized their debt to America was shown when they sent Washington the key to the Bastille and when they decreed three days of national mourning on hearing of the death of Franklin in 1790.

In Great Britain, the British defeat in the Revolutionary War discredited George III and put an end to his attempt to "be a king" by buying control of Parliament. After the news of Yorktown, Lord North, George III's personal

choice as prime minister, was voted out of office, and Parliament took steps to see that in the future no king could corrupt and control its members as George III had done. Thus the American Revolution helped to make the king of England the figurehead he is today. In the long run, it also persuaded the British to allow their colonies more self-government. The idea expressed by the colonists before the Revolutionary War was that they were tied to Great Britain only by loyalty to the crown and not by subjection to the British Parliament. This is essentially the arrangement by which Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are tied to Britain today.

Emerson did not exaggerate when he wrote in the "Concord Hymn" that the shot fired by the minutemen on April 19, 1775, was "heard round the world."

Activities: Chapter 3

To the Student:

See pp. 30–31 for suggestions as to how to use these chapter-end activities.

For Mastery and Review

1. What influences caused the Americans to fight for independence instead of rights within the British Empire?

2. Trace step by step the argument of the preamble to the Declaration of Independence. This might be done in the form of a geometrical proof: "Given: That all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. To prove..." What has been the influence of the preamble? (For text, see Appendix, p. 799.)

3. Study the portion of the Declaration that lists the grievances against George III. Wherever you can, note for each grievance the specific act to

which the Americans objected. (See Appendix, pp. 799–800.)

4. Contrast the conditions during the Revolutionary War favorable to the British with those favorable to the Americans. This might be done by a written summary in parallel columns.

5. What were the consequences of the American victory at Trenton? At Saratoga? At Yorktown?

6. Why was the French monarchy willing to help the American revolutionists? How did French aid influence the decision of the colonies to declare independence? What was the importance of French aid to the American cause?

7. Why may the Treaty of Paris (1783) be regarded as an American diplomatic victory?

8. Sum up the contributions of the Revolution to American democracy.

9. How did the Revolution affect France and Great Britain?

Unrolling the Map

1. On an outline map of eastern United States show the Burgoyne-St. Leger campaign from the north and the Howe campaign against Philadelphia. Bring out the failure to coordinate the attack. On the same map, show the Yorktown campaign, emphasizing the successful coordination of land and sea forces.

2. On a map of eastern United States, show the boundaries of the United States as established by the Treaty of 1783, bringing out which portions were unresolved or disputed.

Who, What, and Why Important?

Lexington and Concord	Sir William Howe
Bunker Hill	Trenton
Second Continental Congress	Burgoyne
George Washington	Saratoga
treason ³² 4 5	Valley Forge
<i>Common Sense</i>	Benedict Arnold
Dorchester Heights	Francis Marion
Thomas Jefferson	Yorktown
preamble to the Declaration of Independence	George Rogers Clark
Hessians	Treaty of Paris, 1783
Lafayette	Loyalists
	Bill of Rights
	primogeniture
	disestablishment
	French Revolution

To Pursue the Matter

1. How did the battles of Lexington and Concord appear to a British officer? See Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 34-35.

2. Who was more responsible for persuading the Americans to demand independence, Tom Paine or George III? Just what *was* the cause of the American Revolution? See Labaree, *The Road to Independence, 1763-1776*.

3. How and why did Negroes get to be enrolled in the Continental army? See Ginsberg and Eichner, *The Troublesome Presence: American Democracy and the Negro*.

4. Washington takes command, 1775-1776 — why, how, to what effect? For contemporary accounts see Scheer and Franklin, *Rebels and Redcoats*.

5. What made the Declaration of Independence effective propaganda at the time it was written? See Bragdon *et al.*, *Frame of Government*.

6. What did Benjamin Franklin contribute to American success in the Revolution? See Carl Van Doren's biography of him, and Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.

7. Was Washington at fault in failing to prevent Sir William Howe from taking Philadelphia? See Alden, *The American Revolution*.

8. How did the British take their defeat at Yorktown? See Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 49-50.

Chapter 4

Trials of a New Nation

The thirteen colonies, which simultaneously threw off the yoke of England . . . had . . . the same religion, the same language, the same customs, and almost the same laws; they were struggling against a common enemy; and these reasons were sufficiently strong to unite them to one another and to consolidate them into one nation. But as each of them had always had a separate existence and a government within its reach, separate interests and peculiar customs had sprung up which were opposed to such a compact and intimate union as would have absorbed the individual importance of each in the general importance of all. Hence arose two opposite tendencies, the one prompting the Anglo-Americans to unite, the other to divide, their strength.

—ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

The United States was the first “new nation” in modern history, the first of many colonies to throw off the yoke of European domination. Its example was followed in the nineteenth century by the colonies in Latin America and in the mid-twentieth century by scores of colonies in Asia and Africa. It is instructive to compare the situation of the United States when it had first won its independence with that of the new nations of today.

Take Nigeria, for example, the most populous state of Africa, which gained independence from Great Britain in 1960. In establishing a unified nation, the Nigerians have certain advantages from the very fact of living in the twentieth century. It is easier for modern governments to keep in touch with large areas because there is instantaneous communication by telephone and radio, and rapid travel and transportation by steamship, railroad, automobile, and airplane. In eighteenth-century Amer-

ica, a message could go no faster than a man on horseback or a sailing vessel. The fastest travelers could seldom average more than 50 miles per day. In winter and spring, roads were impassable because of snows and floods. Nigeria today is also more fortunate than the United States was in the 1780's because its separation from Great Britain was amicable. The British government has poured millions of dollars into Nigerian education and economic development; it has granted Nigerian products a privileged position in her markets. The United States, on the other hand, were at first handicapped because Britain showed an unfriendly attitude toward them. The British deliberately hampered American trade and refused to evacuate territory that had been granted to the United States by the Treaty of Paris.

In other important respects, however, the position of the United States was far better than that of Nigeria. The nearly sixty million

Nigerians occupying 350,000 square miles of land are relatively well off by African standards, but they are not so fortunate as were the four million Americans who had hardly begun to tap the rich resources of a land which contained close to 900,000 square miles. Nigeria's difficulty—and in this she resembles many other new nations—is

QUESTION • Is it fair to make a comparison of present-day Nigeria and the United States in the eighteenth century?

that her people speak many different languages, practice several different religions, and observe quite

different traditions and customs. The Nigerians have adopted English as their official language. They attempted to set up an English form of government and English guarantees of personal liberty, but before gaining independence they had had only thirteen years of practice in limited self-government. It is not surprising, therefore, that elections were marked by violence and that early in 1966 a military clique ousted the civilian government in a coup in which the prime minister lost his life. And in 1967 the Ibos in the East seceded, proclaiming themselves the independent Republic of Biafra. Civil war followed. Compare this situation to the young United States, where nearly all the people spoke one language, practiced forms of the same religion, inherited the same system of government, and where they had been governing themselves in all local matters for over a century.

Yet with all their blessings, the Americans had a difficult time in establishing a nation. Many intelligent men thought that the wartime union of thirteen states would certainly break apart. It was a common opinion that countries in which the people had a voice were too changeable, too unmilitary, and too slow-moving to govern large areas. Republics could be successful, according to eighteenth-century notions, only in small, defensible countries such

as the Netherlands or Switzerland. An English clergyman, Josiah Tucker, who was not unfriendly to America, reflected the ideas of his time when he wrote of the United States:

As to the future Grandeur of America, and its being a rising Empire under one Head, whether Republican, or Monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary Notions, that ever was conceived even by Writers of Romance. . . . the Americans will have no Center of Union among them, and no Common Interest to pursue, when the Power and Government of England are finally removed. Moreover, when the Intersections and Divisions of their Country by great Bays of the Sea, and by vast Rivers, Lakes, and Ridges of Mountains:—and above all, when those immense inland Regions, beyond the Back Settlements, which are still unexplored, are taken into the Account, they form the highest Probability that the Americans never can be united . . . under any species of Government whatever. Their fate seems to be—A DISUNITED PEOPLE, till the End of Time.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Although the Continental Congress had taken on most of the functions of a central government in carrying on the Revolutionary War, it had not been formally granted the right to do so. Congress therefore drew up the Articles of Confederation, designed to set up a formal union of the thirteen states. In 1777 it asked the states to accept the plan, which would go into effect only when all thirteen states had ratified it.

Not until 1781 did all the states agree to ratify the Articles. The reason for delay was the claim of seven states to immense tracts of western land (see map, p. 85). These claims mostly went back to colonial charters granting land "from sea to sea." Virginia's claim included all of what is now Kentucky, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. States without western lands were faced with the prospect of being completely over-

shadowed by their neighbors. Maryland insisted that the western claims be abandoned as a condition of ratifying the Articles of Confederation. Fortunately, the states with western lands valued the long-time benefits of union more than their short-time selfish interests. In 1781 Virginia and other states agreed to cede their claims to the central government and Maryland finally ratified.

The authors of the Articles of Confederation were wary of a strong central government. Having thrown off one master, the British Parliament, they did not intend to put themselves under another. They also feared that a national government would be too far removed from the people; self-government could be successful, they thought, only at the local level. And yet, the Articles of Confederation granted considerable power to a Congress of the United States. The Congress could wage war and make treaties, which the states were forbidden to do. It might raise armies and navies, borrow money, establish a postal system, manage affairs with the Indians, and coin its own money. The states furthermore agreed to "give full faith and credit to the public acts of other states," such as wills and legal decisions, so that citizens of one state could easily do business in another. Each state agreed to return escaped criminals and runaway slaves. There was freedom of movement across state lines: no passports were required for travelers from one state to another and there were no barriers to immigration. Finally, the states agreed that differences between them should be settled not by war, but by arbitration.

In spite of the foregoing features, the government of the United States under the Articles proved too weak to operate effectively. There was no separate executive department to carry out laws. There were no federal courts. Congress had no control over foreign commerce or commerce between states. Worst of all, it had no power to collect taxes, but had to ask the

states for most of its money. During the years 1781-1789, the states gave Congress only about one-sixth of the money it requested.

Without money or real power, the Confederation Congress commanded so little respect that its members often did not bother to attend sessions. In 1783 it was difficult to get a quorum to ratify the Treaty of Paris ending the Revolutionary War. In the same year, the threats of a few hundred unpaid soldiers drove Congress out of Philadelphia. For a time it wandered from place to place, like a troupe of actors, finally settling in New York.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS UNDER THE CONFEDERATION

One of the blessings of independence that Tom Paine had predicted in *Common Sense* was that America would at last be free of European rivalries that had dragged her again and again into war. Even before the Treaty of Paris was ratified, the Confederation Congress passed a resolution saying that "the true interest of these states requires that they should be as little as possible entangled in the politics and controversies of European nations." The governments of Europe were quite willing to ignore the upstart new republic; only six of them recognized the United States in the 1780's, and only two, France and Spain, bothered to send ministers to this country.

But total isolation from Europe was impossible. The prosperity of the United States depended, after the Revolution as before, on trade with Europe and the Caribbean colonies. Satisfactory trading arrangements demanded that the United States make commercial treaties. There were also unsolved problems connected with British Canada to the north and Spanish Florida and New Orleans to the south, and these could be settled only by diplomacy.

It was in its foreign relations that the United States suffered most from the defects

of the government set up by the Articles of Confederation. A government unable to control commerce or force states to do its bidding could neither make binding treaties nor carry out existing ones. Unable to tax, it could not pay back the money owed its former allies nor keep up an army and navy to protect its interests.

Relations with Great Britain

As was predictable, the new government did not enjoy happy relations with its recent foe, Great Britain. The British did consent to receive John Adams as minister from the United States, even though during the war he had been one of the rebels singled out for special punishment. They refused, however, to send a minister to the United States, explaining that they did not know whether to send one envoy or thirteen. Neither country carried out in full the terms of the Treaty of Paris. The United States had agreed that British creditors could recover pre-war debts by suing in American courts, and that Congress would recommend to the states that persecution of Loyalists cease. But when British merchants sued American debtors in American courts, they were seldom able to collect a penny from unfriendly juries and judges. The states also ignored the recommendation of Congress as to treatment of Loyalists, who for a time continued to suffer exile, confiscation of property, and sometimes even lynching. The British government used the treatment of Loyalists and British merchants as an excuse to hold some forts inside the northern border of the United States (see map, p. 85). These "fur posts" were the centers of trade with the Indians of the Great Lakes region and the Ohio Valley. This trade was worth more than a million dollars a year, and Great Britain was resolved to keep it for herself.

American trade suffered because the United States were now outside the British Empire. American tobacco and naval stores no longer

enjoyed a preferred position in British markets. American ships were banned from the British West Indies, and they were allowed to enter English ports only with the products of their home states. Thus a Massachusetts ship might not carry Rhode Island whale oil, New York furs, or North Carolina turpentine to London. John Adams had been sent to England principally to write a commercial treaty, but the last thing the members of the English government wanted was to grant economic privileges to their former colonies. Instead, they planned a trade war against the United States. One British politician wrote:

Our great national object is to raise as many sailors and as much shipping as possible. Parliament should endeavour to divert the whole Anglo-American trade to British bottoms. The Americans cannot retaliate. It will not be an easy matter to bring the Americans to act as a nation. They are not to be feared as such by us.

Difficulties with Spain

During the Confederation period, the United States had difficulties with Spain as serious as those with Great Britain, even though Spain as an ally of France had been on the American side in the recent war. The Spanish were not happy about the immense domain beyond the Appalachians which the United States acquired in the Treaty of Paris. They correctly foresaw that the future expansion of the United States would be a threat to the Spanish empire in America. Spain insisted that the southern boundary of the United States from the Appalachians to the Mississippi was not the 31st parallel described in the Treaty of Paris, but a line nearly 100 miles to the north, or even the Tennessee River (see map, p. 85). The Spanish made alliances with the Cherokee, Creek, and Chickasaw Indians and supplied them with arms. They also found citizens of the United States who were willing, for a price, to act as Spanish secret agents.

History has never been independent of the social sciences, nor can any one of the social sciences be complete without history. You will have a greater knowledge of history, therefore, if you know something of the complexity of human and social behavior as revealed by the disciplines of geography, anthropology, economics, sociology, and political science.

The geographer looks upon man and nature as the interacting parts of this planet. He is concerned with the study of both human and material resources, especially as they are distributed in particular regions of the earth. He points out that the natural conditions in North America had a far different impact on the Europeans from the impact they had on the American Indians. The geographer explains why New York City became a major port in the 1800's as America was becoming an industrial nation and why Manhattan Island was a series of hunting and fishing villages when the Indians lived there.

The anthropologist recognizes that the impact of a specific environmental feature depends upon the culture of the people inhabiting that area. He is concerned with the study of human cultures, and he is especially interested in societies, such as those of the American Indians, that have compiled few, if any, written records. Anthropologists realize that the significance of the physical conditions of the land depends on the attitudes, objectives, and technical abilities of the inhabitants. The settlement of the Great Plains is an example of how a different set of attitudes, objectives, and technical abilities changed the use of the land from the buffalo culture of the Plains Indians into extensive wheat cultivation.

Wherever or however he lives, man must provide himself with the necessities for survival. "Economics," wrote one economist, "is the study of the social organization of the process by which scarce resources are divided among alternative ends toward the satisfaction of human wants." A substance existing in nature has no importance as a resource until man gives it economic value, whether because it is scarce, useful, or desirable. Thus the iron ore in the Mesabi Range was not a resource to the Indians of Minnesota, but the nearby Calumet pipe clay was.

The sociologist studies social interaction, focusing on the values, beliefs, and social codes of various groups. He seeks to understand the consequences of group living and the reasons for social change. For instance, he might be concerned with the adaptation of immigrants, especially non-English, who possess one scale of values, to the different standards of the United States. Likewise, he might examine the slave system's policy of preventing the Negro from developing a close family unit as a possible contributing factor to the Negro's present difficulties in America.

The most obvious means by which a society is held together is its political system. The political scientist studies the political activities of people and the institutions by which their governmental system operates. He concentrates on policy-making in government and on the attempts of individuals and groups to influence the process.

The social sciences, then, are related to history and to each other. Sometimes these studies overlap so much that it is difficult to determine where one leaves off and the other begins. This inter-relationship points up the need for you to study the American people in several different ways in order to gain a clearer understanding of their history.

In each of the nine parts of this book, on a page called History and the Social Sciences, you will be asked to consider how different types of social scientists hypothesize, that is, make tentative generalizations, and gather data to test their hypotheses, and how their work is then used by historians to develop their own generalizations or interpretations.

The following passage from page 78 of the text shows the interdependence of the historian and the economist. Read the selection and the questions raised about it.

"But total isolation from Europe was impossible. The prosperity of the United States depended, after the Revolution as before, on trade with Europe and the Caribbean colonies."

1. What evidence had to be gathered in order for a historian to make such a statement? An economist had to hypothesize that U.S. prosperity depended on trade with Europe and the Caribbean colonies. To test this hypothesis, what data would an economist use?

Customs receipts showing annual U.S. imports from Europe and Caribbean colonies, 1770-1790; annual U.S. exports to England and Caribbean colonies.
Data on employment during this period; data on business failures and new businesses started in this period.
Any price indexes showing prices of basic agricultural and manufactured products during this period.
Any evidence of changes in personal indebtedness.

2. How could an economist then use this evidence to test his hypothesis?

He might compare changes in volume of trade with employment rate. Did employment go up or down when trade increased? Did the number of new businesses increase or decrease when trade was active?

3. What statement on page 79 of the text depends on such data gathered by an economist?



Washington University

American artists were at their best when portraying American life, even if in somewhat sentimental terms, as shown in these two pictures by George Caleb Bingham. Fertile land tempted Americans to pull up stakes and go West. Daniel Boone (below) leads a group of pioneers through the Cumberland Gap, which became a part of the Wilderness Road to the Kentucky River. Meanwhile, river traffic on flatboats (above) expanded America's commercial boundaries. Flatboats like these were in use when the right of deposit was a pressing issue to Westerners.

Washington University



By her control of the mouth of the Mississippi, Spain was in a position to throttle the entire export trade of the West. The bulky goods of the Westerners—lumber, grain, deer-skins—could not profitably be carried over the mountains to the Atlantic coast, but had to go down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers by means of rafts and flatboats. The Westerners asked the Spanish to grant them the “right of deposit” whereby they might put their goods ashore at New Orleans or some other Spanish port for transfer to ocean-going ships without payment of duty. The Spanish generally refused this privilege except to certain Americans whom they hoped to use as agents. The Westerners demanded that Congress make a treaty by which Spain would grant free navigation of the Mississippi.

Meanwhile, the shippers and merchants of the northeastern states wanted Spain to open to them the trade of the Spanish West Indies, which would make up for the loss of markets in the British Empire. The influence of the populous states of the Northeast on the Confederation government was much stronger than that of the far-off, thinly settled West. In 1785 a Spanish envoy, Diego de Gardoqui, negotiated with the U.S. secretary of foreign affairs, John Jay, a treaty whereby the United States gave up a claim to the right of deposit at the mouths of the Mississippi and other rivers emptying into the Gulf of Mexico, in return for which Spain opened her own ports to American ships. The Jay-Gardoqui Treaty so obviously sacrificed the West to the Northeast that Congress was unwilling to ratify it, but even so, Westerners were thoroughly angry.

Relations with France

Relations with France were not so difficult as those with Great Britain and Spain, but neither were they entirely happy. During the latter years of the Revolutionary War, the

United States had been able to keep armies in the field only with money given or loaned by France. Yet now the United States were unable to pay back even the interest on their debts, and this at a time when the French monarchy was going bankrupt. It is no wonder that Jefferson, who replaced Franklin as minister to France, wrote a friend that American diplomats were “the lowest and most obscure of the whole diplomatic tribe.”

The French were also disappointed by the commercial opportunities opened to them by American independence. Franklin had predicted that with the end of British trade regulations the valuable commerce of the thirteen states would be largely transferred from Britain to France. The French did reap some benefits: the French West Indies found more of a market in the United States; a number of Frenchmen invested in American lands; and the French could get American products such as tobacco more cheaply than before. In general, however, trade tended to fall back into the old grooves. By 1789 the British were exporting as much to the United States as ever before, while the French share of the American market had increased only slightly.

The Barbary Pirates

The most humiliating evidence of the weakness of the United States during the Confederation period was the treatment at the hands of the Barbary Pirates. The four North African states of Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers made a regular practice of capturing the ships and crews of all nations not paying them annual tribute. Now that the United States were outside the protection of the British fleet and the British treasury, American ships were subject to brutal attack. Lacking either funds for tribute or a fleet for defense, Congress was unable to prevent American shipping from being driven from the Mediterranean.

THE WEST HANGS BY A HAIR

Until the end of the nineteenth century, "the West" in the United States was not a fixed tract of land, but a continually shifting area of new exploitation of natural resources and new settlement. It was the region where at any particular time white pioneers were driving back Indians; where cultivation was replacing hunting, trapping, and grazing; and where settled ways of living were replacing Indian warfare and lynch law. First to arrive were hunters and trappers. They were followed by a restless population who built temporary homesteads, planted corn or wheat, and raised a few hogs. This second wave of pioneers was apt to be always on the move, ever in search of greener pastures. Abraham Lincoln's father was a typical example of this breed. Born in Virginia, he moved in the course of his lifetime to Kentucky, on to Indiana, and finally to Illinois.

Close behind the frontiersmen of legend came others who built flour mills and stores and started to manufacture brick, harness, shoes, barrels, and carts. They congregated at natural points of trade, such as Pittsburgh at the head of the Ohio River, and in areas where the soil was rich, such as Lexington in the bluegrass region of Kentucky. Soon these town dwellers built schools and churches and laid the foundations for a more settled society like that of the East or of Europe from which they had originally come.

During the Confederation period, the West lay just beyond the Appalachians. Only three roads connected the region with the East. Yet on foot and on horseback, so many settlers crossed the mountains between 1780 and 1790 that the white population grew from about 2,000 to perhaps as many as 100,000. Life was hard in the western settlements. So many men and women died of starvation, accident, disease, and Indian attacks that it has been said that the sight of "a man dying of natural causes in his

bed was regarded with special solemnity because it seemed so uncommon."

As a result of the cession of the state land claims, the trans-Appalachian West became the common possession of the United States, under the direct control of Congress. But the powerless Confederation Congress was unable to meet the Westerners' needs. It could not dislodge the British from the fur posts to the north or persuade the Spaniards to grant the right of deposit to the south. It could prevent neither the Spanish nor the British from furnishing the Indians with arms. In Kentucky alone, 1,500 settlers were killed by Indians between 1788 and 1790. Without money, Congress could neither purchase land from the Indians nor provide troops to protect settlers from them.

The Westerners had other grievances in addition to the failure of Congress to aid them. Many of them resented the way eastern speculators had laid claim to large tracts of land. In 1785 a convention of Kentucky settlers declared:

That to grant any Person a large quantity of land than he designs Bona Fide to seat himself or his Family on, is a grievance, Because it is subversive of the fundamental Principles of a free republican Government to allow any individual, or Company or Body of Men to possess such large tracts of Country in their own right as may at a future Day give them undue influence.

As we have seen, Westerners were also incensed when they heard of the Jay-Cardoqui Treaty. In 1784, George Washington made a journey to the West, and on his return he reported the West was hanging by a hair. In eastern Tennessee settlers had created a short-lived government called the State of Franklin, paying the governor in whiskey and deerskins. Unable to get recognition from Congress, some of the leaders talked of seceding from the Union. Later, Kentucky talked of secession.

Although unable to solve the immediate problems of the West, the Confederation Congress passed two laws of immense importance for the future—the Ordinances of 1785 and 1787.

The Land Ordinance of 1785

During the colonial period, there had developed two distinct methods of surveying and allotting land. New England had developed a system whereby land was granted to individuals only after new townships had been surveyed, and settlement proceeded township by township. This resulted in orderly, compact settlement and prevented conflicting land claims. In the South, and especially in Virginia, there developed a system of allotting new lands whereby individuals were granted a certain number of acres and then went out and selected the best land they could find. The result was chaos. Claims often conflicted, causing quarrels which sometimes resulted in loss of life. Large blocks of land were left unclaimed, so that settlements were often scattered, making it difficult to establish communities or to ward off Indian attacks.

When Congress was planning to dispose of the first pieces of the lands it controlled north of the Ohio River, it passed the Land Ordinance of 1785 to provide for an orderly method of survey and sale. This law provided for an adaptation of the

QUESTION • What practical objections can you see to the system of survey established by the Land Ordinance of 1785?

New England system. The land was divided into townships 6 miles square, each of which contained 36 sections of one square mile each. These sections could in turn be subdivided into smaller rectangular tracts. This arrangement was continued in later surveys. From an airplane over the Middle West today, one can see in the checkerboard arrangement of farms



In the older states, irregular property lines led to constant disputes. The Ordinance of 1785 laid out regular patterns. The rectangular design apparent as one flies over the Midwest today is a result of the early survey system.

the permanent influence of the system set up in 1785.

The Land Ordinance of 1785 was also designed to promote the sale of western lands and so to increase the slender revenues of the Confederation government. To make the land attractive to speculators, purchasers were obliged to buy at least a whole section, 640 acres, and the minimum price was low, a dollar per acre. The ordinance also provided the first federal subsidy to education. Proceeds from the sale of one section in each township were to be used for establishing schools.

The Northwest Ordinance, 1787

The so-called Northwest Ordinance of 1787 was even more important than that of 1785. It provided for future political development of the entire territory bounded by the Ohio River, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi (see map, p. 85). The region was to be divided into not

EFFECTS OF LAND ORDINANCE OF 1785

BEFORE



A TYPICAL TOWNSHIP

AFTER

6	5	4	3	2	1
7	8	9	10	11	12
18	17	16	15	14	13
19	20	21	22	23	24
30	29	28	27	26	25
31	32	33	34	35	36

SCHOOL
DISTRICT

TOWNSHIP—
6 MILES SQUARE
36 SECTIONS

less than three nor more than five states. Whenever the adult male citizens reached 5,000, there was to be set up a territorial government modeled on the former royal colony (see p. 25). The citizens of the new territory were to elect their legislature, while the federal government appointed judges and a governor with the power of absolute veto of the laws passed by the territorial legislature. To make sure the judges and governor would be beyond the control of the citizens of the territory, they were paid by the federal government.

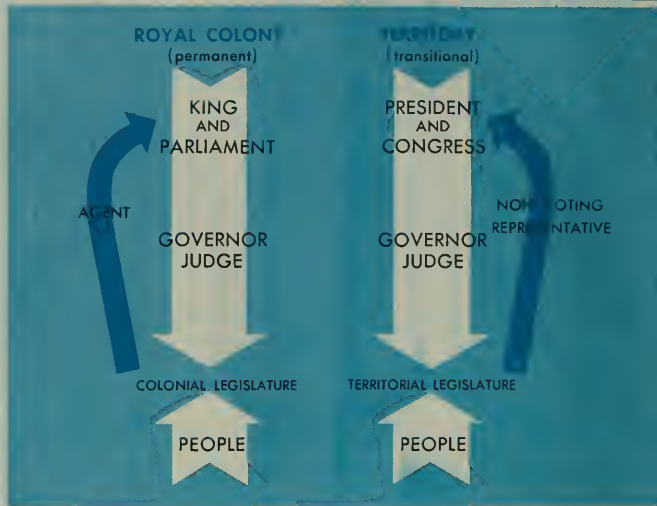
So far it might seem that the United States intended to control their territories in the West as tightly as Great Britain had tried to govern the thirteen colonies. But the Northwest Ordinance provided that when the population of a territory reached 60,000, the people might organize a new state, and that it should be admitted to the Union on terms of *full equality*

with the original states. This was something new; never before had a country formally promised full political equality to its colonies or territories or set up machinery for carrying out such a promise.

The Northwest Ordinance provided a model for territorial government that has been followed down to the present. It started the practice of admitting new states to the Union on equal terms. This was in line with the principles of the Declaration of Independence, as were two other provisions of the ordinance: (1) that all citizens of the region were guaranteed personal rights, such as freedom of religion and freedom of speech, and (2) that slavery was forbidden. The last provision had been suggested by Thomas Jefferson and was supported by Southerners as well as Northerners. As has been shown, many slaveholders deplored the institution of slavery and were quite willing

TYPES OF GOVERNMENTS

Government of the territories, as set up by the Ordinance of 1787, was similar to that of the royal colonies (see chart, p. 12). Territorial governors were, moreover, to be paid by Congress rather than by local legislatures. The territories differed from royal colonies in that they were only a transitional stage on the way to statehood.



to see it forbidden in future settlements. This antislavery prohibition of the Northwest Ordinance profoundly affected the political geography of the United States by making the Ohio River a boundary between slave and free territory.

DISPUTES BETWEEN STATES AND ECONOMIC GROUPS

The Confederation period saw several of the thirteen states engaged in disputes with each other, while within some states there were struggles between different economic groups. These difficulties resulted from interstate suspicion and rivalry, from the usual postwar depression, and from the weakness of the central government.

Each state was free to pass tariff laws taxing goods from other states. New York, for instance,

taxed firewood from New Jersey. Since these interstate tariffs were lower than those on goods from outside the United States and since there was little interstate trade anyway, state tariff laws were a less serious cause of ill feeling than might be expected.

Much more serious were disputes over boundaries. The majority of the thirteen states were engaged in boundary disputes with their neighbors during this period. Disagreement between Connecticut and Pennsylvania over the possession of lands in the Wyoming Valley (see map, p. 85) almost resulted in war. In the spring of 1784, Connecticut settlers in the valley were driven from their homes by Pennsylvania militia, with loss of life to men, women, and children. Parts of the region now Vermont were disputed among Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York. The Vermonters wanted to set up a state of their own and ex-

tend its borders eastward into New Hampshire and westward into New York. Some Vermont leaders even considered rejoining the British Empire, and carried on correspondence with the British governor of Canada.

Controversy Over "Cheap Money"

Another source of disunion was the fact that there was no national currency, the "continentals" issued by Congress during the war having lost all value. Since there was little gold and silver in the country, all the states were forced to issue paper money. These currencies differed in value from state to state and were often worthless outside the borders of the states issuing them. This obviously made it difficult to carry on interstate trade.

In Rhode Island and North Carolina, state paper money was worth almost nothing because so much was printed. This was a result of pressure from debt-ridden farmers. With the closing of the usual markets in the West Indies and Britain, farmers were often unable to pay off their debts and faced the loss of their lands and homes. If the currency could be inflated, however, they could pay their creditors with cheap or worthless paper money. Getting control of both the North Carolina and Rhode Island legislatures, the debtors simply ran the printing presses. In Rhode Island, the legislature passed laws forcing creditors to accept the valueless currency in the payment of all debts.

Shays's Rebellion, 1786

In Massachusetts wealthy creditors gained control of the state government in 1784. The legislature levied very heavy taxes to pay off the state debts, putting a great burden on small farmers, in addition to their normal load of debt. The farmers began to threaten the courts when the property of men unable to pay taxes was confiscated, and when people were sent to jail or deprived of their land because



Public unrest and disorder increased in intensity until Daniel Shays, formerly an officer in the Revolutionary War, led a rebellion aimed at overthrowing the government of Massachusetts. His followers were mainly small farmers and other debtors.

of inability to pay private debts. In 1786 mobs prevented the courts from sitting in three Massachusetts towns. Finally, Daniel Shays, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, enlisting nearly 1,000 men, tried to seize the lightly guarded federal arsenal at Springfield, and started a rebellion against the state government. Only by getting private subscriptions from wealthy merchants was the state able to raise a military force strong enough to meet Shays.

Shays, a reluctant rebel, proved to be a very poor leader. His main force was easily defeated early in February 1787, and within a few weeks the rebels were wholly dispersed. Only ten men were killed on both sides, and two rebels were later hanged. So Shays's Rebellion proved to be one of the mildest in history. But it caused great alarm throughout the United States. Even Samuel Adams, a profes-

sional friend of the people, had been for fierce measures against the Shayshites. Throughout the colonies, men who believed in orderly government were fearful. In the crisis Massachusetts might have expected help from the central government, but Congress had neither troops nor money. Even the federal arsenal in Springfield had been saved from seizure only by the Massachusetts militia. Here was just one more example of the feebleness of the government that had been set up by the Articles of Confederation.

Gloomy Prospects

By the year 1787, it seemed as though the prophecies of those who said that the United States, or any other large republic, could not form an effective government were being fulfilled. The British held the fur posts and controlled the Indians of the Northwest; the Spanish closed the mouth of the Mississippi and controlled the Indians of the Southwest; feeling between creditors and debtors had reached the point of civil war; the West threatened secession; foreign commerce, handicapped by the weakness of the Confederation Congress, was still below what it was in 1774, the year before the Revolutionary War began. There was serious talk that the United States might divide into three or four smaller confederacies. These were some of the difficulties which led Washington to write his friend Henry Lee a gloomy letter:

They [the difficulties of the United States] exhibit a melancholy proof of what our transatlantic foe has predicted; and of another thing, perhaps, which is still more to be regretted, and is yet more unaccountable, that mankind, when left to themselves, are unfit for their own government. I am mortified beyond expression when I view the clouds that have spread over the brightest morn that ever dawned on any country.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Washington did not content himself with writing letters. At this time he was much interested in a project to build a canal by way of the Potomac River toward the Ohio River system. He saw this venture as a means both of enriching Virginia and of keeping the western settlements in the Union. He was one of those who felt strongly, however, that it was fruitless to build canals to overcome natural barriers while there remained political barriers such as tariffs and varying currencies. In 1785, representatives of Virginia and Maryland met at Washington's home in Mt. Vernon to discuss common problems relating to such matters as the navigation of Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac. The conference worked out an agreement between the two states providing for joint control of currencies, import duties, and navigation. It also issued an invitation to all the states asking them to send delegates to Annapolis, Maryland, for a discussion of better commercial relations.

The Annapolis Convention

When the Annapolis Convention met in 1786, only five states were represented, so it was powerless. One of the twelve delegates, however, was Alexander Hamilton of New York, who ardently desired a powerful central government. Hamilton persuaded his fellow delegates to send a memorial to the thirteen states and to Congress calling for a new convention which should devise a uniform system of controlling commerce and propose measures to make the federal government more effective. Congress acted on this suggestion and summoned representatives of the states to a meeting in Philadelphia, "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

Opening of the Constitutional Convention

The date set for the opening of the Constitutional Convention was May 14, 1787, but it was not until ten days later that enough delegates had gathered to do business. Eventually twelve states were represented, although some state delegates did not arrive until midsummer. Of the 73 men chosen as delegates, only 55 ever attended. The average number at sessions of the convention was about 30. In spite of the discouraging start and small attendance, the members settled down to hard work at once. They were in session almost every weekday for sixteen weeks, usually meeting both morning and afternoon. George Washington, who represented Virginia, was elected presiding officer. To insure good order, the rules of the convention said, "That every member, rising to speak, shall address the President; and whilst he shall be speaking, none shall pass between them, or hold discourse with another, or read a book, pamphlet, or paper..." It was also agreed that the meetings should be private, and members were forbidden to let the public know what went on in the debates. This secrecy aroused suspicion, but it had the advantage of making compromise easier by preventing disputes within the convention from exciting people outside.

The convention was fortunate in its membership, which included many of the ablest political leaders in the United States. The majority were college graduates, and their study of Greek and Latin had familiarized them with the political writings of Aristotle and Cicero. Nearly all of them had had practical experience in government. More than half had sat either in the Continental Congress or the Confederation Congress and so had seen for themselves the unhappy consequences of weakness at the center. The delegates were mostly young men, their average age being 42. They were vigorous,

bold, imaginative, and ambitious. They were obsessed with a vision of a great continental republic that would teach the world that men were capable of governing themselves.

Motives of the Founding Fathers

The members of the Constitutional Convention were hardheaded as well as visionary. They were, for the most part, lawyers, merchants, and plantation owners. Such people would benefit from a stronger central government. Landowners wanted the better markets for their produce that would come with the commercial treaties a stronger government could arrange. Merchants wanted better protection for American shipping and a national currency that would promote interstate commerce. Owners of western lands wanted protection from the Indians. Creditors wanted more severe bankruptcy laws, an end to inflation of currency by the states, and a government that paid its debts.

Because the propertied classes wanted a stronger union and would benefit from it, the work of the Philadelphia Convention has been portrayed as a sort of plot whereby the wealthy created a government for their own selfish purposes. This "rich man's plot" theory overlooks the fact that the Constitution was designed to benefit the poor as well as the rich and that if a stronger government had not been created, the United States might have broken up. A new government could have been formed only by the relatively well-to-do, since at the time the Constitution was created, they alone had the necessary knowledge, political experience, and training to see the needs of the whole country.

Human motives are always mixed. The men who spent a long, hot summer working six days a week at Philadelphia were certainly aware that a more powerful federal government might benefit some of them personally. They were also



Princeton University

This is the famous orrery by David Rittenhouse owned by Princeton University. An eighteenth-century planetarium of ingenious workmanship, it shows not only the movements of the planets around the sun, but of the moons of Earth, Jupiter, and Mars around their planets. It was thus meant to demonstrate the new astronomy of Copernicus and Newton. Newtonian astronomy, with its concept of an eternal balance between gravity and centrifugal force, affected the framing of the Constitution, in which nationalism, represented by the central government, is balanced by federalism, represented by the states.

performing, at considerable cost to themselves, what they conceived to be their public duty. The more one studies their work, the more one is likely to agree with one of their number, James Madison, who later wrote:

...there never was an assembly of men, charged with a great and obvious trust, who were more pure in their motives, or more exclusively and anxiously devoted to the object committed to them than were the members of the Federal Convention of 1787.

Prominent Members

The convention probably owed most to two members from Virginia, Washington and Madison. Washington was so universally trusted that his presence alone helped to make the

work of the convention acceptable to the country. His dignity and fairness as presiding officer also helped to keep the debates orderly and in good temper. Madison, thirty-six years old, was the first delegate to arrive in Philadelphia, and he came better prepared than any other. He had made a special study of confederations and leagues, ancient and modern, and he brought with him a plan for a new government of the United States. His ideas were embodied in the so-called Virginia Plan, presented to the convention by Edmund Randolph. The Virginia Plan became the basis for discussion in the convention and provided the main ideas for the government as finally set up.

Benjamin Franklin represented Pennsylvania. Over eighty years old, often in pain, and

so weak that he had to be carried to the meetings in a sedan chair, Franklin took no prominent part in the debates. His tact and cheerfulness, along with his ability to tell a good story, helped to keep the convention from breaking up when disagreements developed and tempers rose. Furthermore, he was so popular that, like Washington, he helped to make the convention a success by his mere presence.

From New York came Hamilton, one of the youngest men in the convention and perhaps the most brilliant. Hamilton was not particularly influential, however, because his attendance was irregular and his views were extreme. He proposed a government in which the states would be reduced to mere provinces under governors appointed by the president of the United States, who was to hold office for life. Hamilton's attitude perhaps had a certain usefulness, since it made other plans to strengthen the union seem mild by comparison.

CONCORD, CONFLICT, COMPROMISE

Historians have sometimes emphasized the differences of opinion and the resulting controversies that divided the members of the Philadelphia Convention. When one considers, however, the varying interests of the states they represented, the remarkable fact is that the delegates were in concord about so many aspects of their common task.

(1) Most of them were "nationalists," who believed that the highest loyalty of Americans should be to the country as a whole rather than to the separate states. The Virginia Plan frankly called the three branches of the government it proposed the "National Legislature," the "National Executive," and the "National Judiciary." The members of the convention believed that the Articles of Confederation were so hopelessly inadequate for the needs of the country that they decided to create an entirely new



The Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts

James Madison as portrayed by Gilbert Stuart. Although a man of great ability, Madison was overshadowed by his great friend and political colleague, Thomas Jefferson. With Hamilton and Jay, Madison wrote the articles in *The Federalist*.

frame of government. Here, they agreed with Washington, who urged them to create a government they believed in even if it meant violating their instructions, which said they were to do no more than amend the Articles.

(2) As good children of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the convention members believed that there were "Laws of Nature and of Nature's God" that governed men, akin to those that governed the physical universe. Madison, for instance, had been much impressed by the orrery, an intricate and extraordinarily accurate mechanical model of the solar system, that Princeton College had bought from David Rittenhouse of Philadelphia (see photo). Just as Newton had revealed that the solar system was a wonderful mechanism held in its pre-

dictable course by balancing centrifugal force and the power of gravity, so Madison and his colleagues believed that political scientists could discover means to balance such opposing forces as liberty and authority. It was in keeping with this point of view that one member of the Philadelphia Convention spoke of how "the general government was to be likened to the sun, the center, and the state governments to the other planets revolving around it. Virginia

was the Earth and Kentucky her moon." The two political scientists who carried the most weight were John Locke, some of whose ideas we have already encountered in the Declaration of Independence, and Baron Charles de Montesquieu, a Frenchman whose most important work, *The Spirit of Laws*, was published in 1748. Montesquieu's writings, taken as political gospel by the makers of the American Constitution, insisted on the necessity of separating the

Montesquieu, Political Philosopher



It is difficult to get something out of nothing. And the men at Philadelphia were political practitioners, not philosophers. Where did they get the Constitution? Primarily, they drew on the British constitution. Their view of that unwritten document, however, was colored by an analysis of it written by Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu.

And who was he? A judge, legal scholar, satirist, and above all, political philosopher. He was an eighteenth-century Frenchman, a provincial noble who looked so like a peasant as to be mistaken for one as he worked on his lands at La Brède, near Bordeaux. He spent over twenty years analyzing the nature of man and the nature of government. His witty, bitingly accurate *Persian Letters* surveyed the Parisian court scene through the eyes of two incredulous Persians. But he reserved his best writing, with its "gaiety, . . . balance, . . . level-headedness, [and] simplicity of style," for the monumental *De l'esprit des lois*—in English, *The Spirit of Laws*. In that work he described free government in terms that the Founding Fathers of the American republic could appreciate and use. He said that he found in the British constitution the doctrines of the "separation of powers" and of "checks and balances." Although modern political writers feel that he was mistaken in some details, he believed that in England men's liberties were protected from arbitrary government because legislative, executive, and judicial powers were "separated," that is, held by different people. Parliament made the laws, the executive (in England, the king) carried them out, and an independent judiciary enforced them. While these ideas were not original with him, his reputation helped to elevate them into "laws" of politics, considered by eighteenth-century students of government to be as fixed as the law of gravity. They also accorded with American colonial experience, since the governors of the thirteen colonies had been appointed by the crown and the legislatures elected by the colonists themselves.

The book, published in 1748, was known and used by such diverse Americans as Sam Adams, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. The last two, for instance, cited it in their *Federalist* papers as an authority beyond all others on the nature of republican government, a position now often accorded *The Federalist* itself.

(Theme 3, see p. xil)

executive, legislative, and judicial powers as a means of averting tyranny.

(3) Although familiar with political theory, the delegates were practical politicians who thought constantly in terms of what would work. In attempting to create a federal government and to define its powers, they were guided by their experiences with British and colonial government. In many important features, the government they set up was simply an adaptation of the government of England.

(4) The convention was unanimous in wanting to protect property rights from such assaults as Shays's Rebellion and the Rhode Island paper money laws. They saw these attacks as resulting from an "excess of democracy." Here they found support in the works of Locke, who saw protection of property as the principal task of government, and in the writings of Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, who saw extreme democracy as leading first to chaos and then to tyranny.

(5) Although the convention feared that too great a dose of democracy made societies turbulent and changeable, they nevertheless believed that the ultimate source of government must be the people. They attempted to devise

QUESTION • How far should democracy go in a school? In a family? In a business concern? On a merchant ship? On an athletic team?

means of slowing down and filtering the popular will, rather than to try to frustrate it. And when they

had finished their handiwork, they directed that it be judged by a democratic means—conventions elected by the voters specifically to ratify the Constitution or to reject it.

There were two serious conflicts in the convention for which it proved difficult to find compromises: that between the large states and the small states over the basis of representation in Congress, and that between the northern and southern states arising from differing economic interests and from slavery.

The Conflict Between Big and Small States

The dispute between the large and small states almost broke up the convention. The large states demanded that the representation of each state in both houses of Congress be based on population. By what possible right, they asked, could Delaware's 40,000 inhabitants demand permanent equality with Virginia's 750,000? The small states were just as insistent that they would never part with the equal power they enjoyed under the Articles of Confederation. If representation in the new Congress was to be on the basis of population, they feared to be swallowed up. William Paterson of New Jersey said his state would "rather submit to a monarch, to a despot, than to such a fate."

There was also disagreement as to the very nature of the new federal government. As a basis for the Constitution, the large state delegates generally favored Madison's Virginia Plan. This proposed a government with separate executive, legislative, and judicial departments and with the states reduced to a clearly subordinate position. The small state delegates tended to favor the New Jersey Plan, the work of Paterson, which provided only for strengthening the Articles of Confederation.

Over this conflict the Constitutional Convention came to "a full stop," as one delegate described it. Washington wrote a friend that he despaired of the convention and repented having had anything to do with it. For a week, during a spell of hot weather, there was bitter debate, while flies buzzed over the delegates' heads and settled on legs exposed by knee breeches. There seemed no middle ground between the demands of the large and the small states. Franklin proposed that each session be opened with prayer, to invoke divine aid in finding an acceptable compromise.

The jam was broken when the delegates took a day off to celebrate the Fourth of July.

During the recess, a committee worked out what has since been called "the Great Compromise." According to this arrangement in the lower house of Congress, the House of Representatives, the number of members would be based on population; in the upper house, the Senate, each state would have an equal vote. This was accepted by a vote of 5 states to 4, with one state evenly divided and the others not represented. So today Nevada sends but one representative to Congress and the adjoining state of California sends thirty-eight, but each is represented by two senators. Equal representation in the Senate is a provision of the Constitution that may not be changed unless a state agrees to give up the right.

On the whole, the Great Compromise was a victory for the small states, since they gained the right to be perpetually represented in the Senate beyond their population. On other matters, however, the convention tended to follow the Virginia Plan, favored by the big states, which provided for a strong and effective central government.

Compromises

Between North and South

Once the dispute between small and big states was settled, the other dangerous conflict was that which eventually led to the Civil War—that between the commercial interests of the North and the plantation interests of the South. The Southerners wanted to count slaves in the population for determining representation to Congress, but not for direct taxation; the North wanted to count slaves for taxation but not for representation. This disagreement was settled by the three-fifths ratio, according to which five slaves were counted as equal to three free people in determining both a state's representation and taxation.

The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia, the only states where slavery was

profitable in the 1780's, were afraid that a national government might deprive them of their supply of slaves by putting an end to the slave trade. They insisted that the Constitution should forbid any interference with the slave trade and made this a condition of joining the Union. It was arranged that for twenty years the federal government might not prevent the importation of slaves or charge an import duty of more than \$10 a head.

The other point of dispute between North and South concerned commerce. Northern merchants and shippers wanted a government with ample powers to pass navigation laws to protect shipping from foreign competition. Southern planters, fearing that they would be forced to pay more for shipping their produce abroad, insisted that a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress should be required to pass navigation laws. Such a provision would give the South practically a veto on such legislation. The South also feared that the federal government would try to raise money by duties on exports such as tobacco. As the great exporting region, the South would then pay more than its share of taxes. A compromise was arranged whereby navigation laws might be passed by a simple majority in Congress, while the federal government was forbidden to levy taxes of any kind on exports.

THE NEW FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

These compromises cleared the way for the two essential jobs of the Philadelphia Convention: to give the federal government more power and to provide a workable machinery of government.

The new Constitution clearly granted to the federal government the powers it had most needed under the Articles of Confederation:

(1) It could levy and collect taxes, except duties on exports, provided such taxes were

"uniform throughout the United States." The new government would be able to pay its own way rather than beg from the states.

(2) It could regulate commerce with foreign nations and between the states. Thus it could write and enforce commercial treaties which would increase foreign trade, and it could keep trade among the states free of barriers.

(3) It had the sole right to coin money and regulate its value, so there would be only one national standard of money instead of state currencies with differing values.

Many of the powers granted the central government were not new but were simply carried over from the Articles of Confederation. For instance, the Articles had granted power to Congress to raise armies and navies and borrow money. But since the Confederation Congress could not raise money by taxation, such powers existed only on paper. Now the federal government could carry out all the powers granted to it. This was especially true because *it could exert its power directly on individuals and compel them to obey.* Under the Confederation, the central government had generally been able to act only through the states. Now it could carry out its laws through its own agents, such as revenue collectors, and enforce its laws in federal courts.

In certain matters the states were put under federal control. No longer might state legislatures relieve debtors by scaling down debts or issuing paper money. No state might levy tariffs on goods from another state. Moreover, all state officials had to swear to support the Constitution of the United States, as well as federal laws and treaties. This made all of them, from governors to constables, agents of the federal government as well as of their own states. The state militias were also put under control of Congress, so that they might be used in the future for defense of the nation or for the suppression of uprisings like Shays's Rebellion.

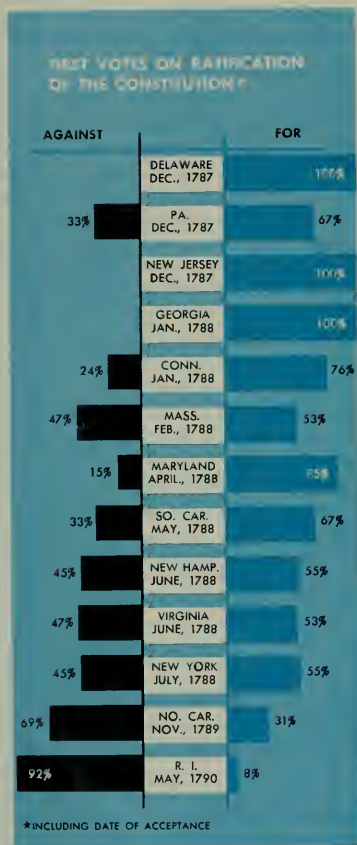
THE STRUGGLE OVER RATIFICATION

On September 17, 1787, the Founding Fathers, as the members of the Philadelphia Convention came to be called, held their last meeting and signed the document they had written. In the evening they held a farewell dinner. Their work, however, was not yet over. It remained to be seen whether the states would agree to accept the new Constitution. The authors of the Constitution provided that it would go into effect when ratified by nine of the states. It was impossible to propose unanimous acceptance, as provided in the Articles of Confederation, because Rhode Island was certain not to ratify and other states were doubtful. Ratification was to be carried out by conventions called for the purpose, a democratic process following out the idea of the Declaration of Independence that governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

To get even nine states to ratify the Constitution was no small task. Opposition was widespread, and there was suspicion of any sort of strong central government. Why revolt from Great Britain, it was asked, simply to fall under a new kind of tyranny? Debtors and paper-money advocates were opposed to any plan forcing full payment of debts and restoring sound currency. Popular leaders, including Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, George Clinton of New York, and Samuel Adams and John Hancock of Massachusetts, maintained that a federal government as powerful as that provided in the Constitution would eventually suppress the liberties of the people.

"Federalists" and "Anti-Federalists"

Those who favored the new plan of government, most of whom should rightly have been called "nationalists," called themselves "Federalists" to emphasize the fact that under the new



Enthusiasm for the Constitution varied greatly among the several states. The percentages shown in this chart refer to the votes in conventions called to ratify the Constitution. The two key states were New York and Virginia, which voted for ratification 30 to 27 and 88 to 78 respectively. Two states, controlled by farmer-debtors, did not join the Union until after Washington had been inaugurated.

constitution the states would retain many of their powers. This tactic pushed the opposition, who were really "federalists" in the sense of favoring a league of states over a centralized government, into being tagged by the meaningless label "Anti-Federalists." There has been much dispute, by no means ended, as to just what sort of people composed the two groups. It was once asserted that the Federalists in general represented the propertied interests—merchants, creditors, professional men, big planters, and the governing class in the coastal regions. The Anti-Federalists were said to be composed of debtors, small farmers, and people in backcountry areas. Recent historical research has shown that such a clear-cut division did not exist, and that the basis for joining one side or the other varied from state to state. As a loose generalization, it can be said that those who gained their living by some form of commerce—this including merchants, shipowners, city artisans, and farmers near navigable waters—tended to favor the Constitution, while the large class of subsistence farmers tended to oppose it. But even so there are many exceptions. Thus the small farmers of backcountry Georgia, Virginia, and Pennsylvania voted Federalist because they wanted a government strong enough to drive back the Indians. On the other hand, in New York State the Anti-Federalists included a number of great landowners with estates bordering the Hudson; they were apparently motivated by local political squabbles having little to do with economic advantages or disadvantages offered by the new constitution.

Advantages of the Federalists

The two parties were quite equally divided, but several facts operated in favor of the Federalists:

(1) They were united and they supported a definite program to meet the difficulties facing the country. The Anti-Federalists were nowhere near so well organized, and they had nothing

to offer other than to continue with the hapless Confederation or to call a new constitutional convention.

(2) In the election districts of the time, the more recently settled backcountry, which tended to be Anti-Federalist, was underrepresented. Therefore, the votes of the Federalist coastal districts counted more heavily than their actual numbers warranted.

(3) The Federalists were supported by men commanding great popularity and respect, especially Franklin and Washington. They were supported by most of the newspapers of the country. They usually had the better of the argument in pamphlets, sermons, and debates in state ratifying conventions. The electioneering over ratification produced, in fact, one of the finest pieces of political writing of all time. This was a collection of eighty-five articles, called the *Federalist*, written by Hamilton, Madison, and John Jay to explain how the Constitution would benefit the people. The articles were originally published under a pen name in a newspaper, the *New York Journal*. The very first paragraph contains a passage that reveals the great importance the Founding Fathers attached to the success of the American union, not only for this country, but for the world:

It has been frequently remarked that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force.

Although written for the needs of the moment, the *Federalist* papers contain so much political wisdom that they are still widely read and have had a continuing influence not only in this country, but in South America and in Europe.

(4) The Federalists succeeded in getting the Constitution ratified not merely because they were politically wise, but also because

they were politically shrewd. In states where there was strong opposition, they were able to outmaneuver their opponents. In Pennsylvania, the Federalists managed to call an election to the state convention before the Anti-Federalists had a chance to organize. In Massachusetts, a slight majority against the Constitution was changed to a slight margin in its favor by suggestions to the influential John Hancock that he might be elected the first president under the new government. In New York two-thirds of the State Convention were Anti-Federalists. But the persuasiveness of John Jay and the news that ten states had already ratified induced enough Anti-Federalists to change sides so that New York became the "eleventh pillar" of the new federal roof.

Ratification Completed

The vote in various key states was extremely close: in Massachusetts it was 187 in favor of the Constitution to 168 opposed, in Virginia 88 to 78, and in New York 30 to 27. By July 1788, however, all the states except Rhode Island and North Carolina had ratified, and preparations were made to start the new government the next year.

As the news of the state ratifications came in, there were great Federalist celebrations in the cities. These culminated in an Independence Day procession in Philadelphia in which there were eighty-eight separate parts and about five thousand participants. The displays included elaborate floats drawn by as many as ten horses. All the various craftsmen took part, many of them giving demonstrations of their art. Shoemakers made shoes; cabinetmakers made chairs; and a pair of blacksmiths made plow irons out of old swords. Following the craftsmen came the officials of the city and state, the students at the University of Pennsylvania, the lawyers and law students, military companies, and "the clergy of the different denominations, and the Rabbi of the Jews, walking arm in arm." The

Federalists evidently knew how to enlist public opinion.

The framing and adoption of the Constitution were indeed events worthy of celebration. The Constitution was a unique document whose influence on the course of world history cannot yet be estimated. It gave a new meaning to the word "federal" by creating a new type of government, one which attempts to combine a powerful national government with vigorous local governments, and thus meets the needs both of the nation as a whole and of particular regions. It has provided a pattern for uniting other large areas, such as Canada and Australia. It is especially adapted today for meeting the

needs of new nations containing peoples of different languages and cultures, such as India and Nigeria. Advocates of a union of the free nations have recommended it as a model.

It was an impressive fact that this new, strong government was formed not by military leaders bent on conquest, nor by a seizure of power by a strong man or clique, but by citizens acting for the good of the country and submitting their work to their fellow countrymen. As the French student of America, Alexis de Tocqueville observed, "It is new in the history of a society to see a great people turn a calm and scrutinizing eye upon itself... when the wheels of its government are stopped."

Activities: Chapter 4

To the Student:

See pp. 30–31 for suggestions as to how to use these chapter-end activities.

For Mastery and Review

1. What were some advantages and disadvantages of the United States as a "new nation"?
2. What powers did the Articles of Confederation give to the central government, and what powers of government were left to the states?
3. Summarize (a) the causes and (b) the terms of the Ordinances of 1785 and 1787. In what ways did the Northwest Ordinance carry out the principles of the Declaration of Independence?
4. List events occurring between 1783 and 1787 that revealed the weaknesses of the central government.
5. What difficulties did the Confederation government have with Spain and England?
6. In parallel columns headed Mount Vernon Conference, Annapolis Convention, and Philadelphia Convention, summarize (a) the reasons for the meeting, (b) the authority, and (c) the accomplishments of the meeting.
7. What were the areas of agreement among the delegates at the Philadelphia Convention?

8. What serious conflicts did the Convention face? How was each settled?

9. What new powers were given to the central government by the Constitution? What powers held by Congress in the Confederation were strengthened? How were the powers of the individual states restricted?

10. How was the Constitution to be ratified? Why was this method chosen? Who composed the Federalist group? The Anti-Federalists? Account for the success of the Federalists.

11. Describe the grievances of the western frontiersmen against the central government. Why was the right of deposit at New Orleans important to the West?

Unrolling the Map

1. On a map of eastern United States, locate (a) the major rivers and mountain ranges, (b) the areas of difficulty with Spain, (c) the fur posts held by the British, (d) the major routes taken by settlers moving into the West, and (e) the Northwest Territory.

2. On a world map, locate the points of origin of things which you and members of your family ate, used, or wore yesterday. Compare this global interdependence with the self-sufficiency of the eighteenth-century farmer.

Who, What, and Why Important?

Articles of Confederation	State of Franklin
western land claims	Land Ordinance of 1785
John Adams	*Northwest Ordinance
fur posts	*Wyoming Valley
right of deposit	Shays's Rebellion
Annapolis Convention	*William Paterson
George Washington	Great Compromise
James Madison	ratification
Benjamin Franklin	Patrick Henry
Alexander Hamilton	Federalists
Thomas Jefferson	Anti-Federalists
Barbary pirates	<i>The Federalist</i>

To Pursue the Matter

1. What was it like to undergo an Indian raid? See the chapter entitled "War in the Dooryard" in Van Every, *Ark of Empire: The American Frontier, 1784-1803*.

2. Make a diagrammatic comparison of the

Articles of Confederation and the United Nations Charter. Which provides for stronger bonds of union? See Bragdon *et al.*, *Frame of Government*.

3. How did John Adams, recently thought a damnable traitor in England, and George III, recently denounced by the Americans as a damnable tyrant, behave when they met shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War? See Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 52-55.

4. How did the Founding Fathers go about their work? What motivated them? See Broderick, *The Origins of the Constitution, 1776-1789*.

5. How did Spain attempt to detach western settlements from the United States after the Revolution? See Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.

6. One of the most disputed questions among American historians has been whether the period after the Revolutionary War was a "critical period." The question is touched on in Broderick, *The Origins of the Constitution, 1776-1789*, and in Morgan, *The Birth of the Republic, 1763-1789*.

SUGGESTED READINGS

At the end of each of the nine Parts of this text, you will find bibliographies entitled Readings, with the part number. The books listed in these bibliographies have been chosen with great care to give a broad and varied presentation of material and viewpoints that extend the boundaries of the text.

Some of the books listed are, as indicated, out of print. They are, however, classics in their given field and are included because they are worth a search in secondhand bookstores. Titles preceded by * are available in paperback editions. Where two publishers' names are shown, the second is that of the paperback edition; a second title is given when paper and hardcover editions appear under substantially different titles.

Books for the Entire Course

The bibliographies below under the headings "Special Supplements," "Documents and Source Materials," "Atlases," "American History in Pictures," and "Almanacs" contain material useful for

many of the Parts of History of a Free People. You should become acquainted with many, if not all, of these books, and consult them periodically as you progress from Part to Part.

Special Supplements

The books listed here have been specially prepared to provide supplementary material geared to the organization and emphases of this text. All are in paperback, presenting material not readily available in inexpensive volumes elsewhere.

ARNOF, D. S., **A Sense of the Past: Readings in American History*, rev. ed. The readings are arranged chapter for chapter and Part for Part to coincide with *History of a Free People*.

BRAGDON, H. W., MCCUTCHEM, S. P., and BROWN, S. G., **Frame of Government: A Book of Documents*. Lively analyses of major political documents, with their historical backgrounds.

COLE, D. B., **New Perspectives in American History*. A series of fifteen paperbacks prepared especially to supplement this text. The appropriate book

appears in the Part Bibliography under the heading "Special Supplements."

Documents and Source Materials

- COMMAGER, H. S., and NEVINS, A. (eds.), *The Heritage of America*. A history of America told in the words of men and women who saw the scenes and lived through the events described.
- COMMAGER, H. S. (ed.), *America in Perspective, the United States through Foreign Eyes*. Selections from European writers concerning their American travels.
- CRAVEN, A., JOHNSON, W., and DUNN, F. R. (eds.), *A Documentary History of the American People*. Readings from contemporary sources.
- JACOBSON, J. M., *The Development of American Political Thought*.
- CARMER, C. L., *America Sings: Stories and Songs of Our Country's Growing*.
- COMMAGER, H. S. (ed.), *The Blue and the Gray, the Story of the Civil War as Told by Participants*.
- ANGLE, P., and MIERS, E., *Tragic Years, 1860-1865: A Documentary History of the Civil War*, 2 vols.
- BARTLETT, R. J. (ed.), *The Record of American Diplomacy: Documents and Readings*.
- SANDBURG, C., *American Songbag*.
- HANDLIN, O., *Readings in American History*.

Atlases

- ADAMS, J. T. (ed.), *Atlas of American History*. Good black-and-white maps with interesting details.
- COLE, D., *Atlas of American History*. A new atlas.
- ESPOSITO, V., *The West Point Atlas of American Wars*, 2 vols. Campaigns are clearly portrayed.
- HART, A. B., *American History Atlas*. This book is out of print. It cannot be purchased from the publisher, but copies may be available in secondhand bookstores. It gives accurate and clear coverage of conventional American history.

American History in Pictures

The collections of pictures illustrating and making vivid American history, even in its early phases, are surprisingly numerous and excellent in quality. Some of the best of them are listed below.

ADAMS, J. T., *Album of American History*.

COLLINS, A. C., *Story of America in Pictures*. Revised edition.

DAVIDSON, M. B., *Life in America*.

GROSVENOR, M. (ed.), *America's History Lands*. A tour suggested by the editors of *National Geographic*.

The Pageant of America: A Pictorial History of the United States.

The American Heritage Book of the Revolution. The profuse illustrations make this book a vivid presentation of Revolutionary events.

The American Heritage Book of Great Historic Places. Pictorial history of places where history was made. Easy to use because places are arranged by geographical sections.

SAMUEL, R., ET AL., *Tales of the Mississippi*.

GARDNER, A., *Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War*.

GURNEY, G., *The War in the Air: A Pictorial History of World War II Air Forces in Combat*.

The American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War.

WILEY, B. I., and MILHOLLEN, HIRST D., *They Who Fought Here*.

BEEBE, L., and CLEGG, C., *Hear the Train Blow, A Pictorial Epic of America in the Railroad Age*.

BEEBE and CLEGG, *The American West*.

The Pioneer Spirit, published by American Heritage.

American Heritage Book of Indians.

SCHMITT, M. F., and BROWN, D., *Trail Driving Days*.

ROGERS, *The American Procession*. (Out of print.)

ALLEN, F. L., and ROGERS, A., *I Remember Distinctly: A Family Album of the American People, 1918-1941*.

JOHNSON, G. W., *Lines Are Drawn*.

The American Heritage History of Flight.

Almanacs

The *Information Please Almanac* and *The World Almanac*, published annually, will be helpful in furnishing specific data which you may need. The U. S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1957*, gives interesting and valuable statistics on the industrial, social, political, and economic organization of our country. *The Statistical Abstract of the United States* is issued annually and keeps these figures up to date.

Basic Books for the Entire Course

Below are recommended books for a basic school library. This first group is general, and pertains to the entire course. Additional groups of ten books are found at the end of each Part, the whole making a list of 100 basic books. All high school libraries should contain these books.

1. COMMAGER, H. S., and NEVINS, A. (eds.), *The Heritage of America*. Boston, Little, Brown, 1949.
2. DAVIDSON, M. B., *Life in America*, 2 vols. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1951.
3. ROBERTSON, R. H., *A History of the American Economy*. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1964.
4. BLUM, J. M., et al., *The National Experience*. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1963.
5. HOFSTADTER, R., *The American Political Tradition*. New York, Knopf, 1948 (Vintage).
6. GINZBERG, E., and EICHNER, A. S., *The Troublesome Presence: American Democracy and the Negro*. New York, Free Press, 1964.
7. WITTKKE, C., *We Who Built America*, rev. ed. Cleveland, Western Reserve University Press, 1964.
8. BAILEY, T. A., *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. New York, Appleton, 1958.
9. MORRIS, R. B. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of American History*, rev. ed. New York, Harper, 1965.
10. *American Heritage*. New York, American Heritage Publishing Co. Published bi-monthly since December 1954.

THEMES

PART 1

Recurring ideas, concepts, or "themes" run through most of American history and help to give it its unique character. Most of these are either explicit or implicit in each of the nine Parts into which this text is divided. It is useful, however, to select particular themes for illustration, emphasis, and study at the end of each Part.

The first two themes described in the Prologue—"economic opportunity" and "wide participation in politics"—are of particular relevance to the early history of the United States. In considering them, questions such as these arise:

1. What was the strongest motivation in bringing men and women to colonial America—religion, patriotism, force, search for adventure, or economic opportunity?
2. Which was the more important cause of the American Revolution, political grievances or economic grievances? If the latter, what special grievances of what special groups? See Labaree, *The Road to Independence, 1763-1776*.
3. The Preamble to the Constitution of the United States declares that the Constitution was ordained by "We, the People of the United States." Just what people actually did the ordaining? This matter is discussed in Broderick, *The Origins of the Constitution, 1776-1789*, especially pp. 49-67.
4. What was the economic reason for the statesmanlike provisions of the Northwest Ordinance that offered settlers in the Northwest Territory eventual self-government and statehood? See Bragdon et al., *Frame of Government*, pp. 64-87.

READINGS

PART 1

Special Supplements

- ARNOF, *A Sense of the Past*, Part One.
BRAGDON, MCCUTCHEEN, and BROWN, *Frame of Government*, "The Declaration of Independence," pp. 1-25; "The Articles of Confedera-

tion," pp. 27-63; "The Northwest Ordinance," pp. 66-87.

- LABAREE, B. W., *The Road to Independence, 1763-1776*. (New Perspectives.) A study in depth of the causes of the American Revolution. Conflicting interpretations are given.

Specialized References

COLONIAL LIFE

H. LAMB, *New Found World*, tells of discovery and exploration. Conquest and settlement of Spanish America are described in P. I. WELLMAN, *Glory, God, and Gold*; and conflicts in the Southwest are in F. FORBES, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*. P. HORGAN, *Great River*, Vol. I, recounts fascinating tales of explorers and missionaries along the Rio Grande. W. C. WILLIAMS, *In the American Grain*, is a poetic and critical survey of the entire period.

The founding of French America is treated in T. B. COSTAIN, *The White and the Gold*. F. PARKMAN's magnificent *France and England in North America* is a very readable, eight-volume classic; three of its best volumes are available in paperback: *The Discovery of the West: La Salle*, *The Half-Century of Conflict*, and *Montcalm and Wolfe*. Shorter passages—expertly selected—can be found in F. PARKMAN, *The Parkman Reader* (edited by S. E. MORISON).

On the frontier of the thirteen colonies, see D. VAN EVERY's vividly written *Forth to the Wilderness*, which is Vol. I of his *The Frontier People of America*. Vol. II, *A Company of Heroes*, covers the West during the Revolution. H. DRIVER, *Indians of North America*, tells of this country's first settlers, as does W. T. HAGEN, *American Indians*.

On the Plymouth Pilgrims, see G. F. WILLISON, *Saints and Strangers*. E. S. MORGAN's *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop*, considers the conflict between freedom and effective government. S. E. MORISON, *Builders of the Bay Colony*, is a sympathetic portrayal of thirteen Puritans. The Salem witch trials are described and analyzed in M. L. STARKEY, *The Devil in Massachusetts*. C. S. SYDNOR, *Gentlemen Freeholders* (*American Revolutionaries in the Making*), describes the inner workings of politics and government in colonial Virginia.

C. ROSSITER, *The First American Revolution*, is a lively survey of colonial life on the eve of independence. Colonial life is also surveyed in L. B. WRIGHT, *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies*, and D. J. BOORSTIN, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience*, which has an excellent chapter on colonial science. H. R. NIEBUHR, *The*

Social Sources of Denominationalism, is a brilliant and provocative analysis of American Christianity. On indentured servitude, see A. E. SMITH, *Colonists in Bondage*. The Prelude of S. V. BENÉT's *John Brown's Body* graphically portrays the slave trade, which is also treated in D. MANNIX and M. COWLEY, *Black Gargoes*. S. M. ELKINS, *Slavery*, is a difficult but brilliant study of how North American slavery was unique and how it affected the personalities of the slaves.

THE REVOLUTION

The causes of conflict are presented in L. H. GIPSON, *The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1775*. C. L. BECKER, *The Declaration of Independence*, is a good analysis of that basic document. Both J. R. ALDEN, *The American Revolution, 1775-1783*, and B. LANCASTER, *From Lexington to Liberty*, cover the entire war; special phases are treated in A. M. SCHLESINGER, *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776*; G. F. SCHEER and H. F. RANKIN, *Rebels and Redcoats*; D. B. CHIDSEY, *Valley Forge*; and B. QUARLES, *The Negro in the American Revolution*. T. PAINE, *Common Sense* and *The Crisis*, contain some of the most famous writings of the patriots' best propagandist. H. S. COMMAGER and R. B. MORRIS, *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six* (2 vols.), presents the stories of witnesses to the Revolution. B. MITCHELL, *Decisive Battles of the American Revolution*, is excellent for those who wish to visit the battlefields. C. C. BRINTON, *The Anatomy of Revolution*, compares the American, French, English, and Russian revolutions in an effort to find out what a revolution is and how it works. J. F. JAMESON, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*, describes the non-political results of the Revolution.

THE CRITICAL PERIOD

E. S. MORGAN, *Birth of the Republic*, and E. WRIGHT, *Fabric of Freedom, 1763-1800*, are first-rate surveys. M. JENSEN, in *The New Nation*, attacks the idea that this really was a "critical" period. Social history is considered in E. B. GREENE, *The Revolutionary Generation*. M. L. STARKEY's *A Little Rebellion* describes Shay's revolt in Massachusetts. CRÉVECOEUR, *Letters from an American Farmer*, is a fascinating classic.

EUROPEAN BACKGROUNDS

E. P. CHEYNEY, **The European Background of American History: 1300-1600*, discusses why Europe was ready to discover and explore the New World. On the English background, see W. NOTE-STEIN, **The English People on the Eve of Colonization*, and *A. L. ROWSE, *The England of Elizabeth*.

Biographies

The Dictionary of American Biography, 22 vols., summarizes the lives of thousands of prominent Americans. It should be consulted throughout the entire course. O. E. WINSLOW, **Jonathan Edwards*, describes the religious fervor of the Great Awakening. Pennsylvania's founder is treated in C. O. PEARE, *William Penn*, which has some fictional dialogue. C. VAN DOREN, **Benjamin Franklin*, is a superb biography, although a very long one. R. BURLINGTON, **Benjamin Franklin*, is an adequate shorter portrayal. FRANKLIN'S **Autobiography*, despite its tiresome moralizing, is a brilliantly written, subtle, and often amusing book. J. R. CUNEO, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers*, tells the tragic story of an American leader in the French and Indian War. C. D. BOWEN, **John Adams and the American Revolution*, sets her hero in his times. M. CUNLIFFE, **George Washington: Man and Monument*, criticizes some of the myths about Washington, but it does not belittle him. E. FORBES, **Paul Revere and the World He Lived In*, is an excellent biography which also gives a social history of Boston. S. E. MORISON has written expertly on **John Paul Jones: A Sailor's Biography* and on **Christopher Columbus, Mariner*.

Historical Fiction

W. CATHER, *Shadows on the Rock*, deals with daily life in colonial Quebec. New England is the scene for N. HAWTHORNE, **The House of the Seven Gables*; N. DENKER, *Bound Girl*; A. SETON, **The Winthrop Woman*; E. G. SPEARE, *The Witch of Blackbird Pond*; and A. MILLER, **The Crucible*, a play dealing with the Salem witch trials.

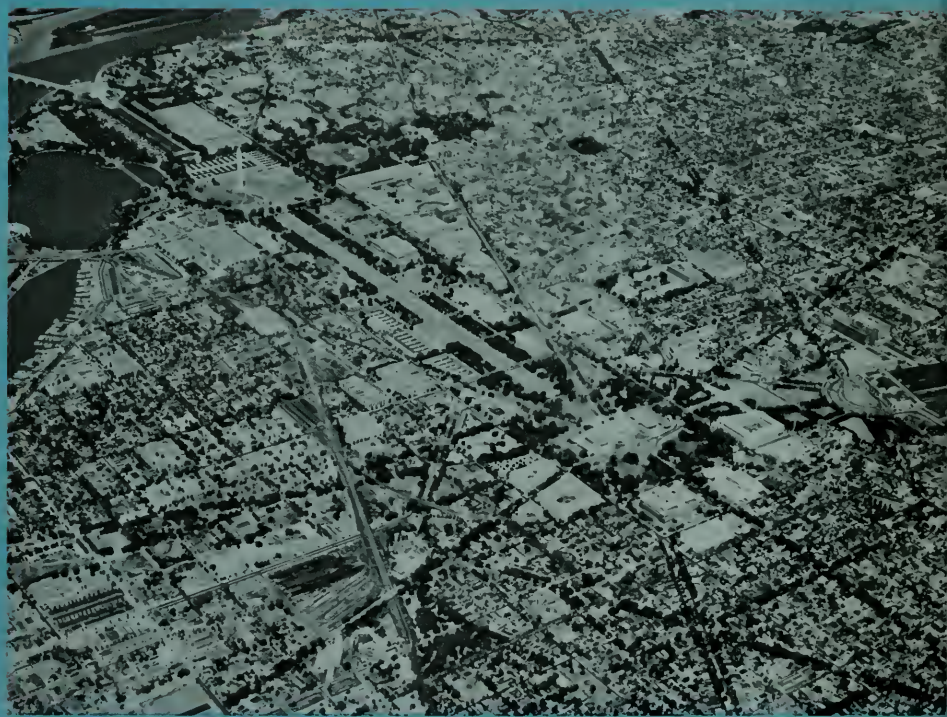
T. BOYD, *Shadow of the Long Knives*, gives a realistic account of the early West. J. F. COOPER,

**The Last of the Mohicans*, tells of Indian warfare in northern New York. F. V. W. MASON, **The Young Titan*, is a novel set in the 1740's which includes the colonial capture of Louisbourg, while K. ROBERTS, **Northwest Passage*, is a gaudy story of the French and Indian War.

B. LANCASTER'S *Phantom Fortress* concerns Greene's campaign in the Revolution; W. D. EDMONDS, **Drums Along the Mohawk*, is set in the Mohawk Valley; G. BRISTOW, **Celia Carth*, concerns the Revolutionary days in South Carolina; and F. F. VAN DE WATER, *Day of Battle*, deals with the Revolution in Vermont and the defeat of Burgoyne. B. SPICER, *Brother to the Enemy*, is a novel about the officer Washington sent to capture Benedict Arnold. H. HAILSLIP sends his young hero on the **Sea Road to Yorktown* in the American navy, and H. FAST sends his to Lexington and Concord in **April Morning*.

Basic Books for Part One

1. LAMB, H., *New Found World*. New York, Doubleday, 1955.
2. VAN EVERY, D., **The Frontier People of America*, 4 vols. New York, Morrow, 1961-63.
3. PARKMAN, F., **The Parkman Reader* (edited by S. E. MORISON). Boston, Little, Brown, 1955.
4. MORGAN, E. S., **The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop*. Boston, Little, Brown, 1958.
5. ELKINS, S. M., **Slavery*. New York, Grosset and Dunlap, 1963 (Universal Library).
6. ROSSITER, C., **The First American Revolution*. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1956 (Harvest).
7. GIPSON, L. H., **The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1775*. New York, Harper, 1954 (Torchbooks).
8. BECKER, C. L., **The Declaration of Independence*. New York, Knopf, 1942 (Vintage).
9. ALDEN, J. R., **The American Revolution*. New York, Harper, 1954 (Torchbooks).
10. CUNLIFFE, M., **George Washington: Man and Monument*. Boston, Little, Brown, 1958 (Mentor).



LAUNCHING THE REPUBLIC



COMPLETING A REVOLUTION

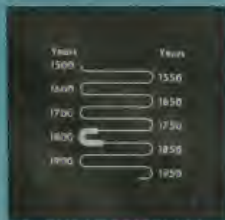
Revolutions have a way of getting out of hand. What starts with a few street riots or demands for a new constitution escalates into full-scale social upheaval, mass violence, and civil war and ends in dictatorship as the only apparent alternative to anarchy. This was the course pursued, for instance, by two of the great revolutions of modern times, the French Revolution that started in 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917. Usually, the moderate leaders of the early phase are imprisoned, exiled, or executed by later extremists.

The American Revolution was unusual in that it ran its course with little domestic violence, and the same men who led the revolutionary movement at the first also guided the destinies of the new nation. As previous chapters have shown, the Americans set up local governments with little difficulty and, after a period of uncertainty, wrote a new constitution to bind the thirteen states together.

The great English statesman William E. Gladstone once called the Constitution of the United States "the most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man." While people interested in fields other than politics, such as literature, music, art, or science, may dispute Gladstone's opinion, there can be little doubt that the Constitution is one of the most important documents in the history of the world. It is the oldest written frame of government used by any major country, and most constitutions adopted since 1789 have been influenced by it.

But it is one thing to write a constitution and another to make it work. The United States Constitution was a success not merely because the Founding Fathers at Philadelphia were able, informed, moderate, and persuasive. The new government needed men of the highest ability, and fortunately they were available. For the most part, the same men who led the thirteen states through the War of Independence and the troubled period that followed it now helped to set up the new national government. The first three Presidents were George Washington, commander of the Continental Army, John Adams, leader of the independence movement in the Second Continental Congress, and Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence. They did their work well, and the American Revolution brought nationhood and self-government along with independence.

In another sense the American Revolution is not yet over: the principle of equal opportunity for all, expressed in the Declaration of Independence, has never been achieved, in spite of immense advances during the nearly two centuries since it was written. And the Revolution goes on, as Americans continue to crusade for equality.



Chapter 5

The Constitution of the United States

*It will be the pattern for all future constitutions
and the admiration of all future ages.*

—WILLIAM PITT

Every American citizen should have a thorough knowledge of the Constitution. To understand the Constitution requires that the student know the different ways in which it has been applied and interpreted in the course of nearly two centuries. To encourage frequent reference, the pages on which it is printed are edged in blue.

In studying the following pages the reader should note that:

(1) *Description of general features* of the federal government and the Constitution is placed at the top of the right-hand pages in double column.

(2) *Explanatory notes on particular clauses, phrases, or terms* are printed on the bottom part of the right-hand page.

(3) Portions of the Constitution that are no longer in operation are printed in light-face type.

(4) The descriptive headings on Articles, Sections, and clauses of the Constitution are not part of the document itself, but have been added for the convenience of the readers.

One way to study this chapter systematically is as follows:

(1) Read through an article, rather rapidly, simply to get the over-all sense of what it is about.

(2) Read the relevant sections of the general discussion on the top right-hand pages, referring constantly to the document itself.

(3) Read the explanatory notes of the article, again referring to the actual text.

(4) Go on to subsequent articles and do the same thing, but do not attempt to do too much at one sitting.

(5) When you have finished, use the questions under the heading "For Mastery and Review" on pp. 154–155 to test yourself.



The Constitution of the United States

THE PREAMBLE

We the People, of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

THE PREAMBLE

"The preamble is not, strictly speaking, a part of the Constitution, but 'walks before it.'" It explains the *source* of the Constitution and its *purposes*. When the preamble states, "We the **People** of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution . . ." it follows the principle expressed in the Declaration of Independence: that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." The Constitution was drawn up by representatives of the people and ratified in conventions elected by them.

In 1789, however, "We the People" did not mean *all* the people, but only the minority possessing political rights. The right to vote was limited to white adult males with a certain amount of property. The proportion of voters varied from state to state. We do not know just how many voted in elections, but in any case it was certainly a minority. In the many years since the Constitution went into effect, however, the advance of democracy has broadened the meaning of "We the People" so much that today it means "nearly all adults."

For many years there was dispute as to whether "We the People of the United States" meant "We the people of the different states" or "We the people of an American Nation." In 1789 the former meaning was more accurate: the delegates to the Philadelphia Convention were chosen by states, the Constitution was ratified state by state, and a man's first loyalty was to his state. The meaning of the phrase changed, however, as the loyalty of the American people to the nation became stronger than that to the states. (See, for instance, the account of Daniel Webster's "Second Reply to Hayne," pp. 264-265.)

Each purpose of the Constitution described in the preamble had a special meaning in 1789. The authors of the Constitution were trying to

create "a more perfect Union" than the Articles of Confederation. They sought to "establish Justice" for creditors, to "insure domestic Tranquility" by suppressing disorders such as Shays's Rebellion, and to "provide for the common defence" against Indians and Barbary pirates. They hoped the new government would "promote the general Welfare" by increasing interstate and foreign commerce. Finally, the purpose of the Constitution was to "secure the Blessings of Liberty" by creating a stronger government to protect people in their rights. This was different from the purpose of the Declaration of Independence which had been to obtain liberty by freeing the United States from the strong government of England.

Since the establishment of the Constitution, its purposes have become wider. Today, for instance, the federal government tries to "establish Justice" in ways not dreamed of in 1789. It attempts to define the rights and duties of labor unions, to fix "fair" rates for railroads and bus lines, to protect businessmen from "unfair" competition, and consumers from misbranded products. When Americans "provide for the common defence" in this century, they may be defending not merely the shores of America, but allies all over the globe. Provision for the "general welfare" now includes federal aid to the needy and unfortunate, such as medical care for the elderly.

Today, then, the preamble to the Constitution has a far broader meaning than in 1789. Then a minority set up the federal government to provide for the simple needs of a small rural population living on the edge of an isolated continent. Now the federal government represents the great majority of the people, and the Constitution must provide for the complex needs of a great industrial nation in a world made small by instantaneous communication and rapid transportation.

ARTICLE I. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. CONGRESS

The Two Houses of Congress. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1. *House Members Elected by the People.* The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

2. *Qualifications of Representatives.* No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. *House Membership Based on State Populations.* Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, [which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.] The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; [and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.]

4. *Election for Vacancies in the House.* When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

5. *Election of Speaker of the House, Impeachment.* The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

HOW CONGRESS IS ORGANIZED AND CONDUCTS BUSINESS

The Congress under the Constitution differed from that under the Articles of Confederation in being bicameral, that is, having two chambers. This was a return to the English system whereby Parliament is divided into a House of Lords and a House of Commons. The Senate was originally designed to resemble the House of Lords in being somewhat removed from popular control, and the House of Representatives to resemble the Commons in being more democratic. In the American system, a further difference between the two branches of Congress resulted from the Great Compromise (see p. 95). The House, chosen on a basis of population, represented the idea of a nation. The Senate, in which each state is equally represented, retained the idea of a league.

Usually in a bicameral legislature one house or the other becomes dominant, and it is usually the house more directly responsible to the people that gains the upper hand. The culmination of this process can be seen most clearly in Great Britain where nearly all legislative power is now lodged in the House of Com-

mons, and the House of Lords has become little more than a ceremonial body.

In the United States neither the House nor the Senate has gained ascendancy over the other, although individual senators generally enjoy more prestige than individual congressmen, if only because the senators are fewer in number and serve longer terms. But the two bodies retain practically equal powers of legislation. Since every law must be passed by both houses, each acts as a check on the other. Each house judges the qualifications of its own members and enjoys the same privileges of free debate and freedom from arrest during session. On the other hand, each branch of Congress has certain special powers. The House has the right to impeach members of the executive and judicial departments for "high crimes and misdemeanors," and it first proposes bills which involve raising money. The Senate acts as a court to try impeachments brought by the House, and it has the right to accept or reject the President's appointments. The most famous special power of the Senate lies in the field of foreign affairs. The President must submit treaties to the Senate before they go into operation. A vote of two-thirds of the sen-

(Continued on page 115.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Article I, Section 2, clause 1. "Electors" here means simply "voters."

Article I, Section 2, clause 3. "Those bound to Service for a Term of Years" means "indentured servants and apprentices." "Other Persons" means "slaves." Note that the latter were formerly counted for representation in the House at three-fifths of their number.

If there had continued to be one representative for each 30,000 people, the House would today contain over 6,000 members. Its number is now fixed at 435.

Article I, Section 2, clause 5. The speaker is chosen from the majority party in the House. This is in contrast to the British Parliament where the speaker is an impartial umpire "above party." The powers of the speaker of the House have varied. At one time his control over debate and appointment to congressional committees was so great that he had more influence on legislation than the President.

"Impeachment" means "indictment," "bringing charges against." Thus President Andrew Johnson was impeached by the House in 1868, but when the Senate failed to convict him, he remained in office. (See p. 371.)



SECTION 3. SENATE

1. *Number of Senators, Election, Term of Office.* The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, [chosen by the Legislature thereof,] for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

2. *One-Third Senate Chosen Every Two Years.* Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. [The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year,] so that one third may be chosen every second Year; [and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.]

3. *Qualifications of Senators.* No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. *Vice-President Presides over Senate.* The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. *Other Officers.* The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

6. *Senate a Court in Cases of Impeachment.* The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

7. *Punishment for Officials Convicted in Cases of Impeachment.* Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION 4. ELECTION AND MEETING OF CONGRESS

1. *Regulation of Elections.* The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

(Continued from page 113.)

ators is required to ratify a treaty. This provision was inserted to make sure that no treaty would sacrifice the interests of one section to those of another, as the 1785 Jay-Cardoqui Treaty (see p. 85) had sacrificed western interests to those of the Northeast.


The two branches of Congress have developed different ways of doing business. The House of Representatives became so unwieldy in size (435 members) that debate had to be severely restricted to get anything done at all. Nearly all the work of the House is done by committees dealing with particular problems, such as agriculture, government finances, foreign affairs, military affairs, commerce, education, and labor. The chairmen of these im-

mensely powerful committees reach their position by seniority, and their average age is generally close to seventy years. Debate and the order of business in the House is strictly controlled by the Speaker and a 15-man Committee on Rules.

The Senate, because of its smaller size (it now contains 100 members), has been able to retain "freedom of debate," which means that any senator may speak on any motion. This leads to the practice of "filibustering," whereby a few senators, or even a single one, may block legislation they dislike by unlimited talk. A cloture rule to prevent this practice is rarely applied. Full-scale debate in the Senate, on the other hand, often educates the public on

(Continued on page 117.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Article I, Section 3, clause 4. The Constitution did not give the Vice-President enough to do. His only stated function is to preside over the Senate, his only constitutional power to cast a vote in those rare cases when there is a tie vote. Until very recently, prominent men avoided an office regarded as a "political graveyard." Parties usually chose their vice-presidential candidates with a view to "balancing the ticket" by giving representation to a different section of the country or a different faction of the party than that of the presidential candidate. The office often went to men who were hardly more than political hacks.

The sudden death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1945, reinforced by the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963, pointed to the danger of treating the vice-presidency as unimportant. Since the second Truman administration (1949-1953), Vice-Presidents have been brought into the inner circle of presidential advisers and have been given important jobs. Most recent vice-presidential candidates have been men of prominence and high ability.

Article I, Section 3, clause 6. When trying a case of impeachment brought by the House, the Senate becomes a court. The two-thirds vote necessary to convict an official under impeachment and remove him from office is one of several cases where the Constitution demands a two-thirds majority of either or both houses of Congress. Actions demanding a two-thirds vote involve matters of more than ordinary importance, or ones in which a simple majority vote might be unfair to individuals or minority groups. The complete list is as follows: (1) *trial of impeachments*—Article I, Section 3, clause 6 (two-thirds of the Senate); (2) *expulsion of members from either house of Congress*—Article I, Section 5, clause 2 (two-thirds of the house in which the member holds a seat); (3) *passing a bill over the President's veto*—Article I, Section 7, clause 2 (two-thirds of both houses); (4) *ratification of treaties*—Article II, Section 2, clause 2 (two-thirds of the Senate); (5) *proposing amendments to the Constitution* (two-thirds of both houses of Congress, or a constitutional convention proposed by two-thirds of the state legislatures).

2. *Sessions of Congress.* [The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.]

SECTION 5. ORGANIZATION AND RULES OF EACH HOUSE

1. *Power over Membership and Sitzings.* Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

2. *Power over Rules and Behavior.* Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

3. *Keeping a Record of Proceedings.* Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

4. *Adjournment.* Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. CONGRESSIONAL PRIVILEGES AND RESTRAINTS

1. *Payment and Privileges.* The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

2. *Congressmen not to Hold Other Federal Offices.* No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

(Continued from page 115.)

major issues. It also often insures thorough consideration of legislation which might otherwise be passed hurriedly. In general, however, the Senate, like the House, transacts most of its business in committee.

SEPARATION OF POWERS

The authors of the Constitution feared unlimited political power, no matter who wielded it. Concentration of power in the hands of a few men (oligarchy) or in one man (monarchy) was likely to result, they knew, in the oppression of the people as a whole. The members of the Philadelphia Convention also distrusted a government dominated by the unrestrained will of the people. They were convinced that such a complete democracy would be weak and changeable, and that it would

enable the poor to rob the rich. Finally, there was always danger that men in office would try to seize more power than the people wanted to grant them.

In order to avert what they regarded as the triple dangers of tyranny, mob rule, and seizure of power, the Founding Fathers created a government based on the principle of "separation of powers." According to this principle—which stemmed both from American colonial experience and from the writings of Montesquieu—the major powers of government should be divided among different officials. So in the American Constitution the first three Articles are devoted to defining the powers of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the federal government, *each branch being administered by different people*. How careful the authorities of the Constitution were to preserve

(Continued on page 119.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Article I, Section 4, clause 2. The Twentieth Amendment, ratified in 1933, has changed the date of the opening of the regular session of Congress to January 3.

Article I, Section 5, clauses 1 and 2. The power enjoyed by each house of Congress to judge the qualifications of its members is absolute; there is no appeal from it to any court or other governmental agency. Very seldom, however, is a member of Congress excluded or expelled, for such action robs the people of his district or state of their right to be represented in the national legislature.

Among the reasons why individual members of the House or Senate have been excluded or expelled have been the following: practicing polygamy, using corruption and fraud in elections, advocating a socialist revolution, and bribing fellow members of Congress to vote generous land grants to railroads.

Article I, Section 6, clause 1. Members of Congress now receive a salary of \$45,000 plus a tax-free expense account and staff assistance in proportion to the size of their constituency and load of committee work. Very few congressmen can more than break even on their salary because their expenses are heavy.

The privileges of congressmen—freedom from arrest during session and freedom of speech within the halls of Congress—are taken from the practice of the British Parliament. These were won by the House of Commons during a long struggle with the Stuart kings of England in the seventeenth century. Such privileges may be abused, as when congressmen recklessly accuse defenseless individuals. Congressional immunity is necessary, however, if congressmen are to act independently and speak freely on public questions.

Article I, Section 6, clause 2. The purpose of this clause is to prevent the President from influencing congressmen by promising or giving them jobs.

SECTION 7. HOW BILLS BECOME LAWS

1. *Revenue Bills.* All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

2. *President's Veto.* Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

3. *Veto Power Extended to Resolutions.* Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION 8. POWERS GRANTED CONGRESS

1. *Taxation.* The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. *Borrowing.* To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

3. *Regulation of Commerce.* To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

4. *Naturalization and Bankruptcies.* To establish a uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

(Continued from page 117.)

separation of powers can be seen by Article I, Section 6, clause 2; this forbids any man to hold both an executive or judicial office and a seat in Congress.

This system of separation of powers is in contrast to the British system of "parliamentary" or "cabinet" government. In Britain the real heads of the government, the prime minister and his cabinet, are chosen from the legislature itself. They represent the party that commands a majority in the House of Commons. Thus, instead of being separated, the British executive and legislative powers are merged.

CHECKS AND BALANCES

To prevent any branch of the federal government from overstepping its powers, the Constitution sets up an elaborate system of "checks and balances" whereby each branch of government is given some power to oversee or

interfere in the work of the others. Thus the lawmaking power of Congress is checked by the President's veto, which is a negative power of legislation. While it is the President's job as chief executive to appoint civil servants and judges, the Senate shares in this executive power since it must ratify all major appointments. Although it is the function of the federal judiciary to try persons accused of crime, the President has the judicial power of granting pardons and reprieves.

Separation of powers plus checks and balances have received criticism. If any two branches of the federal government disagree, decisive action may be difficult, even impossible. Especially if the President and Congress are in opposition, the government tends to go into "dead center," with Congress unwilling to take action recommended by the President, and the President vetoing bills passed by Congress. In any case, checks and balances tend to slow up federal action to such a degree that one

(Continued on page 121.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Article I, Section 7, clause 2. The President has a "suspensive veto"; it suspends action until Congress has a chance to try to "override" the veto by a two-thirds vote. The President within less than ten days of the end of a congressional sitting may also use the "pocket veto." In such case, the President ignores a bill ("puts it in his pocket"), and it automatically fails to become a law.

Article I, Section 8, clauses 1 and 3. These clauses contain the most important new powers: taxation and control over interstate and foreign commerce.

The taxing power has been used for other purposes than raising money. Protective tariffs have always been levied in order to promote American industry. Since "the power to tax is the power to destroy," heavy taxation has been used to prevent the use of certain products, such as sulphur matches, by raising their price so high that no one would buy them. Congress has attempted to discourage gambling by a special tax on professional gamblers.

Article I, Section 8, clause 3. The exact meaning of "commerce" has caused controversy for many years (see *Gibbons v. Ogden*, p. 233). The tendency has been constantly to expand the meaning and the application of the word. Under the "commerce clause" the federal government now fixes railroad rates, establishes frequencies for radio stations, protects migratory birds, establishes safety regulations for airplanes, and forbids racial discrimination in public facilities, such as motels and restaurants.

5. *Coinage.* To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

6. *Punishing Counterfeiters.* To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

7. *Postal Service.* To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

8. *Copyrights and Patents.* To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

9. *Lower Courts.* To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

10. *Punishing Piracy.* To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

11. *Declaring War.* To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

12. *Army.* To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

13. *Navy.* To provide and maintain a Navy;

14. *Regulating the Armed Forces.* To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

15. *Calling Out Militia.* To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

16. *Regulating Militia.* To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. *Areas under Exclusive Control of Congress.* To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;

—And

18. *The "Elastic Clause."* To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

(Continued from page 119.)
 authority has written, "The time element in the American Constitution makes it a luxury the United States cannot afford in the modern world."

On the other hand, checks and balances and separation of powers are an insurance against seizure of power of the federal government by a single man or an organized group. They are a protection against rash, ill-considered action. These advantages probably more than outweigh the apparent inefficiency of the system.

THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

Article I, Section 8, has been called "the heart of the Constitution." It grants the federal government the great powers needed to govern the United States effectively. In the many years since the Constitution went into effect, it has been found necessary to add very few new powers to the original list.

The authors of the Constitution attempted to set up a system of "divided sovereignty," whereby the federal government was to control interstate and foreign relations, while the states controlled local affairs. This arrangement

was probably a result of the fact that during the colonial period Americans had become used to a similar scheme. To try to prevent such an increase in the powers of the central government as had caused the American Revolution, the Founding Fathers made the federal government one of "enumerated powers." This meant that the actions of the government of the United States were restricted to the powers specifically granted in the Constitution. All other power remained in the hands of the states.

In the course of time federal powers expanded with the needs of a growing country. Until recently this was in part accomplished by interpretation of the so-called "elastic clause" (Article I, Section 8, clause 18). This states that Congress may make all laws "necessary and proper" for putting into effect its stated powers. Just what "necessary and proper" meant was a matter of bitter dispute. Those who wished to restrain the power of the federal government emphasized the word "necessary." They were known as "strict constructionists," because they wished to interpret the Constitution strictly and so limit the federal

(Continued on page 123.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Article I, Section 8, clause 5. Control over money is an exclusive federal power since the states are forbidden to issue currency (Article I, Section 10 clause 1). This arrangement was designed to end the confusion which resulted when each state had its own currency.

Article I, Section 8, clause 11. The Founding Fathers probably intended that the power to declare war should lie exclusively with Congress. From the very first, however, the President, as commander in chief of the armed forces, carried on warfare without a formal declaration by Congress. The United States carried on undeclared war with France in 1798-1800 during the presidency of John Adams and with Tripoli in 1801-1805 under Thomas Jefferson. In modern times the Korean and Vietnam wars are examples of hostilities engaged in without a formal congressional declaration, although the war effort in both cases received congressional support.

Article I, Section 8, clause 12. The condition that money may be voted for the armed forces for only two years reveals fear of a standing army. The Constitution endeavors to see that the military forces of the United States shall be servant of the people, not their master.

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SECTION 9. POWERS DENIED TO THE UNITED STATES

1. *May Not Interfere with Slave Trade Before 1808.* [The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.]

2. *May Not Suspend Habeas Corpus Except in Crisis.* The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

3. *May Not Pass Bills of Attainder or Ex Post Facto Laws.* No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

4. *May Not Levy Taxes Except in Proportion to Population.* No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. *May Not Levy Export Taxes.* No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

6. *May Not Favor One Port over Another.* No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

7. *May Not Spend Money without Appropriations or Maintain Secrecy in Finances.* No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

8. *May Not Grant Titles of Nobility.* No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. POWERS DENIED TO THE STATES

1. *Various Actions Forbidden to the States.* No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligations of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

2. *May Not Levy Import or Export Duties.* No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

(Continued from page 121.)

government to the powers *enumerated* or *specified* in the document itself. Those who desired to expand federal power stressed the word “proper.” They were known as “loose constructionists” because they wished to allow the federal government to exercise power *implied* in the document. Loose constructionists argued, for instance, that the enumerated power to build post roads implied the right to dig canals.

No matter how much the “elastic clause” might be stretched, federal power was theoretically limited to the purposes stated in the Constitution. According to the Tenth Amendment:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

The twentieth century has seen such immense expansion of federal power that the idea

that certain matters are exclusively reserved for local jurisdiction is breaking down. This was dramatized by the establishment of cabinet-level Departments of Health, Education and Welfare in 1953 and of Housing and Urban Development in 1965. Local governments lacked revenues to provide relief for the unemployed or decent schools, so the federal government provided funds, at the same time having a say in how they should be spent. When states allowed or even promoted discrimination against minority groups, Congress passed laws whereby the federal government guaranteed the right to vote and to use public facilities such as buses and restaurants. In the course of the Cold War, defense spending has become a seemingly permanent part of the economy, and where defense contracts are awarded may determine whether an urban area will be prosperous or poor.

(Continued on page 125.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Article I, Section 9, clause 2. *Habeas corpus* was a legal concept developed in England to protect individuals from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. A writ of *habeas corpus*, issued by a judge, requires a sheriff or other jailer to bring a prisoner to court and to show cause why he should be detained.

Article I, Section 9, clause 3. A bill of attainder was a means whereby the British Parliament formerly punished officials and private individuals without a trial. An *ex post facto* law is one passed after an act has been committed, thus making that act a crime and prescribing punishment for it.

Article I, Section 9, clauses 4, 5, 6, and 7. The taxing and spending powers of the federal government are limited in order to prevent taxation falling more heavily on one part of the country than on another and to discourage misuse of public funds. The Sixteenth Amendment was needed to legalize a federal income tax.

Article I, Section 10. Much of this section is designed to reinforce the powers granted to the federal government in Article I, Section 8. The states are prohibited from taking any part in control of foreign affairs, war, and control of interstate and foreign commerce.

Article I, Section 10, clause 1. Several phrases in this clause protect creditors from state laws designed to make it easier for debtors to repay what they have borrowed. The states are forbidden to “emit Bills of Credit”—that is, to print paper money which would reduce the value of the currency. The prohibitions on making “any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts” and on passing any “Law impairing the Obligations of Contracts” were both designed to prevent the states from scaling down debts.

3. *May Not Wage War Unless Invaded.* No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION I. PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

1. *Term of Office.* The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

2. *Number of Electors.* Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

3. *Election of President and Vice-President.* [The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote: A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.]

(Continued from page 123.)

In spite of the growth of federal power, local governments still have the major share in controlling matters that concern the day-to-day lives of people most closely—health, schooling, water supply, police and fire protection. This promotes democracy by encouraging people to take an active interest in local politics. States and cities often serve as “political laboratories” where new attempts to solve the ever-changing problems of an industrial civilization may be worked out. They are schools of politics for many men who later hold federal office.

The federal system thus retains vigor, even though the strict division between the sovereignty of the national and state governments has become a thing of the past.

THE PRESIDENCY

No branch of the federal government gave the authors of the Constitution so much difficulty as the executive department. The Founding Fathers knew that a strong President was needed, but they also had to reckon with wide-

spread fear of a strong executive. This was a carry-over from the struggles with royal governors in colonial times and from the dislike of George III during the Revolution.

Under the circumstances it is surprising how much power the President was granted. He has been called “an elective monarch,” and historically this is an accurate description. The President’s major powers are those formerly enjoyed by the king of England. They are, briefly, (1) conduct of foreign affairs, (2) supreme command of the army and navy, (3) appointment of executive and judicial officers, (4) the right to reprieve or pardon those accused of crime, and (5) a veto on legislation. In addition to these great powers, the President had a four-year term and was allowed to succeed himself in office. Contrast this to the position of many state governors, who in the 1780’s were allowed to hold office for only one year, had no veto power, and were not allowed to succeed themselves. It is no wonder that during the fight over ratification in 1787 and 1788 the Anti-

(Continued on page 127.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Article II, Section 1, clause 2. The Philadelphia Convention had trouble deciding how the President was to be chosen. A proposal to have him selected by Congress was voted down because it would violate the principle of separation of powers. Direct election was rejected because of fear that a President with a great popular following might seize power. Choice by state legislatures, each state having one vote, was considered, but the large states were naturally opposed. The system finally agreed upon was indirect election by “electors” chosen for the purpose. The presidential electors are collectively called the “electoral college.” During the early years of the republic, the presidential electors were, like the senators, chosen by state legislatures rather than by vote of the people. For further discussion, see notes on the Twelfth Amendment (p. 143).

Article II, Section 1, clause 3. This clause has been largely replaced by the Twelfth Amendment. In the original Constitution each elector had two votes, and the man with the highest number of votes became President and the next highest became Vice-President. If there was no majority, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives. The House, with each state having one vote, would make a choice from the highest five candidates. It was expected that this would happen frequently, on the assumption that electors would vote for “favorite sons” from their own states or regions. The House has elected the President only twice, in 1800 and 1824.

4. *Time for Choosing Electors.* The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. *Qualifications for President.* No Person except a natural born Citizen, [or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution,] shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

6. *Presidential Succession in Case of Vacancy.* In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. *Presidential Salary.* The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. *Presidential Oath.* Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

1. *Military Power; Executive Departments; Reprieves and Pardons.* The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

2. *Treaties and Appointments.* He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other

(Continued from page 125.)

Federalists made the presidency one of the principal points of attack in their criticism of the Constitution. If the Constitution went into effect, they predicted, some future President would use the great powers of his office to make himself a dictator.

Nearly every one of the President's stated powers has been expanded since the Constitution first went into effect. At first, for instance, the veto power was used sparingly, but since Andrew Jackson's time Presidents have used the veto to hold up any legislation they disliked. Lincoln used his power as commander in chief as the basis for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation which declared slaves free in the South (see p. 362).

Much of the President's power comes from the fact that he is head of one or the other of the two great political parties. The members of

his party in Congress are under pressure to support legislation which he recommends. The presidential office has also gained strength because, as Grover Cleveland said, "The presidency is the people's office." While members of Congress represent particular states, he represents the whole country. His every action attracts nation-wide attention. No one can rival him in his ability to appeal to public opinion—especially since the invention of radio broadcasting and television.

In time of crisis, as in wartime or a depression, when quick, decisive action is called for, Congress may turn over many of its powers to the President "for the duration." On such an occasion he may come close to being a temporary dictator.

The influence of the presidency varies according to the personality and purposes of men
(Continued on page 129.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Article II, Section 1, clause 6. Congress has made various provisions for succession to the presidency in case of the death or removal of both the President and Vice-President. As of 1966 the law provides that the speaker of the House of Representatives shall succeed to the presidency, followed by the president *pro tem* of the Senate.

A question never satisfactorily answered until 1967 was: who decides if a President is unable to discharge the duties of his office, and in such case, who takes over? In 1919 and 1920 the country was almost leaderless when President Wilson fell seriously ill and yet failed to give others authority to act for him. The problem reappeared in less acute form when President Eisenhower suffered serious illness three times during his presidency. Both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson had written agreements with their Vice-Presidents on the disability question. These did not, of course, have the force of law. Such informal agreements were only interim attempts to solve a serious problem.

The other question, brought back once again by the assassination of President Kennedy, was the lack of a way to fill the office of Vice-President when it became vacant. This lack had been noticed on previous occasions when the Vice-Presidency was vacant, but the shock of the Kennedy assassination finally forced a constitutional amendment. Both questions were settled once and for all in 1967 with Amendment XXV (see p. 152).

Article II, Section 2, clause 1. Mention of "the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments" is the only suggestion of the President's cabinet to be found in the Constitution. President Washington started the cabinet by asking the heads of government departments to meet with him for discussion of public questions. The cabinet is a purely advisory body, and its power depends on the President.

Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law; but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

3. *Recess Appointments.* The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION 3. PRESIDENTIAL DUTIES

Presidential Messages; Congressional Sessions; Executing Laws. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. IMPEACHMENT

Removal of Executive Officers. The President, Vice President and all Civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. FEDERAL COURTS

Supreme and Lower Courts; Term and Salary of Judges. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

(Continued from page 127.)

who hold the office. Andrew Jackson and Theodore Roosevelt increased their power by sheer force of personality. A President with a program of legislation he wants to put through Congress will generally exert more power than a "stand-patter" who wants to continue things as they are.

During the last three decades the President has been the leader of international alliances against the expansive forces of fascist and communist aggression. His decisions have profoundly affected the lives of men in other countries as well as in his own.

Greatly as the power of the President has expanded, there has never been serious danger of dictatorship. Only in times of crisis will congressmen consent to be "rubber stamps." The Supreme Court also stands ready to check undue use of power, as when in 1952 it forbade President Truman to settle a strike by seizing the steel industry. And America's allies certainly do not accept the President's decisions

without question; he must persuade them of the wisdom of any course of action.

THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY

Of the three branches of government, the judicial department is the one most sketchily described in the Constitution. It was simply stated that there was to be a Supreme Court and inferior courts. Other details were left for later decision by Congress. Soon after the first Congress met, during the administration of George Washington, it passed the Judiciary Act of 1789 which set up the federal courts on a plan which has been followed ever since. The lowest courts are the district courts, each presided over by a district judge. Most cases involving federal laws are tried here. Above the district courts are the circuit courts. Their principal business is to hear cases which have been appealed from district courts on the ground that there was an error or injustice in the original decision.

(Continued on page 131.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Article II, Section 3. By delivering special messages urging particular laws or by calling special sessions for Congress to consider some particular problem, the President can focus public attention on legislation which he wants passed. When a crisis comes up while Congress is not in session, the President may attempt to keep matters in his own hands by failing to call Congress into session before the regular time.

The President's duty to receive foreign diplomats carries with it the power to ask a foreign country to withdraw its diplomatic officials from this country. This is called breaking diplomatic relations, and often carries with it the threat of war. The President likewise has the power of deciding whether or not to recognize a new foreign government. Thus in 1913 President Wilson refused to recognize a Mexican government headed by Victoriano Huerta, because Huerta had gained power by violence. Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson have all refused to recognize the Communist government of China.

The President's duty to faithfully execute the laws carries with it a power to interpret laws according to his judgment. A President must decide what to do when two laws contradict each other—as they sometimes do. Or Presidents may vary in the degree to which they carry out a law. Thus the Sherman Antitrust Act was almost a dead letter until Theodore Roosevelt chose to enforce it more vigorously than his three predecessors (see p. 505).

Article II, Section 4. Remember that "impeachment" means merely to "bring charges against" not "to remove from office." Removal takes place *after* the accused officer has been convicted of the offense for which he was impeached.

SECTION 2. JURISDICTION OF FEDERAL COURTS

1. *Kinds of Cases Tried in Federal Courts.* The Judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States; [—between a State and Citizens of another State;] —between Citizens of different States;—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

2. *Original and Appellate Jurisdiction of Supreme Court.* In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. *Jury Trial Guaranteed; Place of Trial.* The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION 3. TREASON

1. *Definition of Treason.* Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

2. *Punishment for Treason; How Limited.* The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

(Continued from page 129.)

The Constitution was more precise about the types of cases which should go to federal courts than about how the courts should be set up. The principal function of the federal judiciary under the Constitution is plain: to try offenses against federal laws and treaties. Thus the new federal government differed from that established by the Articles of Confederation because *it could compel individual citizens to obey it.*

One of the most vital powers of the federal judiciary is not stated in the Constitution. This is the practice known as “judicial review,” whereby the courts decide whether state and federal laws accord with the Constitution. If the judiciary decides that a law is unconstitutional, it ceases to have effect. Thus the federal judiciary, and especially the Supreme Court, exerts a veto power. Furthermore, this veto extends beyond legislation to the actions of state and federal executives (see p. 196) and to the decisions of state courts. In no other country in the world does the judiciary exert

so much power. It is not clear whether the authors of the Constitution meant to grant the courts such immense authority, but judicial review was an obvious interpretation of Article VI, clause 2, which states that the Constitution is the “supreme Law of the Land.”

Today almost the only business of the Supreme Court is constitutional questions. In the performance of its task the Supreme Court not merely decides the law, but may also issue orders (called injunctions) demanding compliance with its decisions. One way to override a Supreme Court decision is by the difficult process of amending the Constitution. For example, Amendment XVI permitted Congress to levy an income tax after the Supreme Court had declared such a tax unconstitutional. Another way of controlling the Court is by Congressional action. Thus the “crime control” Act of 1968 eliminated some restrictions the court had placed on criminal confessions to the police. Furthermore, the court is cautious in declaring state or federal actions illegal. Nor does it pass

(Continued on page 133.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Article III, Section 2, clause 1. The phrase “in Law and Equity” reflects the fact that American courts took over two kinds of traditional law from England. The basic law was the “common law” which was based on over five centuries of judicial decisions. “Equity” was a special branch of law developed to take care of cases where common law did not apply, or to prevent an injustice from being done. Federal courts deal mostly in “statute law”—legislation passed by Congress, treaties, or the Constitution itself. “Admiralty and maritime jurisdiction” is a branch of law inherited from Great Britain. It covers all sorts of cases involving ships and shipping on the high seas and on navigable waters such as rivers, canals, and the Great Lakes.

The meaning of the phrase “between a state and citizens of another state” has been altered by the Eleventh Amendment (see pp. 142–143).

Article III, Section 2, clause 2. When a court has “original jurisdiction” over certain types of cases, it means that such cases are referred to it first. A court with “appellate jurisdiction” tries cases which have been appealed from lower courts.

Article III, Section 3, clause 1. The charge of treason had been used by tyrants as a means of getting rid of people who opposed them. To prevent this abuse the authors of the Constitution defined it carefully, insisted that it be clearly proved, and limited punishment for it.

ARTICLE IV. INTERSTATE RELATIONS

SECTION 1. OFFICIAL ACTS

Reciprocal Recognition. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the Public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION 2. MUTUAL DUTIES OF STATES

1. *Exchange of Privileges of Citizenship.* The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

2. *Extradition.* A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

3. *Fugitive Slaves, Apprentices, and Indentured Servants.* [No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.]

SECTION 3. NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

1. *Admission of New States.* New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. *Control over Territory and Property of the United States.* The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. FEDERAL PROTECTION FOR STATES

Guarantees Against Invasion, Despotism, and Domestic Violence. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

(Continued from page 131.)

all laws, but only on those brought before it. And while the justices do not face the people at election time, and so feel free to oppose the popular will, actually the court sooner or later usually "follows the election returns"—in other words, it goes along with public opinion as expressed through the actions of state governments, of Congress, and of the federal executive. As old justices die or resign, new men are chosen by the party in power. Sometimes justices simply change their minds. The Supreme Court, in short, acts as a balance wheel rather than as a brake.

Federal judges hold office "during good behavior," which means for life or until they choose to resign. Combined with the provision that judges' salaries may not be reduced, this is designed to make the federal courts independent. As long as they are not guilty of "high crimes or misdemeanors" (for which they may be impeached), federal judges are free of

popular, presidential, or congressional control. The idea of an independent judiciary originated in England in the seventeenth century in order to prevent judges from being controlled by the king. The idea was carried over into the United States Constitution to prevent judges from being controlled by anybody.

While the wisdom of the federal judiciary has often been questioned, the Supreme Court has never been touched by corruption, and it has always behaved with the dignity fitting its high position as guardian of the Constitution.

INTERSTATE AND FEDERAL-STATE COOPERATION

The Constitution provides for cooperation between the states and between the states and the federal government. Article IV declares that the states shall respect each other's laws and court actions, shall aid each other in bringing persons accused of crime to justice, and

(Continued on page 135.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Article IV, Section 1. The "full faith and credit clause" was carried over from the Articles of Confederation. It means that court judgments and legal actions such as contracts, wills, marriages, partnerships, and corporation charters should be valid throughout the United States. "Full faith and credit" does not extend, however, to matters that fall within what is called the "police power" of the states. It does not extend, for instance, to licenses to practice medicine, law, or engineering.

Article IV, Section 2, clause 1. The "privileges and immunities" guaranteed by each state to citizens of other states do not include privileges that demand residential qualifications such as the right to vote, to run a restaurant, or to sell drugs. By the so-called "insular decisions" in the early twentieth century, the Supreme Court decided that this provision of the Constitution did not extend to inhabitants of the overseas territories of the United States. Such people became citizens only when Congress granted them the privilege by legislation (see p. 483).

Article IV, Section 2, clause 3. During the early nineteenth century, fixed labor contracts of apprentices and indentured servants were abandoned. In 1865 slavery was abolished. This clause thus became a dead letter.

Article IV, Section 3. Neither in this section where one might logically expect it, nor anywhere else in the Constitution is there any statement that the federal government may acquire new territory, whether by conquest or purchase. This omission embarrassed Jefferson when he negotiated the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.



ARTICLE V. THE AMENDING PROCESS

How Amendments Are Proposed and Ratified. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided [that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and] that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. FEDERAL CREDIT AND FEDERAL SUPREMACY

1. *Prior Debts of the United States.* All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. *The Supreme Law of the Land.* This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

3. *Official Oath: No Religious Test.* The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

(Continued from page 133.)

shall return runaway apprentices, indentured servants, and slaves to their masters. It also says that the federal government shall aid states in preserving rights of self-government, in repelling invasion, and in keeping order.

In the twentieth century the area of interstate cooperation has been widened. Since state lines often cut across natural geographical regions, a single state may be incompetent to deal with important problems. With the approval of Congress, states may make compacts for cooperative action. New Jersey and New York jointly established the Port of New York Authority and turned over to it control of shipping and docking in the Hudson River. Before it was worthwhile to build the Hoover Dam on the Colorado River, seven states had to make an agreement about the control and use of its water.

Cooperation between the federal and state governments also extends far beyond what is

specified in the Constitution. In certain fields, such as conservation and control of aviation, federal and state governments have arranged similar laws and joint enforcement. It is a federal offense to carry across a state line game killed in violation of local law. The federal government also provides financial aid for state activities such as road building, public health, control of insect pests, and education.

THE AMENDING PROCESS

If amendments to the Articles of Confederation had not required unanimous consent of the states, the Confederation might have lasted much longer than it did. Twice during that period, a single state blocked a proposal to give Congress the power it most needed—the right to levy taxes. The authors of the Constitution made the amending process easier by arranging (1) that amendments be *proposed* either by a two-thirds vote of Congress or

(Continued on page 137.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Article V. One of the two methods for proposing amendments—through a convention called on request of two-thirds of the states—has never been used. In the 1960's there was a movement, however, to call for such a convention with a view to overriding a Supreme Court decision that electoral districts for elections to state legislatures must be approximately equal in population.

Only one amendment, the twenty-first, has been ratified by state conventions.

Article VI, clause 2. The "supremacy clause" is one of the most important in the entire Constitution. It was principally on the basis of this clause that Chief Justice John Marshall wrote his classic statement of loose construction in *Marbury v. Madison* (see p. 196). The Judiciary Act of 1789 and the Fourteenth Amendment reinforced this supremacy of federal law over state law.

Article VI, clause 3. Notice that state as well as federal officials must solemnly agree to support the Constitution. This makes local officers, from policemen to governors, federal officials as well. Also, the Constitution put many duties on the states, such as arranging elections to federal office.

The fact that the Constitution forbids a religious test as a qualification for office reveals that its authors thought that church and state should not mix. How or whether a man worships God should be, they felt, a private affair. This principle of "separation of church and state" is also found in the First Amendment, which forbids Congress to set up a state church or to interfere with religious freedom.



ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Nine States Necessary for Ratification. The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same. Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independance of the United States of America the Twelfth. In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names, G^o Washington—Presid^t

and deputy from
Virginia

New Hampshire	{ John Langdon Nicholas Gilman		{ Geo: Read Gunning Bedford jun
Massachusetts	{ Nathaniel Gorham Rufus King	Delaware	{ John Dickinson Richard Bassett
Connecticut	{ W ^m Sam ^l Johnson Roger Sherman		{ Jaco : Broom James M ^c Henry
New York	{ Alexander Hamilton	Maryland	{ Dan of S ^t Tho ^s Jenifer Dan ^l Carroll
	{ Wil : Livingston David Brearley	Virginia	{ John Blair— James Madison Jr.
New Jersey	{ W ^m Paterson. Jona : Dayton		{ W ^m Blount Rich ^d Dobbs Spaight
	{ B Franklin Thomas Mifflin	North Carolina	{ Hu Williamson J. Rutledge
	{ Rob ^t Morris Geo. Clymer	South Carolina	{ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Pennsylvania	{ Tho ^s FitzSimons Jared Ingersoll		{ Charles Pinckney Pierce Butler.
	{ James Wilson Gouv Morris	Georgia	{ William Few Abr Baldwin

(Continued from page 135.)

through a convention called by Congress on request of two-thirds of the state legislatures; and (2) that amendments be *ratified* by three-quarters of the states. Ratification might be either by state legislatures or by state conventions called for the purpose. Although these provisions made altering the Constitution easier than changing the Articles, the process of amendment was still so difficult and slow that the original Constitution has undergone few alterations.

How is it possible that a Constitution devised in the eighteenth century to meet the needs of a sparsely settled, isolated, agricultural country is still used by a great industrial nation with world-wide interests? As has already been suggested, the Constitution has been greatly altered by *interpretation* and by *usage*. It has changed its meaning from generation to generation. New demands on government have tended to widen its sphere and to alter its methods. The Supreme Court, by its power of judicial review, generally controls how far and

how fast this change in meaning may go. Ultimately, though, the power of modifying the Constitution rests with the people and the officials whom they elect.

RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

The authors of the Constitution arranged that it should go into effect when ratified by special conventions in nine states. This carried out the idea expressed in the Declaration of Independence that governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." As has already been pointed out, *all* the people did not have an opportunity to say whether or not they would accept the Constitution because in the 1780's voting rights were limited to men of property. At the time it was ratified, however, the new federal Union came nearer to expressing the will of the people than did the governments of any other country in the world. As Jefferson said at the time, the United States had given an example to the world in altering its government "by assembling the

(Continued on page 139.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Article VII. "The Unanimous Consent of the States present" does not mean "the unanimous consent of delegates from all the states," because Rhode Island was not represented. Nor does this mean that all the delegates sent to the Convention approved of the Constitution. A few men were so much opposed to what was going on in Philadelphia that they went home.

The Signers. The signers were young men for the most part; only eleven had passed their fiftieth birthday. Of the 55 delegates who attended the Constitutional Convention, 42 remained to the end. Three of these were opposed, however, and George Mason of Virginia said that he would sooner chop off his right hand than sign the Constitution. But more common was the attitude of Benjamin Franklin, who said that he did not approve of every feature of the document, but was still astonished to find it as good as it was. Thirty-nine signed it. (Six delegates—Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, Roger Sherman, George Read, George Clymer, and James Wilson—signed both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.) Historians who have studied the work of the Founding Fathers generally agree with the judgment of Charles and Mary Beard, who wrote, "Among the many historic assemblies which have wrought revolutions in the affairs of mankind, it seems safe to say that there never has been one that commanded more political talent, practical experience, and sound substance than the Philadelphia Convention of 1787."



✓ AMENDMENT I. FREEDOM OF OPINION (1791)

Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly, Petition. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

AMENDMENT II. RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS (1791)

Maintaining a Militia. A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

AMENDMENT III. QUARTERING TROOPS (1791)

No Soldiers in Private Homes in Peace Time. No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

AMENDMENT IV. SEARCHES AND SEIZURES (1791)

No General Search Warrants. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

AMENDMENT V. RIGHTS OF ACCUSED PERSONS (1791)

Protection of Individual Rights. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger;

(Continued from page 137.)

wise men of the state, instead of assembling armies."

The Articles of Confederation had insisted on the unanimous consent of the states for amendment. Opponents of the Constitution therefore claimed that the Founding Fathers had been guilty of exceeding their powers by providing for ratification by only nine out of thirteen states. In fact, however, the Constitution was not an amendment to the Articles of Confederation, but an entirely new frame of government.

For many years it was not clear whether once a state had joined the Union it had the right to withdraw. The Constitution itself is silent on the point. The question was put to the ultimate test when in 1861 eleven southern states attempted to form a separate union of their own, the Confederate States of America. Northern victory in the war that followed decided that problem: once having joined the Union, a state may not leave it. (See Chapter 14.)

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

One of the principal objections to the Constitution when it was presented for ratification in 1787 was that it contained no section spelling out the rights and liberties of American citizens. Several states were persuaded to ratify only on the assurance that such a statement would be added immediately. The first ten amendments, ratified in 1791, are known as the Bill of Rights. They were designed to make sure that the new federal government would not abuse its great powers by oppressing the people or the states. They underline the basic principle of the Declaration of Independence: that the purpose of government is to protect individual rights.

The rights of the individual stated here are not unlimited. In general, a citizen's rights end where his abuse of them hurts other individuals or threatens public safety. Freedom of speech does not include the right to utter slander (defaming a person by word of mouth) or to pub-

(Continued on page 141.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Amendment II. This provision is designed solely to guarantee to states the right to maintain a militia. It in no way restricts the right of the federal, state, or municipal governments to regulate private ownership and use of weapons.

Amendments III and IV. These are based on an ancient principle of English law: "a man's house is his castle." They also reflect grievances against the British government before the Revolution. The British had quartered redcoats in private houses and had used "writs of assistance" (general search warrants) to seek out smuggled goods.

Amendments IV-VIII. These amendments carefully protect the rights of the person most at the mercy of society: the man accused of crime. They reflect two principles of Anglo-Saxon justice: that a man is assumed to be innocent until proved guilty, and that it is better to let the guilty go free than to punish the innocent.

To bring "a presentment or indictment" means to bring formal charges against a person. It is the function of a "Grand Jury" to see whether there appears to be enough evidence against a man to warrant his being brought to trial.

"The land and naval forces" and "Militia" are, while in actual service, subject to "military law," breaches of which may be tried in a "court martial." In times of emergency, such as invasion or natural disasters, civilians may temporarily be controlled by the armed forces under martial law.



nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

AMENDMENT VI. RIGHTS OF ACCUSED PERSONS (continued) (1791)

Conduct of Trials. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

AMENDMENT VII. SUITS AT COMMON LAW (1791)

Right to Trial by Jury. In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

AMENDMENT VIII. BAILS, PUNISHMENTS (1791)

Moderation in Bails, Fines, Punishments. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

AMENDMENT IX. RIGHTS NOT ENUMERATED (1791)

People Retain Rights Not Stated in Constitution. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

AMENDMENT X. POWERS NOT DELEGATED (1791)

Powers Reserved to State and People. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

(Continued from page 139.)
lish libel (defaming a person in writing). Freedom of assembly does not include the right to organize a lynching mob, nor does freedom of religion give the right to practices, such as polygamy, which offend the public sense of morality.

Most of the rights and privileges stated in the Bill of Rights are drawn from the "liberties of Englishmen" won in Great Britain during the long struggle between king and Parliament which came to a head in the seventeenth century. It was to these rights Americans had appealed in the struggle with the British Parliament which finally resulted in the Revolutionary War.

The exact meaning of the provisions of the Bill of Rights is partly determined by Congress. At various times Congress has, for instance, passed laws which define sedition (conspiring

against the government). In general, however, the definition of the rights and liberties of citizens is the function of the federal judiciary.

Since during each passing year new conditions are constantly arising, the courts are constantly engaged in bringing the Bill of Rights up to date. Some of the questions which the courts have had to answer in applying ancient rights to modern situations are: Have federal officials the right to tap telephones of suspected criminals? Have the members of a religious sect the right to insist that their children not be required to salute the American flag in school? May a gangster refuse to give testimony to a committee of Congress on the ground that if he did so he would tend to incriminate himself?

In time of crisis, such as the Civil War, the First and Second World Wars, and the "Cold

(Continued on page 143.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Amendment V. The phrase "nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself" means that an accused person may refuse to answer questions on the ground that his answers might tend to incriminate him. This does not weaken his right to be assumed innocent until proved guilty.

The right to refuse to testify on grounds of self-incrimination extends to witnesses appearing before congressional committees.

"Nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." This refers to the "right of eminent domain" which allows governments to take land or other property for public use if they pay a fair price. There are many cases where the "general welfare" outweighs an individual's right to possess property—as when a government needs to build a road, erect a fort, or lay out a park. Governments may employ the right of eminent domain to assist a private corporation in building a public utility such as a railroad or an electric power plant.

Amendment VI. "An impartial jury" here refers to a petit (pronounced "petty") or trial jury which in the federal courts and in most state courts must reach a unanimous verdict before a person charged with crime is held guilty. In some state courts a less-than-unanimous verdict is allowed in certain types of cases.

Amendment IX. In other words, the people retain rights, even if these rights are not specifically described in the Constitution.

Amendment X. While most of the Bill of Rights deals with the rights of the individual, the Tenth Amendment is specifically directed toward protecting the states from over-extension of federal power. It may be regarded as an effort to reduce the "elasticity" of Article I, Section 8, clause 18 (see pp. 118 and 120).



AMENDMENT XI. SUITS AGAINST STATES (1798)

No Right of Individual to Sue a State in Federal Courts. The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

AMENDMENT XII. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (1804)

Separate Ballot for President and Vice-President. The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, [before the fourth day of March next following,] then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. —The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

(Continued from page 141.)
 War" against communism, there has been a natural tendency to reduce individual rights for the sake of the public safety. Such times produce an intense feeling of patriotism and

along with it an intolerance for any who are even suspected of disloyalty. There is a temptation to deny to suspects the protection of the individual which is found in the Bill of Rights.

(Continued on page 145.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Amendment XI. This amendment, like those preceding it, reflects distrust of federal power. No sooner had the Constitution gone into effect than private individuals began to sue state governments in federal courts. In the case of *Chisholm v. Georgia* in 1793, the Supreme Court upheld a decision in which the state of Georgia was ordered to pay damages to the heirs of a Britisher whose property had been confiscated during the Revolution. This decision caused such a howl of protest that Congress proposed, and the states ratified, the Eleventh Amendment.

The Eleventh Amendment does not prevent a state from being sued before the Supreme Court by another state or by a foreign country. If State A, for instance, dumps garbage into a river running into State B, State B may bring charges before the Supreme Court to end the nuisance.

Amendment XII. According to the original Constitution (Article II, Section 3) there was a single ballot in the electoral college for President and Vice-President. This caused serious difficulty in the election of 1800, when Jefferson and Burr were tied (for details, see p. 186). To prevent confusion, the Twelfth Amendment specifies separate ballots. The House of Representatives, voting by states, makes the choice for President in case of no majority in the electoral college, and the Senate chooses the Vice-President.

The authors of the Constitution intended that the electors should make up their own minds. Ever since the first party election in 1796, however, electors have been pledged to the support of party candidates. Thus they have become simply "rubber stamps" registering the popular will.

May a presidential elector still use his individual judgment or does a century and a half of custom outweigh the intentions of the Founding Fathers? The evidence on this point is confused. In 1952 the Supreme Court held that a political party might legally require a binding pledge that an elector vote for the party nominee. Yet in 1956 an Alabama elector pledged to Adlai Stevenson voted for a local judge never before mentioned for the presidency, and the action was accepted by Congress. In 1960 a Republican elector from Oklahoma voted for Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia.

The Twelfth Amendment tries to insure that the President and Vice-President come from different states. In practice, they have usually come not only from different states but from different sections of the country. For many years, as an example, it was the practice of the Republicans to nominate their presidential candidates from the Middle West and to "balance the ticket" by nominating Easterners for the vice-presidency.

The electoral college system does not provide for an accurate determination of the popular will. The small states are over-represented. When there are more than two candidates, a man may poll a minority of the popular vote and yet win a majority of the electoral college, as happened when Lincoln was elected in 1860 and Wilson was elected in 1912. In 1888, when there were only two major candidates, Harrison with a minority of the popular vote won over Cleveland, who had a larger proportion of the popular vote than in 1884 when he had been elected to the presidency.



AMENDMENT XIII. ABOLITION OF SLAVERY (1865)

1. *No Slavery in United States.* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. *Power of Congress to Enforce.* Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XIV. LIMITATIONS ON STATE ACTION (1868)

1. *Negroes Made Citizens; No State Discriminations.* All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. *Loss of Representation in Congress by States Denying Right to Vote.* Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. *Confederate Leaders Disqualified from Public Office.* [No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.]

(Continued from page 143.)

Such periods of excitement reveal the advantage of putting judges beyond direct popular control by allowing them to hold office “during good Behavior” (Article III, Section 1). Less swayed than most citizens by the emotions of the moment, the federal judiciary preserves the liberties the Constitution guarantees to the suspect and the fanatic as much as to the man whose loyalty is unquestioned and whose opinions are those of the majority.

THE NATIONAL SUPREMACY AMENDMENTS

During the Reconstruction period that followed the Civil War (see Chapter 14, pp. 365–376), three amendments were added to the Constitution. All of them attempted to define the position of the Negroes of the South. The Thirteenth Amendment declared all slaves free; the Fourteenth Amendment granted them citizenship; and the Fifteenth Amendment was intended to give them the vote.

The Civil War resulted not only in the freeing of the slaves, but decided once and for all the supremacy of the nation over the states. Until the war, supporters of “states’ rights” insisted that the federal government was simply an agent of the states, that states might nullify (ignore) federal laws they considered uncon-

stitutional, and that states might secede from the Union. The victory of the North marked the defeat for such ideas. Furthermore, these “National Supremacy Amendments” limited state action and deprived states of powers they formerly claimed.

Of these amendments, the most important is the Fourteenth. Through its first clause, which says that a state may not “deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law,” the federal courts have gained a general power to oversee state legislation. Thus a New York law that fixed a 10-hour day for employees of bakeries was declared unconstitutional; the Supreme Court said that it deprived workers of their “liberty” to make their own contracts with employers as to how long they might work (*Lochner v. New York*, 1905). A Minnesota law that set up a commission to fix railroad rates was declared unconstitutional on the ground that it deprived railroad corporations (which are “persons” under the law) of property by lowering rates. Since the late 1930’s, the federal judiciary has reversed itself, however, and no longer opposes state regulatory legislation which it formerly found unconstitutional. Recently its major emphasis in interpreting the Fourteenth Amendment has been in the direction of protecting individuals from unfair trial by state courts and from violations

(Continued on page 147.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Amendment XIII. This was only the final act in freeing the slaves. Other slaves had been freed earlier by state legislation, and by Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863 (see p. 367).

Amendment XIV, clauses 2, 3, and 4. The authors of this amendment were Radical Republicans (see p. 367.) who wanted to make sure that the South accepted defeat of the Civil War. Clauses 2, 3, and 4 are designed to penalize southern states not granting Negroes the vote, to keep former Confederate leaders out of politics, to forbid payment of the Confederate debt, and to insure payment of the war debt of the Union. Southern states were obliged to ratify this amendment before their political powers, such as representation in Congress, were fully restored.



4. *Confederate Debt Declared Void.* [The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States or any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.]

5. *Enforcement.* [The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.]

AMENDMENT XV. NEGRO SUFFRAGE (1870)

1. *Negroes Made Voters.* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. *Enforcement.* The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XVI. INCOME TAX (1913)

Congress Given Power to Levy Income Taxes. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

AMENDMENT XVII. DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS (1913)

1. *Qualifications of Voters in Senatorial Elections.* The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

2. *Vacancies; Interim Appointments.* When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State, may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

3. *Not Applied to Senators Already in Office.* [This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.]

(Continued from page 145.)
of fundamental liberties of speech and religion. In *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the Supreme Court declared that to segregate school children by race was a denial of "the equal protection of the laws." More recent cases under the Fourteenth Amendment have protected Negro rights to equality and peaceful protest against grievances.

THE PROGRESSIVE AMENDMENTS

Following passage of the three National Supremacy Amendments of 1865–1870, it was forty years before others were added to the Constitution. Then there occurred a period, 1913–1920, when four amendments were ratified within a space of seven years. These may be called the "Progressive Amendments" because they reflect the reforming spirit of the progressive move-

ment of the early twentieth century (see Chapter 21).

The Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Amendments are characteristic of their period. It was a time when there was resentment against men of great wealth, and the Sixteenth (income tax) Amendment gave the federal government power to make them pay a larger share of taxes. It was a time when there was increasing belief that government should actively intervene to make people's lives better. By the Eighteenth (prohibition) Amendment the federal government was given power to interfere with the personal habits of American citizens. It was a time when there was widespread belief that "the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy." The Seventeenth Amendment made the federal

(Continued on page 149.)

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Amendment XV. From the end of the period of Radical Reconstruction (see pp. 367–373) until recently, the Fifteenth Amendment, purporting to guarantee Negroes the right to vote, was widely evaded throughout the former slave states. Starting in 1957, however, Congress passed successively stronger laws designed to end racial discrimination in voting rights.

Amendment XVI. The demand for this amendment went back to 1895 when the Supreme Court declared that a federal income tax was unconstitutional. Such a tax, said a majority of the Court, violated Article I, Section 9, clause 4, which states that the federal government may levy no direct tax unless in proportion to population. The only lawful way to overrule a Supreme Court decision on the Constitution is to pass an amendment.

Amendment XVII. In clause 1 of this amendment, as in Article I, Section 2, clause 1, of the original Constitution, "electors" means simply "voters."

The Seventeenth Amendment had been urged for many years before it was finally passed. It was designed not only to make the choice of senators more democratic, but also to reduce corruption and to improve state government. When choosing senators, state legislatures had been too often influenced by bribery or by political bosses. The task of electing senators was an extra burden on the states; the proper business of a legislature is to pass laws for the good of the state, not to choose federal officials.

In the latter part of Section 2, it is provided that states may empower their governors to appoint men to fill unexpired terms of senators when vacancies occur. But in the House of Representatives vacancies can only be filled by new elections (Article I, Section 2, clause 4). This difference results from the theory that the senators represented the separate states, as did the Confederation Congress, while the members of the House represented the people as a whole, the nation.

AMENDMENT XVIII. PROHIBITION (1919)

1. *No Intoxicating Beverages in United States.* [After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.]

2. *Enforcement.* [The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.]

3. *Must Be Ratified in Seven Years.* [This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.]

AMENDMENT XIX. WOMAN SUFFRAGE (1920)

1. *Women Made Voters.* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

2. *Enforcement.* Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XX. ABOLITION OF "LAME DUCK" SESSIONS (1933)

1. *Beginning of Terms of Federal Elective Officers.* The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified, and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

2. *Regular Congressional Sessions.* The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

3. *Election of President in Unusual Circumstances.* If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

(Continued from page 147.)

government more democratic by declaring that senators should be elected directly by the voters. The Nineteenth Amendment gave women the right to vote.

World War I helped to promote the passages of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments. The enactment of nation-wide prohibition was aided by the fact that the

American people were in a self-denying mood as a result of war sacrifices. Women's contributions to the war effort caused many who had opposed woman suffrage to change their minds and hastened the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. The opponents of the amendment had included President Wilson, but he, too, now joined its supporters.

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Amendment XVIII. This amendment was repealed by the passage of the Twenty-first Amendment in 1933. In providing for the enforcement of this amendment, Congress in 1919 passed the Volstead Act, which defined intoxicating beverages as those having an alcoholic content of more than one half of one per cent. One reason why this amendment was widely violated was that some states, especially those with a large urban population, made little effort to aid the federal authorities in enforcing prohibition.

Amendments XVIII and XIX. These amendments marked the triumph of reform movements which had been demanding prohibition and woman suffrage for many years. The temperance movement, which started in the 1820's and 1830's, had won its first great triumph in 1851 when Maine passed a state prohibition law (see p. 289). The women's rights movement, dating from the same time, first gained full voting rights for women in four western states before 1900 (see pp. 282, 532).

Amendment XX. This amendment had two major purposes: (1) to abolish the "lame duck" session of Congress, and (2) to shorten the time between a President's election and his inauguration. Lame duck sessions took place every other December, after the November congressional elections. The Congress which met in December of an election year was *not* the newly elected Congress but that which had been elected over two years before. It therefore contained many "lame ducks"—congressmen who had failed to be reelected. In order to make Congress more responsive to the will of the people, the Twentieth Amendment abolished the lame duck session and provided that Congress hold its first session soon after election.

When the Constitution first went into effect, means of transportation and communication were slow and uncertain. It was necessary to arrange for quite a long period, November to March, between the President's election and his inauguration. With the development of rapid travel and instant communication, however, such a prolonged gap between election and taking office was unnecessary. In a time of crisis it was also dangerous. Between Lincoln's election in November 1860, and his inauguration in March 1861, seven southern states left the Union and nothing was done to prevent it. Buchanan, the outgoing President, was unable to act because he had lost the confidence of the people. Lincoln, the President-elect, could take no action because he was not yet in office. Between the election of Franklin Roosevelt in November 1932, and his inauguration in March 1933, there was a similar crisis. The country was in the grip of the Great Depression, yet President Hoover could do nothing; although still in office, he had been repudiated by the electorate. Roosevelt could not act until in office.

Clauses 3 and 4 of the Twentieth Amendment provide for various situations where choice of a President or of his successor might be difficult.

4. *Provision for Death of Minority Candidates for President and Vice-President.* The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

5. *When Amendment Goes into Effect.* [Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.]

6. *Must Be Ratified in Seven Years.* [This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.]

AMENDMENT XXI. REPEAL OF PROHIBITION (1933)

1. *Eighteenth Amendment Repealed.* The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

2. *Federal Guarantee of Local "Dry" Laws.* The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

3. *Must be Ratified in Seven Years by State Convention.* [This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.]

AMENDMENT XXII. LIMIT ON PRESIDENTIAL TERMS (1951)

1. *Number of Terms.* No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

2. *Must Be Ratified in Seven Years.* [This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.]

AMENDMENT XXIII. VOTING IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (1961)

1. *Presidential Electors for the District of Columbia.* The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

LOOSE ENDS

The authors of the Constitution left some loose ends that later caused difficulty. They neglected, for instance, to grant Congress the power to acquire new territory. This caused embarrassment at the time of the Louisiana Purchase (see pp. 199–200). Another omission that later caused difficulty was that although the Senate was given power to ratify the President's appointments to office, nothing was said about whether senatorial approval was necessary when the President wanted to remove a man from office. Beginning with Washington, Presidents insisted that they had the sole power of removal. For many years the senators grumbled at this without taking action. In 1867, however, Congress passed a Tenure-of-Office Act that forbade removals without senatorial

approval. When President Andrew Johnson defied the law, he was impeached and came within one vote of being expelled from office (see p. 371). The Tenure-of-Office Act was repealed in 1887, and now it is agreed that Presidents need not consult the Senate before firing a subordinate official. But a century of dispute would have been averted if the Constitution had been clear in the first place.

The Twentieth Amendment attempts to tie up some loose ends by providing for various situations in which the choice of a President or his successor may be difficult. Even so, it cannot provide for every possible future contingency. To fit an eighteenth-century constitution to twentieth-century needs means constant new adaptations and new interpretation—see the discussion of the “unwritten constitution” on page 153.

EXPLANATORY NOTES



Amendment XXI, clause 3. The Twenty-first Amendment was the only one ever submitted to special ratifying conventions; all others have been ratified by state legislatures. The convention method is considered to be more democratic because the voters express their opinion of a proposed amendment in choosing the convention members.

Amendment XXII. This amendment wrote into the Constitution a custom started by Washington, Jefferson, and Madison whereby Presidents limited themselves to two terms in office. Although both Ulysses S. Grant and Theodore Roosevelt sought third terms, the precedent was not broken until Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected to a third term in 1940 and a fourth in 1944. The passage of the Twenty-second Amendment was therefore in effect a posthumous rebuke to F.D.R. It has received criticism by authorities on American politics to the effect that it is unwise for the United States to deny itself in advance the continued services of some future President of great ability after only eight years of service, when some congressmen and Supreme Court justices sometimes hold office usefully for several decades. On the other hand it serves notice that no President is to be considered indispensable.

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

2. *Enforcement.* The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XXIV. VOTER QUALIFICATIONS IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS (1964)

1. *Barring Poll Tax in Federal Elections.* The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

2. *Enforcement.* The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XXV. PRESIDENTIAL DISABILITY AND SUCCESSION (1967)

1. *Succession of Vice President to Presidency.* In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

2. *Vacancy in office of Vice President.* Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both houses of Congress.

3. *Vice President as Acting President.* Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

4. *Vice President as Acting President.* Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

THE UNWRITTEN CONSTITUTION

Containing only 7,500 words, the Constitution of the United States is remarkably brief. Most state constitutions are much longer, that of Louisiana running to 200,000 words. By its very brevity the Constitution left a great deal to be filled in later, either by legislation or by custom. This legislation and custom may be called the "Unwritten Constitution." The Unwritten Constitution includes the power of the Supreme Court to decide on the constitutionality of state and federal laws, and the practice whereby the President calls the heads of executive departments together to form an advisory body known as the cabinet. Institutions never dreamed of by the Founding Fathers have been added to the governmental system. Among these are the commissions which regulate much of the nation's economic life, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission and the National Labor Relations Board. Others include the

two-party system and such institutions as primary elections and national conventions.

The Twenty-second Amendment, forbidding the President to serve more than two terms, is an example of a part of what was formerly part of the Unwritten Constitution being written into the document itself (see Explanatory Notes on p. 151).

A most important element in the Unwritten Constitution is the loyalty of Americans to the system established by the Founding Fathers. For its successful operation it demands self-discipline, patience, and tolerance. In office, a majority must be willing to try to achieve its ends without violating the rights of the minority. Out of office a minority must be willing to wait until it is able to gain its ends by peaceful victory at the polls.

The very success of the Constitution has, of course, helped to make citizens willing to practice the discipline and self-restraint necessary to make it work.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Amendment XXIII. This grant of the vote in presidential elections goes only a short way to meet the charge that the people of the District of Columbia are second-class citizens. At one time the city of Washington had an elective mayor, but since 1874 the District has been under the direct control of Congress and elected none of its officials. In 1965 Congress rejected a proposal to give the District local self-government. In 1967 President Johnson gave day-to-day control of the city to a nine-man commission of appointed residents, and gave one of them—Walter E. Washington, a Negro—the title, "Mayor." But the city's taxes and budget were still under the control of Congress, and no officials are as yet elective, except the Board of Education.

Amendment XXIV. The poll tax as a condition of being registered as a voter was a way that states kept poor people, especially Negroes, from the polls. Usually the poll tax was cumulative—that is, in order to get his name on the voting list a citizen had to pay all back taxes for the years since he came of voting age. Passage of Amendment XXIV was the climax of years of agitation to abolish this barrier to equal political rights.

Amendment XXV. The text of this amendment is so unusually precise and detailed that the student must read it carefully to learn how a critical constitutional problem was solved. For some of the historical background, see the Explanatory Note on Article II on p. 127.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within 48 hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within 21 days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within 21 days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Activities: Chapter 5

For Mastery and Review

1. Explain briefly the meaning of these key phrases of the Constitution *at the time it was written*: (a) "We the People of the United States"; (b) "a more perfect Union"; (c) "establish Justice"; (d) "insure domestic Tranquility"; (e) "provide for the common defense"; (f) "promote the general welfare." How, in general, have the meanings of these phrases changed since 1787?

2. In parallel columns, describe the qualifications for membership, the structure, and the powers of the House of Representatives and Senate, noting similarities and differences.

3. Define "separation of powers." What was its purpose? How do "checks and balances" reinforce "separation of powers"? What are advantages and disadvantages of these features of the Constitution?

4. What powers are granted to the President by the Constitution? What powers has the President gained since the Constitution was written? Why? What method of electing the President was first used? How was this method altered by the Twelfth Amendment?

5. What powers did the Constitution grant to the federal courts? How has judicial review made the courts the guardians of the Constitution? How can court decisions be changed?

6. What relations between states are prescribed by the Constitution? Why have new types of interstate cooperation been developed in the twentieth century?

7. By what methods may the Constitution be amended?

8. List ten rights guaranteed to you by the Bill of Rights. How are such rights limited and defined?

9. Why have Amendments XIII, XIV, and XV been called the "National Supremacy" amendments? What change in governmental structure or power was made by each of Amendments XVI through XXV?

Who, What, and Why Important?

preamble to the Constitution
Speaker of the House
congressional privileges

judicial review
appellate jurisdiction
Judiciary Act of 1789
statute law

impeachment
filibustering
cloture
interstate commerce
elastic clause
loose construction
strict construction
writ of *habeas corpus*
bill of attainder
ex post facto law
electoral college
cabinet

supreme law of the land
martial law
treason
full faith and credit
eminent domain
self-incrimination
grand and petit juries
Chisholm v. Georgia
National Supremacy
amendments
Progressive amendments
"lame duck" sessions
"Unwritten Constitution"

To Pursue the Matter

1. Woodrow Wilson was a professor of political science before he entered politics. In Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 77-79, you will find his analysis of the office of President, written several years before he entered the office. On the basis of the opinions he expresses here, how would you expect him to act as President? If you want the answer, look ahead in the text to Chapters 22 and 23.

2. Because of what they knew of English politics, why did the framers of the Constitution:

- a) forbid bills of attainder?
- b) set limits on the punishment for treason?
- c) grant congressmen immunity from punishment for statements made during sessions of the legislature?
- d) forbid congressmen to hold positions in the executive department?
- e) limit military appropriations to two years?
- f) forbid suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, except in extraordinary emergency?
- g) provide that judges should hold office "during good behavior"?

3. Groups of students might prepare debates or panel discussions on one or more of the following proposals that have been made for changes in the Constitution:

- a) that the President should be given power to veto separate items of bills. (See Bragdon *et al.*, *Frame of Government*, p. 215, for the reason that

this provision was included in the Confederate Constitution.)

- b) that equal representation of states in the Senate should be abolished.

- c) that the President should be elected by direct popular vote.

- d) that treaties should be ratified by a simple majority of the Senate.

4. The Bill of Rights is constantly being interpreted in the light of present-day conditions and needs, and the courts must settle difficult questions. How do you think the following should be decided?

- a) A person swallowed incriminating evidence in the presence of the police. The latter got it back by using a stomach pump. Was this an "unreasonable search" under the Fourth Amendment?

- b) A child of atheist parents sat alone in a high school room while other students were given religious instruction by priests, ministers, and rabbis in the high school building, according to the desires of their parents. Was this a violation of the part of the First Amendment regarding an "establishment of religion"?

- c) A poor man arraigned for a felony could not afford to hire a lawyer, nor did he demand that the court provide him with one. He was condemned to a prison sentence. Was this a violation of the Sixth Amendment, which provides that an accused person shall have the "assistance of counsel for his defence"?

- d) May the federal government forbid the shipment across state lines of rifles and shotguns purchased from mail-order houses?

5. In what ways did the framers of the Confederate Constitution seek to remedy mistakes or omissions in the original document? See Bragdon *et al.*, *Frame of Government*, pp. 200-243.

6. Why and how were the first ten amendments added to the Constitution? See the chapter, entitled "After-thoughts" in Mitchell and Mitchell, *A Biography of the Constitution of the United States*.

7. Does the President of the United States wear too many hats? Is the job simply too big for one man? Light is shed on this important question in Rossiter, *The American Presidency*.

Chapter 6

The Washington Administration

The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

—GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1789

The Confederation had come to an end, leaving behind it 70 unpaid clerks, an “army” of 672 men, and millions of dollars of debts. Before it disbanded, the Confederation Congress had arranged for elections under the new Constitution in November 1788, and for starting the new government on March 4, 1789. When March arrived, however, only a third of the senators and less than a quarter of the representatives had reached New York, the temporary capital. This delay was partly the result of bad roads and bad weather, but it was a discouraging way to have things start. “The people will forget the new government before it is born,” lamented a senator from Massachusetts. It was not until April that the houses of Congress had enough members to do business. Their first action was to send word to George Washington at Mount Vernon that the electoral college had unanimously chosen him to be the first President.

THE FIRST PRESIDENT

Washington accepted the presidency unwillingly. On the day he set off for his inauguration, he confided to his diary:

About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mt. Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I care to express, set out for New York.

Washington's practical training had been in agriculture and military service. Because of lack of experience in government and limited knowledge of political science and history, he felt himself unfitted to be chief magistrate.

Although Washington doubted his own capacities, his countrymen regarded him with admiration bordering on awe. No sooner had he won his first victories at Trenton and Princeton than a Philadelphia newspaper wrote of him: “If there are any spots in his character they are like the spots on the sun, only discernible through a telescope. Had he lived in the days of idolatry he would have been worshipped as a god.” This hero worship continued, and it had its uses for the new government. As a visible symbol of the unity and power of the new government, Washington provided a focus for loyalty to the nation. It is not far-fetched to say that he filled a psychological void that had been left when the concept of George III was suddenly altered from that of the beloved father of his people to that of a detested tyrant.



Museum of the City of New York

In addition to the tumultuous salute in New York harbor (see page 158), Washington received a tremendous ovation at his inauguration. When he kissed the Bible after taking the oath of office, bells were rung, cannon boomed, and a great crowd shouted enthusiastic approval of their first President. The building on Wall Street where Washington was inaugurated still stands today.

As President, he was far more than a symbolic figurehead. He knew the United States as well as any man alive, having traveled in every state except Georgia and having met or exchanged letters with most of the prominent men of the country. From the time he took over the army in 1775, he had worked, as he said, to "discourage all local attachments" and to substitute "the greater name of American." Washington's mind moved with deliberation; he studied public questions with great care and reached decisions only after consulting men with differing points of view. After making a decision, he often turned over the job of expressing his ideas to men with abler pens than his own, such as Madison or Hamilton. But no one dictated his conclusions, and one of his

greatest personal qualities was good judgment, both of men and of courses of action.

Although Washington's reputation is that of a man of action, and he was surely not a political philosopher, he was devoted to the principles of the American Revolution. In the course of the Revolution, for instance, he had changed his opinion of slavery. Whereas in his early life he had accepted the institution unthinkingly, he now believed that it was a terrible evil. He saw its continuance as leading to national disaster. "Not only," he wrote a British friend, "do I pray for it [the abolition of slavery] on the score of human dignity, but I can clearly foresee that nothing but the rooting out of slavery can perpetuate the existence of our union, by consolidating it in a common bond

of principle." In his will, Washington freed all the Negroes he owned and provided that they should be educated at the expense of his estate. As the excerpt from his inaugural address at the head of this chapter reveals, Washington was one of those who thought that the American experiment in trying to found a government based on popular will was of vital importance for the whole world.

At almost every town and village on the way to New York, where he was to be inaugurated, Washington was met by cheering crowds, troops of cavalry, and addresses of welcome. When he reached the capital on April 22, he was rowed across the Hudson River on a barge built especially for the occasion, manned by thirteen harbor pilots in white uniforms. Practically the whole population of New York lined the wharves and cheered as he neared the shore. On April 30, 1789, he took the oath of office and gave the first inaugural address, an event celebrated by the ringing of church bells and the firing of cannon. The public rejoicing over Washington's taking office was fully justified. He was perhaps the only indispensable man in the history of the United States.

Administration and Finances

Even with Washington in office and Congress in session, the Constitution was still only a book of directions, and it was months before the government was really functioning. Laws had to be passed to establish the administrative departments such as the treasury and the post office. One of the most important actions taken by Congress was to pass the Judiciary Act of 1789, which filled a gap in the Constitution (see p. 129).

Once offices had been established, hundreds of men had to be found who were willing to give up their regular employment to serve as judges, tax collectors, and postmasters. In staffing the new federal government, Washington's wide acquaintance and the respect he com-

manded were invaluable, since he was able to find competent men to serve the new government. Once the executive departments were set up, Washington proved himself to be a first-rate administrator. He kept in touch with his subordinates and insisted on being consulted in all important matters, but he knew how to delegate authority and did not interfere in matters of detail. When seeking counsel on important matters, he asked the heads of departments to meet with him. Thus, the cabinet was created as it remains to this day: an advisory body with only such influence as the President gives it.

The creation of the cabinet was only one of several ways in which Washington set precedents in areas where the Constitution was silent or not clear. Thus he insisted that the Senate's power to accept or reject appointments did not extend to removal from office. Partly because the Senate refused to cooperate with him, he took the active direction of foreign affairs entirely into his own hands, leaving it to the Senate to ratify (or reject) treaties after they were made. In regard to legislation, Washington was much more than a mere executive. Both directly through messages to Congress, and indirectly through reports prepared by his Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, he took the initiative in urging that Congress pass laws that he thought to be in the public interest. Congress almost invariably followed his lead. So the President became what the political scientist Clinton Rossiter calls him today: "the chief legislator."

The Tariff of 1789

Finances were the most important problem facing the country. The new government had to be able to pay its way if it were to survive. Even before Washington took office, Congress had discussed taxation. All members of both houses agreed that as soon as possible the federal government should begin to collect taxes on imports.

A tariff law was not passed until July 1789. This delay was caused because certain interests wanted to make tariff duties high enough to protect them from foreign competition. Different sections wanted protection for their own products while they

QUESTION • When a government taxes imports, who pays?

opposed it for goods produced elsewhere. Thus, Pennsylvania iron manufacturers had a hard time competing with Britain. But the rest of the country preferred buying cheap British iron to paying more for Pennsylvania iron. Similarly, the South wanted a high tariff on hemp, which was used in making rope, but New England was opposed because it would cost more to rig ships. New England, in turn, wanted a high tariff to protect its rum distilleries, while the South wanted to import rum direct from Jamaica.

The settlement of these intersectional differences in Congress was managed by what has since been called "logrolling." Logrolling means "I will vote for what you want, if you will vote for what I want," or sometimes "I will abandon my demands, if you will give up yours." In making the first tariff law, the second type of logrolling was followed. On the whole, the duties were set low, averaging about 8 per cent of the value of the goods. The primary purpose of the tariff was to bring in revenue.

The greater part of the money raised by federal taxation was needed to pay off the \$54,000,000 owed by the United States. This debt was of two kinds: (1) about \$12,000,000 owed to France and the Netherlands for loans made during and after the Revolutionary War and (2) about \$42,000,000 in domestic bonds, also a result of the war. The Continental Congress, unable to tax, had borrowed from individual Americans. Also, when unable to pay off veterans and army contractors in cash, Congress had given them promises to pay in the future. In addition to the money the United

States owed, there were state debts, estimated at \$25,000,000.

Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury

In the debate over federal finances, the dominating figure was Alexander Hamilton, the relatively young man whom Washington had chosen as Secretary of the Treasury. Born in the West Indies in 1757, Hamilton had shown extraordinary ability from boyhood. At the age of thirteen, he had been left in sole charge of a merchant's business. At fifteen he wrote an account of a hurricane which was considered so remarkable that a group of men raised enough money to send him to New York for further education. Hamilton entered King's College (later Columbia) in 1774, but left college to fight in the Revolutionary War. Before reaching the age of nineteen he was a captain, and before twenty-one he was a member of Washington's staff with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He later became a successful lawyer and married into the Hudson River aristocracy.

During the Confederation period, Hamilton favored the interests of the wealthy merchants and large landowners over those of the small farmers and laborers. Believing in a strong central government, he wrote many of the *Federalist* papers in support of the Constitution and was the strongest leader of the pro-ratification forces in New York. He was, however, by no means pleased with the Constitution and called it "a frail and worthless fabric" because it allowed too much power to the states and to the people.

Asked by Congress to recommend action on federal finances, Hamilton produced two "Reports on Public Credit" and a "Report on Manufactures." Not only did these become the basis for a series of laws passed in 1790 and 1791, but they had a continuing influence both in this country and abroad. Hamilton was a brilliant financier and a writer of great clarity and force.

Hamilton's Financial Program

The essentials of Hamilton's program were:

(1) *There should be sufficient revenue to meet the running expense of the government, to pay interest on the debt, and gradually to reduce the principal of the debt itself.* In addition to the tariff law already described, Hamilton proposed an excise tax on whiskey produced in the United States. In 1791 Congress passed a law establishing the whiskey tax.

(2) *The debt owed foreign nations should be paid off at once.* As long, said Hamilton, as we owed money to any foreign nation, we were not truly independent. The debts of the United States to France and the Netherlands were entirely paid back by 1796.

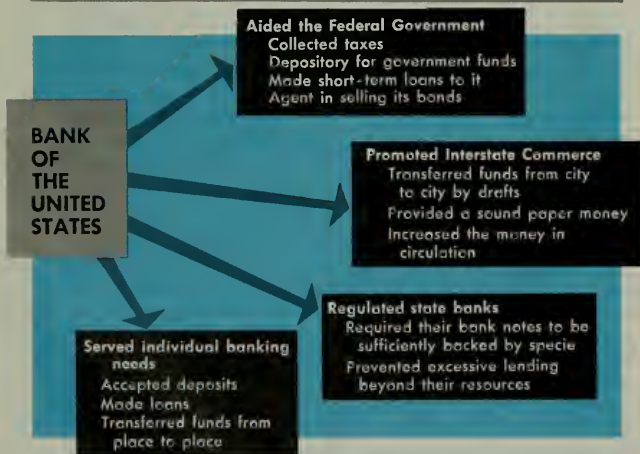
(3) *The domestic debt should be funded at par.* By this Hamilton meant that new federal bonds should be issued to take the place of the old, and that the amount paid back should be the original face value plus interest. This was treating the bondholders generously, because

the original bonds had seldom or never been worth their face value and sometimes had gone as low as 10 cents on the dollar. Hamilton argued that in paying its debts at par, the United States would give notice to its citizens and to the world that its promises were good. Hamilton's ideas were followed out in the Funding Bill of 1790.

(4) *The federal government should take over the state debts.* Hamilton argued that since the state debts had resulted from state efforts to help the nation as a whole in the Revolution, they should be paid back by the national government. This assumption of state debts would also reduce state taxes and thus make it easier for the federal government to tax. This was accomplished by the Assumption Act of 1790.

(5) *The federal government should establish a central bank.* Hamilton proposed that there should be a federal bank on the model of the Bank of England. Such an institution would have many useful functions. Its central office

FUNCTIONS OF THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES



The Bank of the United States was really a private institution, since the government owned only one-fifth of its stock. It served as an agent of government and gave the country a sound currency. It also faced strong opposition from those who considered the B.U.S. an over-extension of federal power.

and branches would provide places where taxes could be paid and where the government could deposit its money. When the government needed money to tide it over a temporary deficit, it could borrow from the central bank for a short term. If it wished to borrow and pay back slowly (long-term borrowing), the bank could act as the selling agent for federal bonds.

Furthermore—and this was most important—the central bank would promote interstate commerce. It could move large sums of money for either the government or individuals. If a businessman or treasury official wanted to send funds, say, from Massachusetts to South Carolina, he would ask that money deposited in the Boston branch be paid in Charleston. The Boston branch then would issue a “transfer draft” asking the Charleston branch to deliver the amount to anyone named by the sender.

Although the authors of the Constitution hoped to establish a “hard” currency, meaning one based on gold and silver, there was an insufficient amount of these precious metals in the country. To attempt to carry on commerce with only the specie (gold and silver coin) actually minted would be like playing a poker game with too few chips. To remedy this situation, Hamilton proposed that the new bank issue bank notes. These notes, which would come into circulation when the bank loaned money, were to be limited in amount, in order to prevent anything like the runaway inflation that occurred during the Revolutionary War. As an additional safeguard, they were to be “backed” by specie. The central bank might issue notes for a greater amount than its gold or silver on hand, but there was to be enough specie on deposit so that holders of banknotes could at any time exchange them for coin. The notes of the central bank, circulating freely throughout the country, would furnish a national currency, as good in New Hampshire as in Georgia. This

would be in contrast to the situation a few years earlier when each state had its own money, as we saw on page 59.

The notes of state banks were often used to pay taxes. In receiving these state bank notes, the central bank would become the creditor of other banks. Thus it could require that state-chartered banks pay their notes in specie and curtail their loans to individuals.

The central bank was to be privately owned and managed, 80 per cent of its stock being reserved for private individuals, the federal government taking the remaining 20 per cent. But the Secretary of the Treasury had the right to investigate the management of the central bank at any time, thus providing for public control.

Congress followed Hamilton's recommendations, and in 1791 established a central bank, the Bank of the United States, with a 20-year charter and a capital of \$10,000,000.

(6) *The federal government should encourage the development of home industries.* In December 1791, Hamilton sent to the House of Representatives a “Report on Manufactures.” In it he argued that the federal government should encourage home industries. He maintained that increase in industry would make the country more wealthy, since capital applied to manufactures often yielded a higher return than capital invested in agriculture. Industrial growth would also encourage the immigration of skilled labor. Factories would put idle women and children to productive work. Furthermore, Hamilton argued that the United States would be neither truly independent nor safe in war until it ceased to depend on Europe for many essential goods.

Hamilton proposed a variety of measures to promote manufacturing. Bounties should be paid to producers of certain products which the country greatly needed, and premiums for goods of especially high quality. Above all, there

should be higher tariffs to protect "infant industries" until they could compete with foreign producers. All import duties should be removed, however, on much-needed raw materials. Thus Hamilton proposed a tariff on gunpowder, but none at all on sulphur and saltpeter, two of its principal ingredients.

Although the "Report on Manufactures" later became one of the most influential state papers in American history, its proposals comprised the one portion of Hamilton's program that did not go through at once. Most of the American people were farmers, and a high proportion of the rest were engaged in foreign trade and shipping. Farmers feared that protection would raise the price of goods they had to buy; ship-owners feared it would reduce the volume of foreign trade. Congress refused to act on Hamilton's plans, and duties on imports remained low.

Hamilton's program was an immediate success in restoring the credit of the United States. In 1788, United States bonds were selling at 15 to 20 per cent of face value. By 1792 they were selling for 120 to 125 per cent, even in foreign cities such as London and Amsterdam. Eight million dollars' worth of shares in the Bank of the United States were sold to private investors in two hours.

There was another purpose in addition to sound finance behind Hamilton's policies. He believed in government by the wealthy, and distrusted the people. All his measures were designed to attract men of property to the support of the federal government, because they then would be selfishly interested in its survival. Funding the domestic debt at par put millions of dollars into the pockets of speculators who had sent agents throughout the country buying the old bonds from people ignorant of their value. The Assumption Act turned the attention of investors from the states to the federal government. The federal govern-

ment received no interest on the money it deposited in the Bank of the United States, even though the B.U.S. charged interest when it lent this money to borrowers. This was one of the reasons why the B.U.S. shareholders received high returns. These annual returns averaged over 8 per cent on their investment.

Opposition to Hamilton

It was no wonder that the Hamilton program met with bitter opposition. The Funding Bill was attacked as unfair to the original holders—"the war-worn soldiers" and their "widows and orphans," to quote an anti-Hamilton newspaper. The Assumption Act was opposed not merely by those states which had paid off most of their debts, but by those who did not want to see all financial power centered in the federal government.

When the bill to establish the Bank of the United States was before Congress, James Madison, then a representative from Virginia, attacked it on the ground that the federal government had no right to establish a bank. Such a power is not found among the enumerated powers of Congress (Article I, Section 8, clauses 1-17, pp. 118, 120). Nor, argued Madison, is it an "implied power" allowed by the "elastic clause" (Article I, Section 8, clause 18, p. 120). The elastic clause gives Congress such powers as are "necessary and proper" for putting its stated powers into effect.

A central bank, said Madison, might be *useful* in collecting taxes, borrowing money, and regulating interstate commerce, but it was *not necessary*. The federal government must be denied a power which was neither stated nor implied in the Constitution. The Tenth Amendment stated clearly that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution . . . are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." If the federal government were allowed to set up the Bank of the United States,



Corcoran Gallery of Art

The Old House of Representatives, painted by Samuel F. B. Morse. Sixty-five members composed the House in 1789, as contrasted with 435 today. Designed to be more responsive to the people than the Senate, it was so especially before the direct election of senators. It was in the House that Jefferson gained victory, with Hamiltonian support and after 35 ballots, in the disputed election of 1800 (see pages 185-186).

reasoned Madison, there would be no limits to federal power.

Congress passed the Bank bill by an almost two-to-one majority, but Washington hesitated to sign it. He realized that whichever way he acted—whether he signed the bill or vetoed it—he would be creating an important precedent. He asked the Attorney General, Edmund Randolph, and the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, for written opinions on the constitutionality of the Bank. Both opposed it on essentially the same grounds as Madison: that it was an over-extension of federal power. Washington passed on Jefferson's and Randolph's opinions to Alexander Hamilton. Working day and night,

Hamilton composed a reply that convinced Washington that he should sign. Hamilton argued that since the purposes of the Bank were constitutional, as everyone admitted, the federal government had the right to choose any obvious means to carry out those purposes. Hamilton's communication to Washington on the Bank was a classic statement of loose construction and implied powers (see p. 121). According to a recent historian it was "perhaps the most brilliant and influential one-man effort in the long history of American constitutional law."

Gradually, there grew up a well-organized opposition to almost everything Hamilton stood



Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Disagreement over the extension of federal power led Jefferson to resign from a Hamilton-dominated cabinet. Jefferson's strong actions as President, however, indicate that their conflict went deeper than the issue of state vs. federal government. Jefferson's portrait (above) is by Charles Willson Peale; John Trumbull painted Hamilton from a sculpture.

for. Where Hamilton's policies favored merchants, bankers, and speculators, his opponents spoke for the interests of the farmers and laborers. When Hamilton favored increasing the power of the federal government, his opponents sought to limit it. Whereas Hamilton's following was chiefly in the North, where shipping and commerce were centered, his opponents were strongest in the South, which was dominated by the planters, and in the frontier democracy of the West.

Jefferson and Hamilton: A Comparison

The opposition to Hamilton was led by Jefferson. The struggle between the two men has affected American politics ever since. Hamilton, a self-made man, distrusted the people and called democracy a "poison." He thought that man is naturally selfish, unreasonable, and violent. Jefferson, born to wealth and social position, thought that if men are given the opportunity, they are naturally decent and reasonable. Hamilton believed in a highly centralized government as a means of keeping *order*. While the people must be given some share in choosing their rulers, government should be as far removed from them as possible. This in Hamilton's opinion meant strengthening the federal government and reducing the powers of the states. It also meant a strong executive department, strong courts, and a standing army.

National Gallery of Art



Jefferson, defender of human *liberty*, believed in a minimum of government, with that

QUESTION • *Thomas Jefferson regarded Francis Bacon, Isaac Newton, and John Locke as the three greatest men who ever lived. Alexander Hamilton admired Julius Caesar. What does this reveal about the two men?*

minimum as close to the people as possible. Therefore, he favored local government over national, and Congress over the other branches of the federal government because

he thought it best reflected the popular will. He was much opposed to standing armies because he feared that a military leader might seize control of the government. Hamilton was considered a conservative; yet his policies looked forward to the time when the United States would become a great industrial nation. Jefferson was thought a radical, yet he wished to keep American society in much the same condition it was in his own day.

The contrast between Hamilton and Jefferson can be overdone. Neither man was an extremist. While Hamilton despised "this thing of a republic," he worked loyally to make it a success. While Jefferson professed to fear the power of the federal government, he spent sixteen years of his life holding federal office. While Hamilton believed in a government as much like that of Great Britain as possible, he thought that those who wanted to introduce a king and nobility into America were "visionary." Jefferson believed in self-government, but he had been in France when the Paris mob looted, burned, and carried heads on pikes. He therefore favored putting political power in the hands of men with some education and property (especially in land). Finally, while Hamilton favored centralized power, he realized that state powers and state interests could not be ignored. And while Jefferson favored local government, as ambassador to France he had come

to realize how much the United States had suffered because the government was despised by European nations. He therefore favored the new Constitution. Although one of the least military of men, he also favored the creation of an American navy as the best means of persuading Europe to respect our shipping.

While the two great antagonists carried on bitter and often unfair political warfare against each other, they played the game of politics within the rules that democratic government requires. They strove to win their battles by winning elections or by persuading congressmen to "vote right" rather than by resorting to violence.

THE WEST

The West presented the Washington administration several difficult problems left over from the Confederation period. It was fortunate that the President had an extensive and sympathetic knowledge of the people of the region and their difficulties. The most immediate cause for alarm was the Indian menace, to which Washington devoted most of his first message to Congress in 1789. Made bold by the weakness of the Confederation government and armed and egged on by the British and Spanish, the Indians were raiding the entire frontier, killing thousands of men, women, and children.

Once the new federal government had money to raise armies, Washington sent a force to defend the new settlements north of the Ohio River. In 1790 an expedition destroyed a few Indian villages, but suffered heavy losses. The next year General Arthur St. Clair advanced into Indian country with the largest military force the trans-Appalachian West had ever seen—2,300 regular troops, plus several companies of militia. Because of desertion and disease, the force dwindled, and it numbered no more than 1,400 when Indians ambushed



Chicago Historical Society

Dunbar Collection, Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago



In 1795 General Anthony Wayne made a treaty with the Indians at Greenville, in the Ohio wilderness. By this treaty, the Indians gave up half of what became the state of Ohio. Scenes on the road to the West (left) in the early nineteenth century, drawn by Joshua Shaw.

it near Fort Wayne. Only 600 of St. Clair's command escaped, and they fled so fast that they covered nearly thirty miles in a single November day. It was the worst defeat that Indians had ever inflicted on an organized force of white men.

Finally, Washington gave the command to General Anthony Wayne, who had distinguished himself in the Revolutionary War. Wayne had little use for militia and took time to give thorough training to a force of regulars he called the American Legion. Superior discipline enabled his army to defeat a large force of Indians at the battle of Fallen Timbers in August 1794. Wayne pursued his foes to the very walls of Fort Miami, a British fur post where the Indians had been furnished weapons. In 1795 the Indians agreed to the Treaty of Greenville, whereby they gave up about half the present

state of Ohio and promised to stay off the war-path. Two other treaties in the same year, the Jay Treaty with England and the Pinckney Treaty with Spain, also helped to reduce the Indian danger. By the former, England gave up the fur posts inside the United States boundaries and retreated beyond the Great Lakes. By the latter, Spain accepted the United States claim to the boundary of West Florida and agreed to stop giving military aid to Indians within the United States. (See map, p. 175.)

The Whiskey Rebellion, 1794

Washington was aware that the western settlers had been discontented in the 1780's, and he feared that they might attempt to secede. An uprising did in fact take place at the time that Wayne was defeating the Indians. Known as the Whiskey Rebellion, this was a violent protest against Hamilton's excise tax. In a day before canals and railroads, Westerners could not sell their grain in the East because the cost of transportation by wagon was prohibitive. Western grain was therefore distilled into whiskey which, with its small bulk and high value, could pay the cost of transportation. Whiskey was even used as currency in the West, where there were few gold and silver coins or bank notes.

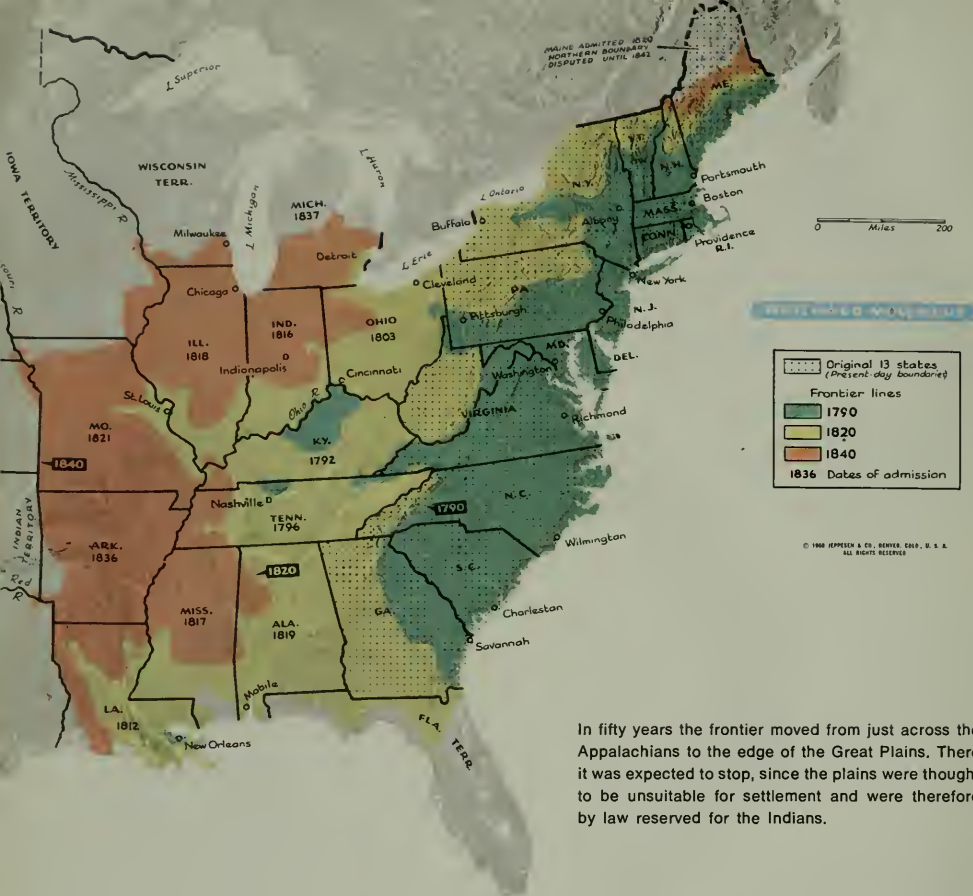
In these circumstances, Westerners thought that the excise tax on whiskey, first levied in 1791, was aimed directly at them. There may have been some truth in this idea. Hamilton had welcomed the excise tax as a means of getting the interior of the country used to recognizing the authority of the new federal government.

Feeling against the excise tax was especially strong in western Pennsylvania, where the citizens refused to pay the tax, attacked revenue officers, and burned the barns of neighbors who informed where stills were located. They even raised a military force and defied

the federal government. The Whiskey Rebellion was as plain a challenge to law and order as Shays's Rebellion eight years before. The outcome, however, was very different. Massachusetts had suppressed the Shaysites entirely by her own effort, without help from the near-bankrupt Confederation government. When the Governor of Pennsylvania hesitated to take action against the Whiskey Rebellion, the federal government stepped in and crushed it with ease. Washington called out over 12,000 militia from four states, a force so overwhelming that when it reached western Pennsylvania the "Whiskey boys" had dispersed. Some of their leaders were taken to Philadelphia for trial and two were found guilty of treason. Washington pardoned both of them. The new government, he felt, had shown itself so strong that it could afford to be merciful.

Settlement of the West

Even before the new government was organized, a great migration to the West had begun. In the spring of 1788 it was reported that 308 boats carrying 6,320 people, 2,824 horses, 515 cattle, 600 sheep, and 150 wagons had passed a single point on the Ohio River. Once the Indians had been pacified, the bluegrass meadows of Kentucky and the rich bottom lands along the rivers of Tennessee drew over 300,000 settlers into the region south of the Ohio between 1790 and 1800. With this great increase in population, Kentucky and Tennessee demanded admission to the Union. The Northwest Ordinance, which had been re-enacted by the new federal government, legally applied only to territory north of the Ohio River, but it had established the principle that new states should be admitted on terms of equality with the old. Accordingly, Kentucky became a state in 1792 and Tennessee in 1796. Meanwhile, Vermont had won her claim to independence from New Hampshire and New York, and had been taken into the Union in 1791.



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In fifty years the frontier moved from just across the Appalachians to the edge of the Great Plains. There it was expected to stop, since the plains were thought to be unsuitable for settlement and were therefore by law reserved for the Indians.

A New England migration to the Northwest Territory began in 1788, when General Rufus Putnam and 48 Massachusetts settlers came down the Ohio River on a flatboat fittingly named *The Mayflower* and established a town they called Marietta. Another center of New England settlement was the Western Reserve on Lake Erie—land which Connecticut had retained to pay off veterans of the Revolution. By

1800 the region north of the Ohio contained over 50,000 settlers. (See map, pp. 174–175.)

One reason why the Northwest Territory was settled less rapidly than Kentucky and Tennessee was the opening of western New York. For many years this fertile and accessible region was closed to white settlement by the powerful League of the Iroquois. When the majority of the Iroquois took the British side in

An Indian village in the Mississippi Valley. Note the extensive use of bark for building purposes. A council meeting may be under way in the foreground. Indians of the Mississippi region were driven entirely west of the river after the defeat of the Sauk chieftain Black Hawk in 1832.



American Museum of Natural History

the Revolutionary War, the United States sent an overwhelming military force against them and deprived them of their lands. Eventually, much of the former Iroquois territory fell into the hands of two Massachusetts speculators. These men sent agents through New England with accounts of the marvelous fertility of the Genesee Valley, where there were no rocks in the fields and farms did not "lie edgeways." Such salesmanship started a mass movement, called the "Genesee fever," which almost depopulated some New England villages. On a single winter day in 1795, five hundred sleighs full of New Englanders and their baggage were counted going westward through Albany on their way toward the Genesee.

This rapid filling in of the West had a great effect on politics. Reflecting the spirit of the frontier, the new states were more democratic than those in the East. The constitutions of Kentucky and Tennessee required no property qualifications for voting; all white men over 21 years of age had the franchise. A good frontier argument for manhood suffrage was that any man who helped to clear land and fight Indians had a right to a say in the government. The Westerners tended to throw their

weight on the side of Jefferson, who believed in the people, and against Hamilton and his followers, who distrusted them.

Nothing better revealed the effectiveness of the Washington administration than the success of its policies in the West. The Indians had been pacified; the Spanish and English had been persuaded to draw back and cease meddling; and all danger of secession had passed.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Shortly after Washington was inaugurated in 1789, the French Revolution began. At first all Americans sympathized with the Revolution, because the French were demanding the same rights as those won by the United States a few years earlier. The French "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" stated that henceforth all Frenchmen were to be equal before the law, were to have the right to a fair and open trial, and were to be taxed only by their elected representatives. As has been pointed out, the French revolutionaries were fully aware of their debt to the United States (see pp. 60, 73-74).

In this country, popular enthusiasm for France became for a time almost a madness. Americans sang French revolutionary songs such as the "Marseillaise," erected "liberty poles" and wore "liberty caps," and even took to calling each other Citizen and Citizeness instead of Mr. and Mrs. In New York, King Street was renamed Liberty Street, and in Boston, Royal Exchange Alley became Equality Lane.

Cheers for France were often joined with damnation of Britain. Not only was the memory of the American Revolution still strong, but there was resentment because of the British refusal to give up the fur posts and to stop arming the Indians of the Northwest.

Anglo-French Hostilities Create a Difficult Situation

When war broke out between France and Great Britain in 1793, the French expected American aid. According to a literal reading of the Treaty of Alliance of 1778, they might have been justified in asking for active military assistance. They did not go that far, but they did hope to enlist soldiers and sailors in the United States and to use American ports as bases for French privateers.

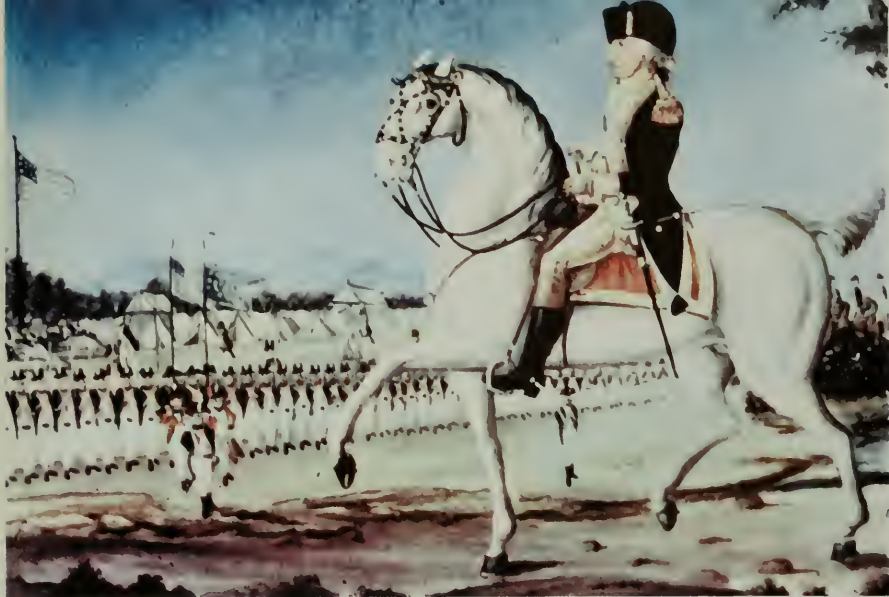
This placed the United States in an extremely difficult position. To be dragged into hostilities with Great Britain, whatever our sentiment for France, would have been a disaster. Three-quarters of American trade was with Britain and tariff duties on British goods provided the greater part of the revenue of the federal government. Since the British fleet controlled the seas, war would have meant a cessation of foreign trade and bankruptcy for the newly established government.

On hearing of the outbreak of the Anglo-French war, Washington called a cabinet meeting and presented a series of questions, the most pressing of which was whether the President should issue a declaration of neutrality. The cabinet members, including both Jefferson and Hamilton, thought he should, and accordingly, in April 1793, Washington issued a Proclamation of Neutrality. This declared that the conduct of the United States toward the warring powers was to be "friendly and impartial." It warned that American citizens who helped either side would be denied the protection of the government and would be subject to punishment.

The arrival of a new French minister, Citizen Edmond Genêt, put the neutrality proclamation to the test. Disembarking in South Carolina, Genêt went overland to Philadelphia, capital of the United States from 1790 to 1800. He was invited to so many dinners and pro-French celebrations that his journey was a triumphal progress. Along the way, he made arrangements to man French privateers with American crews and offered George Rogers Clark a commission in the French army. On arriving in Philadelphia, Genêt demanded that the United States advance him money to pay his new recruits.

The French minister's efforts to involve this country in war were soon checked. Washington received him with icy politeness. Hamilton, who hated the French Revolution, used all his influence against Genêt. Even Jefferson, a friend of France, lectured Genêt on international law and flatly refused his demands.

Genêt ignored the warnings issued him, went on fitting out privateers, and even threatened to appeal to the American people against Washington. Finally, our government demanded that he be recalled to France. Genêt lost his post, but he begged to remain in this country, for he feared his enemies might kill him if he



On October 18, 1794, Washington and his staff reviewed the American troops at Fort Cumberland, at a time when war with Britain seemed imminent. (A contemporary artist, A. Kemmelmeier, portrayed the occasion.) In an effort to avert the war, Washington sent Jay to England and the Jay Treaty of 1795 resulted. Although the treaty was generally resented, Washington urged the Senate to ratify it.

went home. His request was granted. After his marriage to a daughter of Governor Clinton, he spent the rest of his life in obscurity.

Growing Tension with Great Britain

When the British realized that the new government under the Constitution was much more powerful than that under the Articles of Confederation, they at last consented to send a minister to the United States. But once the European war began, they issued a series of Orders in Council that forbade neutral ships to trade with the French West Indies, to carry any French West Indian produce, or to carry arms, munitions, or even food to France. These restrictions fell most heavily on the United States which had the largest neutral merchant marine. English warships seized hundreds of

American vessels, often without serious inquiry as to their destination, and confiscated their cargoes. This was a clear violation of the rights of neutrals. Meanwhile, the British governor of Canada made a speech to a delegation of Indians from the Northwest Territory and promised them aid in driving white settlers out of the region. Public opinion was aroused to the point where Congress began preparations for a war against England. In the spring of 1794, Congress embargoed American exports for two months with the idea of hurting British commerce. Washington decided to make one last effort to keep the peace. He sent John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States, as a special envoy to London to try to settle the outstanding disputes between the United States and Great Britain.

The British were willing to sign a treaty because an American war would divert them from prosecuting hostilities with France and because the United States was their best market. Jay got rather poor terms, however, partly because Alexander Hamilton committed the serious indiscretion of letting the British know the American envoy's instructions. The so-called Jay Treaty was completed late in 1794 and presented by Washington to the Senate the next year. By it the British at last

agreed to evacuate the fur posts on American soil. American ships were allowed into ports in the British Isles on the same terms as British ships in American ports. The treaty permitted a very limited trade with the British West Indies, but none at all with British ports on the mainland of North America, such as Halifax and Quebec. Some matters, notably the debts owed to British merchants, from before the Revolution and losses by American ships at the hands of the British fleet, were to be submitted

John Jay, Conservative



"Those who own the country ought to govern it" was the sentiment of the Federalist party; the words were John Jay's.

Jay was surely one of the most conservative of the men who urged the revolution against Great Britain and molded the new republic into stable form. He was twenty-nine, with a substantial law practice, when he became a member of the Continental Congress in 1774. Before the Declaration of Independence, he was among the moderates who tried to check extremists such as Sam Adams and Patrick Henry. When the revolutionary movement started to roll, however, Jay supported it energetically, though the moderates gave it a relatively conservative direction. After the Constitution was written, he was responsible for five of the *Federalist* papers—on foreign affairs and the treaty-making power of the Senate—urging ratification by New York State.

A man of distinguished appearance, with a prominent nose, a strong chin, and a brow which was heightened by partial baldness, Jay was wholly self-assured. He was often suspicious of others; his lack of trust in the French minister, Vergennes, led the American commissioners to deal separately with the British in negotiating the treaty of independence in 1783.

It is unfortunate for John Jay's reputation that he is remembered chiefly as the negotiator of the unpopular Jay Treaty, in regard to which he was accused of being hoodwinked by the British. Even here he has been dealt with unfairly, and for the rest the roster of his services to his country is impressive: he was chief justice of New York, minister to Spain, Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Confederation government (see the Jay-Gardoqui Treaty, p. 83), the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (1789–1795), and, at the same time, acting Secretary of State while Thomas Jefferson was in France. After negotiating the Jay Treaty, he served as governor of New York. In 1801 he went into retirement. Jay lived to be eighty-four, a Federalist and a conservative to the end.

(Theme 3, see p. xli)

A Republican caricature: while Washington and armed volunteers rush to keep "cannibal" French revolutionaries off America's shores, Gallatin, Citizen Genêt and Jefferson try to slow them down. The volunteers trample heedlessly on the editor of the anti-Federalist "Aurora."



Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City

to later arbitration by commissions of Americans and Englishmen. On the whole, the British gave fewer concessions than they received. There was no assurance that the violation of American neutral rights by the Orders in Council would cease. Nor was there any promise that British agents would stop giving weapons to Indians living within the territory of the United States.

Outcry Against Jay Treaty

When the news of the Jay Treaty became known, there was a tremendous outcry against it. Dummies representing "the arch-traitor, Sir John Jay," were hung, burned, and guillotined in city squares. Hamilton, speaking for the treaty in New York City, was stoned by a mob. In spite of adverse opinion, the Senate ratified the treaty by an exact two-thirds vote, 20 to 10. Washington, although dissatisfied with the terms and with British disregard of American rights, finally signed the treaty after he was presented evidence that a French agent had attempted to bribe Edmund Randolph (now Secretary of State, Jefferson having re-

signed) to work against ratification. Later there was a struggle in the House of Representatives, where opponents of the treaty, led by Madison, attempted to hold it up by refusing to vote funds necessary to put it into effect. But a growing fear that the alternative to a not wholly satisfactory treaty was war with Britain finally resulted in the House voting the necessary funds by a vote of 50 to 49.

Pinckney Treaty with Spain

Jay's treaty helped the United States to win concessions from Spain. It was so much in Britain's favor that the Spanish government suspected a secret agreement whereby Britain would support the United States in an attack on New Orleans and Florida. When Thomas Pinckney was sent to Spain to settle outstanding difficulties with the United States, the Spanish granted far more than they had been willing to concede at the time of the Jay-Gardoqui negotiations a decade earlier (see p. 83). In 1795, by the Treaty of San Lorenzo, known in this country as the Pinckney Treaty, the United States was granted two demands it had been





making ever since the end of the Revolutionary War: the right of deposit at the mouth of the Mississippi, and the establishment of the 31st parallel as the southern boundary of the United States (see map, p. 175). Each country also agreed to restrain Indian attacks against the territory of the other.

WASHINGTON STEPS DOWN

Washington had wanted to retire to private life after his first term as President, saying he would rather dig ditches than go on. He consented to run for a second term only after prominent politicians, including both Jefferson and Hamilton, urged him to do so as a patriotic duty. In 1793, as in 1789, he received no opposition vote in the electoral college. He enjoyed his second term even less than his first. Forced to choose between Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian policies, he increasingly leaned toward the former and thus opened himself to the attacks of Jeffersonian orators and newspaper editors. He was accused of trying to make himself king and of selling out to Great Britain. When he left office, the Philadelphia *Aurora*, a leading anti-administration newspaper edited by Benjamin Franklin's grandson, exulted:

If ever there was a period for rejoicing this is the moment. Every heart in unison with the freedom and happiness of the people ought to beat high with exultation that the name of Washington from this day ceases to give a currency to political iniquity and legalized corruption.

Washington was more sensitive than is generally realized. He confessed that he wished to escape attacks on him written "in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarce be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even a common pickpocket."

On returning to his beloved Mount Vernon, Washington had every reason to feel proud of the achievements of the federal government

during his eight years as President. Most of the major difficulties of the Confederation period had been met successfully. As a result of Hamilton's financial program, the credit of the United States was as high as that of any nation in Europe. The easy suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion revealed the power of the new government. The major demands of the West had been fulfilled. In the difficult situation presented by war between France and Britain, Washington had steered a course which kept the United States prosperous and at peace.

Farewell Address, 1796

As the last important act of his presidency, Washington published his famous Farewell Address. After explaining that he felt he had fulfilled his duty in acting as President for two terms and therefore did not propose to serve a third, Washington went on to give advice to the young republic. The best known portion of his address is that which relates to foreign affairs. Washington warned the American people against permanent dislike of some nations and passionate affection for others. "The nation," he said, "which indulges toward an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave." Such a nation will be too quick to resent the actions of the country it dislikes, and too apt to make concessions to the country it likes.

"Europe," wrote Washington, "has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation." The United States should therefore avoid "the insidious wiles of foreign influence" and "steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." He did, however, favor temporary alliances for particular situations as well as commercial treaties to open up "the streams of trade." His advice to practice a policy that today would be called "neutrality" was directed to the particular conditions of 1796, when the Anglo-

French rivalry was a threat to the very existence of the United States. British and French agents had actually lobbied in the halls of Congress, and the treaty of alliance with France had threatened to involve us in a disastrous war with Britain. The Farewell Address also fitted into a general tradition of attempted isolation from European politics that can be traced back to the Revolution and that became the dominant note in United States foreign policy until well into the twentieth century.

The Farewell Address warned not only against permanent alliances, but against the

formation of permanent political parties. Washington feared that "the baneful effects of the spirit of party" might lead to "riot and insurrection... foreign influence and corruption," and even to the destruction of the Union. The President was referring to the bitter struggle that had developed between the followers of Hamilton and Jefferson. The Hamiltonians had crystallized into a party called the Federalists and the opposition to Hamilton had been organized by Madison and Jefferson into a party called the Republicans. (See footnote on page 180 for different meanings of "Republican.")

Activities: Chapter 6

For Mastery and Review

1. Summarize Washington's major accomplishments in war and peace.
2. What were the main elements in Hamilton's financial program? In what ways did his measures favor the commercial classes? Why and how did his "Report on Manufactures" propose to encourage industry?
3. What were the functions and services of the federal bank that Hamilton proposed? Summarize Madison's constitutional objections to it. What arguments persuaded Washington to approve the Bank of the United States?
4. Compare Hamilton's and Jefferson's beliefs concerning politics, economics, and society. On what did they agree?
5. What troubles with Indians developed during Washington's administrations? How were these situations handled?
6. What were the causes and results of the **Whiskey Rebellion**? Compare it to Shays's Rebellion.
7. Describe the westward movement of settlers into (a) Kentucky and Tennessee, (b) the Northwest Territory, and (c) the Genesee Valley. What were the effects on national politics?

8. Explain Americans' early enthusiasm for the French Revolution. Why did this sentiment change?

9. What were the circumstances leading to the Jay Treaty? Its terms? The reactions to it in the United States? How did it affect the Pinckney Treaty? What were the terms of the latter?

10. Contrast the accomplishments of Washington's administrations (1789–1797) with the failures of the Confederation Congress (1781–1789).

Unrolling the Map

1. On an outline map of eastern United States, locate: the Spanish possessions and the British posts (see map, p. 85) as sources of arms for the Indians; New Orleans and the 31st parallel; the states of Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, with dates of admission to the Union; western settlements such as Nashville, Cincinnati, Marietta, the Genesee Valley, and the Western Reserve.

2. Study carefully the map on pp. 174–175. What was the size of the United States at that time compared with those of the leading nations of Europe (consult a historical atlas)? What boundary of the United States had recently been settled? What factors promoted or retarded the settlement of the trans-Appalachian region?

Who, What, and Why Important?

Alexander Hamilton	Anthony Wayne
Thomas Jefferson	Treaty of Greenville
cabinet	Whiskey Rebellion
Judiciary Act, 1789	Genesee fever
Tariff of 1789	Citizen Genêt
excise tax	Neutrality Proclamation,
Assumption Act	1793
Bank of the United States	Jay Treaty
Report on Manufactures	Pinckney Treaty
James Madison	Washington's Farewell Address
loose construction	3 essays, one on e-term

To Pursue the Matter

1. What did Hamilton and Jefferson have against each other? See Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 85-87.

2. How did the Judiciary Act of 1789 provide for the organization and powers of the federal judiciary? What did it leave unsettled? See Bragdon *et al.*, *Frame of Government*, pp. 161-169.

3. How did the Jay Treaty become a political football? See Allis, *Government Through Opposition*, pp. 31-55.

4. Compare the reasons for St. Clair's terrible defeat at the hands of the Northwest Indians with those for Anthony Wayne's later victory. See Van Every, *Ark of Empire*. Accounts of these battles would make effective class reports.

5. How can Alexander Hamilton's immense power over President Washington and over Congress be explained? See Miller, *The Federalist Era*, and Cunliffe, *The Nation Takes Shape*.

6. What qualities and practices made Washington a first-rate administrator? See White, *The Federalists*.

7. Matters for reflection, discussion, investigation:

a) Is "logrolling" a desirable practice? Can it be prevented or controlled?

b) Why did Hamilton and Jefferson not make themselves leaders of military factions and fight for control of the central government?

c) Why did some editors and political orators heap bitter and unfair abuse on Washington as President?

Chapter 7

Federalists and Republicans

*For Nature always does contrive . . .
That every boy and every gal
That's born into the world alive,
Is either a little Liberal
Or else a little Conservative.*

—WILLIAM S. GILBERT

There was nothing in the Constitution of the United States to suggest rival political parties. When in his Farewell Address Washington deplored the fact that parties had arisen, he simply reflected the general feeling of the founders of the republic about them. Vice-President John Adams had said in 1792, "There is nothing I dread so much as the division of the Republic into two parties, each under its own leader." And yet political parties soon appeared in the young republic and have been a characteristic feature of American politics ever since.

THE FORMATION OF PARTIES

Throughout the revolutionary period there had been a tendency for men who differed on major issues to divide into rival groupings such as the Patriots and the Loyalists, who fought over the question of separation from Britain, or the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists, who fought over ratification of the Constitution. But these groupings broke up as soon as the issues they were connected with were settled. During the debates over Hamilton's financial

program, rival combinations again appeared, and those who supported his measures gradually organized into the first American political party—the Federalists. They included not merely those who obviously benefited from Hamilton's program, such as creditors, merchants, and bondholders, but people of a generally conservative cast, such as Congregational ministers in New England, Episcopalian clergymen in the South, tidewater plantation owners, and members of the Society of the Cincinnati (an organization of former officers of the Revolutionary War). The Federalists also gained mass support from wage earners in the shipping industry, from small farmers who stood to gain from export of agricultural products, and from people in states that had benefited when the federal government assumed the state debts.

This complicated web of sentiment and self-interest was held together and given direction by Hamilton himself, assisted by prominent Federalists holding federal and state offices, by newspaper editors, preachers, and local organizations. Reflecting Hamilton's

distrust of the people, the Federalist party hoped to put the direction of government into the hands of the "rich, well-born, and able." They favored a strong central government, a strong executive department, and a standing army to keep "the swinish multitude" in control. President Washington, who tried to stand above party but favored Federalist policies, became a sort of patron saint of the new party.

Gradually there developed a party opposed to the Federalists, led at first by Madison, with Jefferson as a later recruit. It found its strength chiefly among the agricultural classes—southern planters, subsistence farmers of the backcountry, and "mechanics" such as carpenters, shoemakers, and masons. None of these groups gained immediate benefit from Hamilton's measures, although they were taxed to pay for them. The people of Madison's and Jefferson's party called themselves Republicans to suggest that they were defending American self-government, freedom, and equality against the aristocratic and monarchical tendencies of the Federalists. The Republicans professed to believe in limiting the power of the central government and reducing that of the President, as well as in preserving the maximum of individual liberty.¹

The French Revolution widened the division between the parties. The conservatives who led the Federalist party were appalled by the mob violence accompanying the revolution, as well as by its threat to property and religion. Starting by reducing the power of the Roman Catholic

Church and taking away its property, the French revolutionaries went on to abandon Christianity in favor of the worship of the "Goddess of Reason." When war broke out between France and Britain, the Federalists sided with the British as defenders of stability and sanity against chaos. Furthermore, the merchants and shippers supporting the Federalists felt they would be ruined by a war with Britain, because American commerce would be driven from the seas. By pushing the federal government into bankruptcy, war would also injure those Federalists who owned 45 million dollars' worth of United States bonds.

The Republicans tended to dismiss the violence of the French Revolution as a passing phase in a great crusade for human rights. Jefferson sorrowed over French friends who were guillotined, but thought that the shedding of "a little innocent blood" might be a necessary price for the righting of ancient wrongs. If French aristocrats suffered, so had American Loyalists. The Republicans regarded the French struggle with Britain as a counterpart of the American War of Independence.

The early enthusiasm for the French Revolution caused the formation of a network of Democratic Societies, rather like the Sons of Liberty of the 1770's. They organized public demonstrations and festivals, such as the one held in Boston in January 1793. Proceedings began at daybreak with the discharge of cannon. An ox was roasted whole and dragged through the streets, accompanied by wagons containing hogsheads of rum punch and hundreds of loaves of bread. These were distributed free to the crowds. Schoolchildren received cakes stamped with the words "Liberty and Equality." Money collected from spectators bought debtors out of the city jail. There were two balloon ascensions and finally a great dinner at Faneuil Hall. The Democratic Societies did not last very long, but they organized and stirred

¹ The labels of the two parties may cause confusion. "Federalist" took on three different meanings in a short time. Just before the formation of the Constitution, the "federalists" were those who preferred a loose union of states, like that under the Articles of Confederation, to a "national" government. In 1787 and 1788, the "Federalists" were those who supported ratification of the Constitution, as against the "Anti-Federalists" who opposed it. Finally, in the 1790's the label was applied, as explained above, to a political party.

The Republican party of Jefferson's time is the direct ancestor of the present Democratic party. The modern Republican party was founded in 1854 (see p. 338).



The difficulties of the new nation were portrayed in the cartoons of the day. Above, the five-headed French Directory was demanding money, money, money from the American representatives (see p. 184), who replied, "Cease bawling monster, we will not give you sixpence." Left, Republican Mathew Lyon (see p. 185) and Federalist Roger Griswold involved in a brawl in Congress.

up voters who later joined the Republican party.

The party struggle, which reached a climax in the debate over ratification of the Jay Treaty, was one of great bitterness. Federalists called their opponents "filthy Jacobins" (after members of the most extreme party in France), who were bent on destroying all morality, abolishing property rights, throwing the Bible into the fire, and erecting guillotines on street corners. The Republicans called the Federalists "Tories" (after members of the reactionary party in Great Britain), who were resolved to establish an aristocracy and a monarchy and to trample on the rights of the people. "May all Tories have a perpetual itching," went one Republican toast, "and never the gratification of scratching."

The Election of 1796

As the presidential election of 1796 drew near, both sides increased their activities, since Washington had refused to run again. Jefferson was the Republican candidate for President. The Federalists put up Vice-President John Adams, who was highly respected in the country at large and had solid support from his native New England. Each party began a practice which has been followed ever since, known as "balancing the ticket." With a northern candidate for President, the Federalists nominated Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina for the vice-presidency. The Republicans balanced Jefferson, the Virginian, with Aaron Burr of New York. This first party election saw wide-

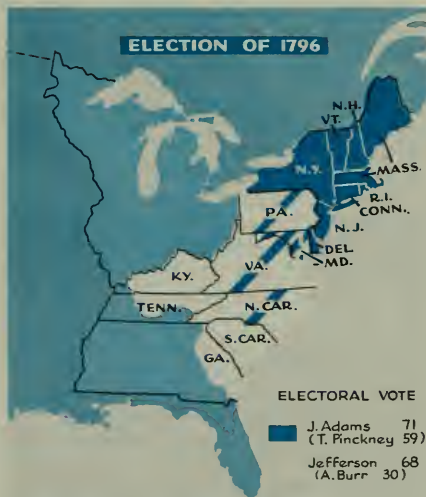
it's boring

spread abandonment of the idea that members of the electoral college should make up their own minds. Instead, each side put up its own slate of electors, pledged in advance to support its party candidates.

The election was somewhat confused by intersectional differences within the Federalist party. Some New England Federalist electors left Pinckney off their ballots in order to make sure that Adams would get the highest vote. The result was that Adams was elected President with 71 electoral votes, while Jefferson, his opponent, became Vice-President with 68 electoral votes.

In his Farewell Address, Washington had warned above all against parties formed on

This map suggests why, in his Farewell Address, Washington expressed alarm over parties based on sectional divisions. Just such a clearcut division in 1860 presaged disaster (see p. 341).



sectional lines; the voting in 1796 seemed to justify his fears. Adams received only 2 of the 52 electoral votes of states south of the Potomac, while Jefferson received not one of the 51 votes of New York and New England. Thus was revealed the sectional division which eventually led to the Civil War.

PRESIDENT JOHN ADAMS

John Adams had spent most of his life in public service. An early leader of the revolutionary movement in Massachusetts, he was a prominent member of the First and Second Continental Congresses. Jefferson considered him the most effective speaker in favor of declaring independence. During the Revolutionary War, he was an envoy to France and Holland, as well as one of the commissioners to make peace. During the Confederation period, he acted as our first minister to Great Britain. During Washington's two terms as President, Adams served as Vice-President.

In all these positions Adams had revealed ability and honesty. He was a man of great moral courage, as he showed early in his career when he acted as lawyer for the defense of Captain Preston, who had been in command of the British troops in the Boston Massacre. A modern historian writes of this action:

Not only physical courage was here demanded, for he invited personal attack, but moral courage at its highest. He was dependent for his clientele on the Boston public and the victims of the massacre were Bostonians. He was an American and he was standing between a hated redcoat and American revenge. He gambled with his career, for he armed his enemies with ammunition, and he was charged with selling his country for an enormous fee. The fact that he received but eighteen guineas would have been the answer, but he maintained a dignified silence. There is nothing finer or more courageous in the records of any politician.

Adams was the founder of the most distinguished family in the history of American politics. His son, John Quincy Adams, also became President. A grandson, Charles Francis Adams, was United States minister to Great Britain during the Civil War. A great-grandson, Henry Adams, was one of the best American historians, and a great-great-grandson, Charles Francis Adams, served as Secretary of the Navy under President Hoover.

In spite of his talents and character, Adams was not a complete success as President. For one thing, he was too aware of his own virtues. During the Revolution he had written of himself: "At such times as this there are many dangerous things to be done, which nobody else will do, and therefore I cannot help attempting them." Enemies satirized both his love of ceremony and his roly-poly figure by nicknaming him "His Rotundity." He was difficult to deal with, because compromise was foreign to his nature and because he was often as suspicious of others' motives as he was proud of his own.

Even without these handicaps, Adams's position as President would have been difficult. He kept the members of Washington's cabinet in office, and this proved to be a mistake because these men did not feel they owed their first loyalty to the new President. Although Hamilton had resigned as Secretary of the Treasury in 1795, the cabinet members were in the habit of consulting him on important matters. When Hamilton and Adams were in disagreement, as they often were, the cabinet followed the lead of their former colleague instead of that of the President.

Difficulties with France

Adams inherited the dispute with France. From the beginning of the Anglo-French war in 1793, the French, as was shown by the activities of Citizen Genêt, had expected aid from the United States. The French disappoint-



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

John Adams, from his portrait by Gilbert Stuart. The picture indicates why Adams was nicknamed "His Rotundity." He was a man of great courage and personal integrity. (See also page 71.)

ment following the Neutrality Proclamation of 1793 turned to active hostility after the Jay Treaty. During the election of 1796, the French minister to the United States actively campaigned against Adams. When Charles C. Pinckney was sent as minister to France in 1796, he was ordered out of the country. Meanwhile, the French navy started to prey on American shipping.

Adams was anxious to make peace; immediately after taking office he sent a three-man commission to Paris to negotiate a treaty. France was now governed by the Directory, one of the most corrupt governments in her history. When the Americans arrived, they were approached by secret agents of Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, French foreign minister, and told they would be received only if they paid

bribes to the Directors. Unwilling and unable to produce the money, our commissioners broke off negotiations. When the news of this incident reached the United States, Adams sent an account to Congress, labeling Talleyrand's agents X, Y, and Z. The XYZ Affair produced an outburst of popular anger against France. Adams was cheered when he declared to Congress that he would "never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." The slogan of the day was a toast by C. C. Pinckney, one of the commissioners: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

Undeclared War

At the beginning of his presidency, Adams had called Congress into special session to strengthen American defenses. A navy department was created. Soon fourteen warships and two hundred privateers were carrying on an undeclared naval war with France. The United States even entered into a sort of unofficial alliance with Great Britain. The British gave the American fleet their system of signals and "lent" it guns and ammunition. When Washington died in 1799, British warships flew the Union Jack at half-mast.

The war fever suited many of the leaders of the Federalist party, including Hamilton. It strengthened the power of the central government, made the Federalists popular, and discredited the pro-French Republicans. If war continued, the Federalists could count on winning the election of 1800.

Federalists who wished to use the war for partisan advantage failed to reckon with John Adams. The President absolutely refused to subordinate American foreign policy to winning re-election for himself and for his party. As soon as he had word that Talleyrand was willing to receive American diplomats properly, Adams

sent to the Senate the nomination of a minister to France. Federalist senators, engaged in a debate over war preparations, were furious, but they could not long oppose an effort to make peace. Eventually, another three-man commission was sent to France, where it was honorably received. The United States demanded \$20,000,000 for damages to American shipping and an end to the Treaty of Alliance of 1778. A compromise was reached in 1800 whereby the United States gave up its claim to damages while France agreed to give up the alliance. Thus the United States bought its way out of the only long-time alliance it has ever made with a single nation. Adams's action in making peace against the wishes of most of his party was an act as courageous as his defense of Captain Preston. With understandable pride, he later wrote that he wished no other inscription on his gravestone than, "Here lies John Adams who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace with France in the year 1800."

Partisan Legislation

Many Federalists had convinced themselves that prominent Republicans were actively and treasonably in league with France, and that the United States was crawling with French "apostles of sedition" who threatened, as one Federalist editor put it, "to burn all our cities and cut the throats of all our inhabitants." In 1798 the Federalist majority in Congress pushed through three laws designed to hurt the Republican party—a Naturalization Act, an Alien Act, and a Sedition Act. Many French and Irish refugees had recently come to America; being anti-British, they usually joined the Republicans. Therefore, the Naturalization Act extended the time necessary for a foreigner to become a citizen from five to fourteen years. The Alien Act reflected the almost hysterical fear of French agents who were thought to be using the Republicans as dupes. It required all foreigners

to register with the federal government and allowed the President to deport without trial any whom he considered "dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States." The Sedition Act was designed to muzzle the Republican press. It forbade citizens to speak or publish anything false or malicious against the federal government or any of the officers thereof. Violators could be punished by fines up to \$5,000 and imprisonment up to five years.

Both Adams and Hamilton warned fellow Federalists against abusing their power. As it turned out, the anti-Republican laws hurt the Federalist party itself more than the intended victim. The Naturalization and Alien acts offended recent immigrants and drove them more than ever to the support of the Republicans. The ten Republicans, mostly newspaper editors, who were jailed under the Sedition Act were hailed by their followers as heroic martyrs to the sacred cause of freedom of the press. Typical of the effect of the Sedition Act was the case of Congressman Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, the editor of a violently anti-Federalist paper, *The Scourge of Aristocracy and Repository of Important Political Truths*. Lyon was sent to jail for publishing the opinion that President Adams ought to be sent to an insane asylum. While in jail, he was re-elected to Congress. When after his release he set off for Philadelphia, he was accompanied on the first day of his journey by a parade of carriages said to have been twelve miles long.

Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, 1798-1799

The Federalists' "reign of terror" under the Sedition Act had given the Republicans an issue. In 1798 and 1799, the Republican-dominated legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions denouncing the act as unconstitutional because it violated the First Amendment, which says, "Congress shall make no law . . .

abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." These resolutions, secretly written by Jefferson and Madison, are important because

QUESTION • What would have been the results if the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions had been put into effect?

they first presented the theory of nullification. According to this theory, the Constitution was simply

a compact (agreement) among the states to set up the federal government as their agent. It was for the individual states to determine when their agent had exceeded its powers. If a state thought that a federal law went beyond the powers granted to the federal government in the Constitution, it had the right to "nullify" the law—that is, to declare it null and void and to refuse to obey it. To phrase it differently, the state had the right to "interpose" its power to protect its citizens from misuse of federal power.

The nullification theory was rightly denounced by other state legislatures as tending to the breakup of the Union. If any state could nullify any federal law it considered unconstitutional, the power of the federal government would cease. The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions were intended, however, simply as campaign material for the presidential election of 1800 and were followed by no action undermining federal authority.

THE ELECTION OF 1800

It was while he was Vice-President under Adams that Jefferson became the active leader of the Republican party. He was in an ideal situation for the task. He was at the center of the government, yet his job as Vice-President carried with it very few official duties. Through personal contact with members of Congress and through thousands of letters, he kept in touch with Republicans all over the country.



The New York Public Library

Although he was revered by later generations, Jefferson was hated by many during his lifetime. This Federalist cartoon shows Jefferson with a brandy bottle at his feet, his pockets stuffed with incendiary literature, pulling down the federal government.

Jefferson's guiding hand was seldom seen, sometimes because it was deliberately concealed, as in the case of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, but more often because he acted in consultation with other men. Even when giving his own ideas, he concealed them under some such phrase as "our friends think that..." Above all, he worked through newspapers. He said once that if he had to choose between government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, he would choose the latter. He collected money to found dozens of Republican newspapers throughout the country—a tremendous force in turning public opinion toward his side.

As the presidential election of 1800 approached, the Federalists nominated Adams and

Charles C. Pinckney; the Republicans nominated Jefferson and Aaron Burr. While the Republicans were becoming better organized, the Federalists were badly split between followers of Hamilton and of Adams. Hamilton, indeed, lost his head and wrote for private circulation among his friends a pamphlet attacking Adams. Burr somehow got a copy of this and saw that it was published in leading Republican newspapers. No conceivable piece of campaign literature could have been more damaging to the Federalists.

In the campaign, Jefferson suggested that his followers concentrate their fire on the Sedition Act and the heavier taxes brought on by the French war. The Federalists countered by predicting that Jefferson would cancel the public debt and abolish the navy. Spokesmen for both parties made fantastic charges, those against Jefferson being especially unfair. The Vice-President was portrayed as a drunkard, an atheist, and a French agent. The *Hartford Courant*, a Federalist newspaper, wrote of the possibility of his election as follows:

I. Mr. Jefferson has long felt a spirit of deadly hostility against the Federal Constitution. . . .

II. If he should be elected President, the Constitution will inevitably fall a sacrifice to Jacobinism.

III. The result will be dreadful to the people of the United States.

The result of the election of 1800 was a close victory for Jefferson and Burr, who each received 73 electoral votes to 65 for Adams and 64 for Pinckney. The election revealed an interesting development. Whereas in 1796 there was a clear sectional division between the two parties, by 1800 each party had found allies in the home territory of the other (compare election maps on pp. 182 and 187). In the North, the Republicans worked with laborers and recent immigrants in the cities. In New York City, Aaron Burr formed an organization so ef-

fective in "getting out the vote" that former Federalist majorities disappeared and the Republicans carried every ward, with the result that they also carried the state, and with New York State, the election. This alliance between the South and the northern city machines became a characteristic feature of the Democratic party, which has endured, in varying forms, until the present day.

The Federalists also formed strange alliances. In New York and Virginia, for instance, they received strong support from the small farmers of the backcountry, who might have been expected to follow Jefferson. In each case, local rivalries aligned them against the leading Republicans of their states.

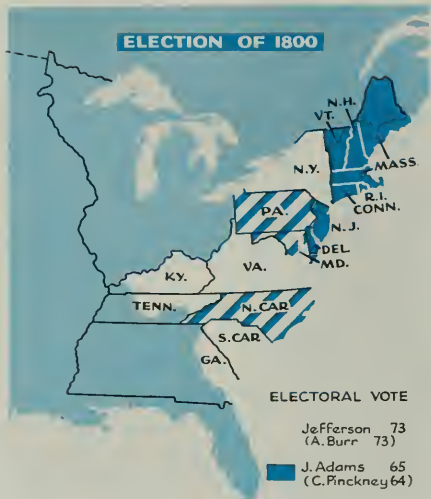
Thus, the differences between the parties began to blur. Ever since, the major American political parties have tended to be bundles of local interests, loosely tied together for the purpose of winning elections. On the whole, this

QUESTION • How does the party system that originated in the United States differ from party systems in other democratic countries, such as Italy, Great Britain, and Japan, and from those in Communist countries?

may have been fortunate, because intersectional disputes are often ironed out by compromise within the parties. Except on the eve of the Civil War in 1860, there has seldom been need to fear what Washington warned against in his Farewell Address—parties formed on sectional lines, whose struggle might break up the Union.

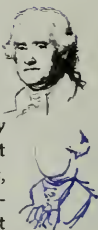
Election Thrown into House of Representatives

The election was not over with the choice of Jefferson and Burr by the electoral college. There was no doubt that the Republicans intended Jefferson for the presidency, but since every Republican elector had voted for both



Contrast this with the map on p. 182. Each party has begun to invade the home territory of the other. Thus, instead of promoting sectional divisions, parties became a means of playing them down.

Jefferson and Burr, there was a tie vote. By the Constitution, the choice of the President was thrown into the House of Representatives, which was controlled by the Federalists (Article II, p. 124). Some Federalists tried to elect Burr as President, and came close to doing so. The House was so evenly divided that it took 35 ballots over a period of six days before deciding who was to be elected. Responsible leaders such as Hamilton threw their weight to Jefferson because they thought him a man of higher character and clearly the choice of the country. Finally, enough Federalist congressmen withdrew from the balloting to allow the Republican members of the House to elect Jefferson. As a result of this confusion, the Twelfth Amendment was added to the Constitution in 1804. This provided for separate ballots in the electoral college for President and Vice-President. (See pp. 142, 143.)



The election of 1800 was an event of great importance. Although the Federalists were unhappy at the outcome, they accepted it and quietly surrendered control of the federal government. It was the first time in modern history that the political control of a country was transferred as the result of a democratic election. In spite of the partisanship and the wild talk, the new party system was beginning to work in ways that helped the nation. The parties that the Founding Fathers had feared and warned against had become useful country-wide organizations that found and nominated candidates for public office, that kept the officials of the federal government and the people back home in touch with each other, and that found means of compromising factional and sectional differences.

Achievements and Eclipse of the Federalists

Although the Federalists were defeated in 1800 and never won another presidential election, the United States owed them a debt of gratitude. During their years in office, the Constitution had been put into successful operation. Every outstanding problem left over from the Confederation period had been solved, at least for the time. The wonder is that in spite of such achievements the Federalists were driven from power. Part of the explanation lies in the split between Hamilton and Adams, and part in Jefferson's ability in organizing the Republicans.

Fundamentally, however, the Federalists lost control of the national government in 1800 because they had little trust in the people. Jefferson appealed to public opinion and worked with "his friends" in every state and town. The Federalists, on the other hand, were run by small cliques that were mortally afraid of democracy. A Massachusetts Federalist said that he held "democracy, in its natural operation, to be government of the worst." The editor of the

principal Federalist newspaper described the people as "the stupid populace, too abject in ignorance to think rightly, and too depraved to draw honest deductions."

The attempt of Federalist congressmen to elect Burr over Jefferson was just one example of their scorn of the people's will. As more western states brought frontier ideas of democracy into politics, and as more men received the right to vote in the older states, the Federalist party lost ground and eventually disappeared.

A NEW CAPITAL AND A NEW KIND OF PRESIDENT

In the last year of Adams' presidency, the federal government had moved to the new capital city of Washington. The Constitution had made provision for a separate capital, and the French Revolution had convinced Congress that one was necessary. In France the government had often been terrorized and dominated by the Paris mob. It was therefore resolved not to locate the capital in one of the big cities such as New York or Philadelphia.

The site was a matter of dispute. It was expected that the new capital would attract trade and industry, so half a dozen states offered to donate land. Northern congressmen preferred a location north of the Mason-Dixon line (see map, p. 255), while southern congressmen favored one on the Potomac River. The matter was settled at the time of the passage of the Assumption Act of 1790 by a piece of logrolling between Hamilton and Jefferson. The proposal to take over state debts was opposed by Virginia, which had paid off its debt. Hamilton therefore offered to round up northern support for the Potomac site if Jefferson would persuade some Virginia congressmen to stop opposing assumption. Jefferson fell in with the scheme, and thus the site of Washington, D.C., was fixed. To soothe the feelings of Pennsyl-



Was There a Political Revolution in 1800?

Thomas Jefferson said that the election of 1800 was a “revolution”—a statement that has often been criticized. A revolution implies some kind of violent or radical overturn. Did such an overturn occur when Jefferson was elected President over Adams and when the Republican Party took control of Congress from the Federalists?

There was certainly a great amount of violent talk on both sides, with the Federalists calling Jefferson a “filthy Jacobin” (a pro-French political radical) and the Republicans claiming that the Sedition Act put the American people at the mercy of “gags, inquisitors, and spies.” But angry dialogue is a common-place of democratic politics, and there was no physical violence in the election of 1800. Was the verdict of the polls a drastic change?

Using the methods of the political scientist, analyze the result of the presidential election of 1800 by comparing it with the election of 1796. Here is a state-by-state breakdown of the number of electors won by Adams (Federalist) and Jefferson (Republican) in 1796 and in 1800.

	1796		1800	
STATE	FED.	DEM. REP.	FED.	DEM. REP.
Connecticut	9	0	9	0
Delaware	3	0	3	0
Georgia	0	4	0	4
Kentucky	0	4	0	4
Maryland	7	4	5	5
Massachusetts	16	0	16	0
New Hampshire	6	0	6	0
New Jersey	7	0	7	0
New York	12	0	0	12
North Carolina	1	11	4	8
Pennsylvania	1	14	7	8
Rhode Island	4	0	4	0
South Carolina	0	8	0	8
Tennessee	0	3	0	3
Vermont	4	0	4	0
Virginia	1	20	0	21
TOTALS	71	68	65	73

1. In how many states was the electoral vote the same in 1796 and 1800? Does this suggest radical change?
2. In how many states did the Federalists gain and how much? Does this suggest radical change?
3. In how many states did the Republicans gain and how much? Where did they gain their winning margin? Does this suggest radical change?
4. Does the over-all evidence support or refute Jefferson's statement?

There is still another sense in which the election of 1800 could be regarded as a revolution. It could be termed such if, after gaining office, Jefferson and the Republicans radically changed the governmental structure or pursued radically different policies than the Federalists (see “THE REPUBLICANS IN OFFICE,” pp. 195-196).

vanians, who had expected the capital to be in their state, Philadelphia was made the capital from 1790 to 1800.

To design the new city, Washington chose Pierre L'Enfant, a Frenchman who had served in the American army during the Revolutionary War. L'Enfant's plans for a vast metropolis with great avenues radiating from key points were so ambitious and expensive, and he was so difficult to work with, that he was dismissed. L'Enfant took his maps and designs with him, but they

were partly reconstructed from memory by one of his surveyors, Benjamin Banneker, a free Negro from Maryland, who was also noted as a self-taught astronomer and editor of a popular almanac.

At the time the federal government moved to Washington, the plans for a great city had not proceeded far. The President's house, with Mrs. Adams' laundry sometimes hanging in the unfinished East Room, stood in an open field with two boxlike buildings for executive offices

Benjamin Banneker, Man of Many Talents



The group meeting in Philadelphia was perplexed. A new city was to be built on the banks of the Potomac, designed expressly to be the capital of the United States. Commissioners had been named by President Washington, and they had chosen Major Pierre L'Enfant to draw the city plans. Now that irascible genius had stormed away in a rage, taking the plans with him. The Commission met to examine their plight.

Thomas Jefferson, presiding, asked for suggestions. Every eye turned to Benjamin Banneker as he stood up.

"May I ask, sir," he hesitated a little, "if the plans we had were satisfactory?"

Jefferson frowned slightly. "How can I say? I never saw them. Why?" The single word was like a pistol shot.

"Because, sir," responded Banneker evenly, "I have the plans in my head."

Benjamin Banneker was a "free Negro from Maryland," and free Negroes in the late eighteenth century faced difficult problems. American slaves had security even though the price was the absence of freedom. They knew where they stood in the social order; indeed, they had their own social lines, which placed house servant "aristocracy" above the artisan "middle class" and both above the field workers. But the free Negro was a displaced person, on the fringe of society.

Banneker, however, was extraordinary. Through hard work and study, he had become a skilled draftsman and surveyor. He used his brilliant mind to become a notable mathematician. His professional ability enabled him to work with Major L'Enfant, and his phenomenal memory reproduced the plans on which they had worked. From L'Enfant's plans come the immense vistas and formal design. And the often-remarked position of the Capitol, which faces away from the center of Washington, is a reminder of L'Enfant's wish that it face the rising sun.

(Theme 8, see p. xii)

near-by. Across a swamp over a mile away, stood the Capitol, of which only one wing was completed. There were as yet no churches, no shops, and no places of amusement. Congressmen had to live "like bears" in a few crowded boarding houses. The avenues were as yet mere muddy wagon tracks, bordered with the stumps of recently felled trees. As late as 1809, a British diplomat noted a covey of partridges within a quarter of a mile of the Capitol.

Thomas Jefferson, Scientist

If Washington, D.C., was an odd sort of capital in 1801, the first President inaugurated there was in many ways an odd sort of man to be the founder of a political party and head of a state. Thomas Jefferson hated crowds, avoided making speeches, and disliked the rough-and-tumble of politics. Like Washington, he infinitely preferred farming to public office. The Marquis de Chastellux, who met Jefferson shortly after the Revolutionary War, was amazed at finding in backcountry Virginia "an American, who without ever having quitted his own country, is at once a musician, skilled in drawing, a geometrician, an astronomer, a nat-



The Library of Congress

In its early days Washington, D. C., was an uncomfortable place. Its streets were knee-deep in mud, the government buildings were inadequate, and officials were crowded into crude boarding houses. Today the city is one of the most beautiful in the world. As this air view shows (below), it was carefully planned with circles and tree-lined boulevards. The public buildings, many with classic architectural lines, dominate the city mall from Capitol Hill to the Potomac Basin.





Monticello: A National Shrine

One of America's hallowed shrines, Monticello (above) was the home of Jefferson. Jefferson's bedroom (right) shows his love of gadgets. On the table near the bed is an optique which Jefferson used to read maps and papers in fine print. Nearby is a combination revolving chair, work table, and chaise longue. Facing page, a view of the entrance hall shows a seven-day calendar clock operated by cannon balls on either side. As the clock ticks, the cannon balls move past the names of the days on the right-hand wall.



ural philosopher, legislator, and statesman." Chastellux did not begin to exhaust the list of his accomplishments. Jefferson's interest in agriculture led him to import hundreds of foreign plants into this country and to send hundreds of American plants abroad. One of the foremost architects of his day, he designed not merely his own beautiful home, Monticello, in Char-

lottesville, and homes for his friends, but also the Virginia Capitol and a wonderful complex of buildings for the University of Virginia. His many inventions included an improved plow, a swivel chair, and a folding buggy top. A lover of English, French, and classical literature, he collected a fine library that eventually became the nucleus of the Library of Congress.



Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation

Although the variety of Jefferson's interests was amazing, his life was dominated by one central theme. He was a scientist. It was fitting that he was elected president of the American Philosophical Society in 1796 and re-elected annually for nearly twenty years. He had a passion to assist in extending the boundaries of knowledge and by doing so to increase the happiness of mankind. His interest in government was part of his purpose: he wanted to apply organized reason to the problems of society in such a way as to benefit individual human beings.

In appearance and manner Jefferson had little of Washington's dignity. He deliberately tried to reduce the ceremony surrounding the office of President because he felt his predecessors had acted too much like monarchs. He walked to his inauguration instead of being drawn by a coach-and-six, and sent written messages to Congress instead of appearing before that body in person. It amazed foreigners to see him riding through the dusty streets of Washington on horseback, dressed in faded

corduroy overalls, with a bag of clover seed in front of the saddle. A British diplomat described him as follows:

He was a tall man, with a very red freckled face, and gray neglected hair; his manners good-natured, frank and rather friendly, though he had somewhat of a cynical expression of countenance. He wore a blue coat, a thick gray-colored hair waistcoat, with a red underwaistcoat lapped over it, green velvet breeches with pearl buttons, yarn stockings, and slippers down at the heels,—his appearance being very much like that of a tall, large-boned farmer.

Jefferson's Inaugural Address

Jefferson's Inaugural Address was in its day almost as famous as Washington's Farewell Address or the Declaration of Independence. In relatively few words it explained his philosophy of government. (See pp. 801–802.)

After declaring that the task before him was beyond his talents, Jefferson asked for national harmony after the bitterness of the election of 1800. "Let us," he said, "restore to social inter-

course that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. . . . We are all Republicans," he went on, "we are all Federalists." By this he meant that in spite of their distrust of democracy, the Federalists recognized the republican principle that decisions are finally settled by the will of the people, and that in spite of their distrust of centralized power, the Republicans did not propose to destroy the federal government.

Jefferson then took up three problems still much discussed in the twentieth century:

(1) *What is to be done with those "who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form"?* Should such people be jailed, exiled, or forced to register with the police, as the Alien and Sedition acts had provided? There was genuine and widespread fear of disloyalty and foreign influence. Jefferson, however, had such a belief in human freedom and such faith in human reason that he refused to be seriously alarmed. Of those who wished to alter or destroy the Union he said, "Let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

(2) *Can a government by the people be sufficiently strong to meet crises?* Many feared that because the federal government lacked a strong police system and a big standing army, it was too weak to last. Jefferson answered that he thought the government of the United States was on the contrary the strongest in the world because each citizen had a personal interest in defending it.

(3) *Can man be trusted to govern himself?* Jefferson countered this perpetual doubt about democracy by asking who is good enough to govern someone else. "Or have we," he asked sarcastically, "found angels in the form of kings to govern him?" "King" in Jefferson's time had much the meaning that "dictator" has today.

Jefferson then went on, as thousands of speakers have done since, to describe the pe-

culiar good fortune of Americans, isolated from "the exterminating havoc" of European wars, possessing land enough for "the thousandth and thousandth generation," nearly all professing some form of religion designed to make men honest, truthful, and friendly.

Jeffersonian Principles of Government

Jefferson described in some detail what he thought to be the right principles of "wise and frugal government." In contrast to Hamilton's idea that the federal government should actively promote banking, commerce, and industry (pp. 160-165), he expressed his belief in what economists called *laissez-faire*—"leave people alone." Government should not control the way businessmen or farmers carry on their affairs, but should simply "restrain men from injuring each other, and . . . leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits." Jefferson urged the preservation of personal freedom and the rights of the states. He asked that all accept the decisions of the majority or face the prospect of civil war. He proposed to reduce the regular army to an absolute minimum and to trust the militia to defend the country. This was partly an economy measure designed to reduce taxes, but even more it reflected the fear that a strong army was a threat to popular liberty.

Jefferson followed completely in Washington's footsteps in his definition of the foreign policy of the United States; he advocated "honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."

While expressing his belief in democracy and individual freedom, Jefferson said much that made the Federalists breathe easier. He proposed "the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor," which surely did not suggest the idea of nullification presented in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 and 1799. He spoke of "the honest payment of our debts." This was a great relief to owners of federal bonds who feared that

as an opponent of Hamilton's financial policies Jefferson would prevent repayment to the bondholders.

THE REPUBLICANS IN OFFICE

Jefferson liked to speak of his election to the presidency in 1800 as a "revolution." It was perhaps a revolution in the sense that men who distrusted democracy were replaced by those who believed in it, but it was surely one of the mildest revolutions in all history. Not only was there no violence, but surprisingly little Federalist legislation was repealed. The Alien and Sedition acts had already run out and were not renewed; the period necessary for naturalization was reduced from fourteen years to five. The excise tax on whiskey was abolished. The major features, however, of Hamilton's financial program remained untouched: the Bank of the United States, the Funding Act, and the assumption of state debts. Jefferson hoped to do away with the federal debt not by canceling it but by paying it off rapidly. The money to do this was found by practicing the strictest economy in government. The regular army was reduced to 3,000 men, and it was proposed to put almost the entire navy in dry dock.

Once in control of the federal administration, the Republican leaders found that their new role of being in power instead of in opposition pushed them toward modifying or even violating some of their previously expressed principles of government. Jefferson, for instance, professed to fear executive power, and in his Inaugural Address hinted that he would allow Congress to guide policy. He reduced the symbolic dignity of the presidency. He made gestures toward giving Congress more detailed control of the executive departments, but he soon found that if he did not give leadership, his party would break into factions. He therefore used his position as party leader to influence congressional legislation. By consultation with Republican leaders in Congress, and by

seeing that his supporters gained key positions, Jefferson became just as much "chief legislator" as Washington had been. Similarly, Jefferson professed to fear extension of the power of the federal government, but, as the next chapter will show, when he felt he had to choose between the welfare of the nation and his principles, he chose the former. Thus he illustrated the fact that the "outs" tend to be strict constructionists, because they want to prevent action by their opponents who control the federal government, while the "ins" are apt to be loose constructionists, because they are in power and wish to act.

Attack on the Federal Judiciary

The congressional elections of 1800 gave the Republicans safe majorities in both the House and Senate, and they were thus in a position to repeal any Federalist legislation they disliked. But the only point at which they made a major attempt to undo the work of their predecessors was in trying to reduce the power of the federal judiciary and to drive some judges from office. The Republicans feared the judiciary for a number of reasons: (1) Federal judges, holding their positions "during good behavior" (which meant for life), were beyond the control of the people. (2) The federal courts had declared several state laws unconstitutional and so were a means of strengthening the power of the federal government and reducing that of the states. (3) During their last month in office, the Federalists had "packed" the judiciary. They increased the number of federal judges by the Judiciary Act of 1801, and Adams promptly filled 67 positions with members of his party. These new judges were known as "midnight judges," because the story went that Adams signed appointments until midnight of his last day in office.

One of the first acts of Congress after Jefferson came into office was to repeal the Judiciary Act of 1801. After doing away with the "midnight judges" by abolishing their of-

fices, the victorious Republicans went on to try to remove other Federalists from the judiciary by impeachment. In 1804 a Federalist district judge, John Pickering, was impeached by the House and convicted by the Senate for actions that indicated that he had gone insane. The House then impeached Justice Samuel Chase of the Supreme Court. Chase had attacked democracy in general and Jefferson in particular while addressing a Baltimore jury. The Senate, however, refused to convict Chase because it was not convinced that he had been proved guilty of "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." (See Article II, Section 4, p. 128.) The failure to remove Chase reduced the use of impeachment in the future to serious wrongdoing. Only once again, in the case of President Andrew Johnson in 1868, was it used simply as a political weapon.

John Marshall and Judicial Review

In 1801, shortly before leaving office, President Adams appointed John Marshall as Chief Justice of the United States. Marshall was an ardent Federalist and detested his cousin and fellow-Virginian, Thomas Jefferson. In one of the first cases to come before him, *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), Marshall claimed for the federal judiciary the power of judicial review of acts of Congress. In his opinion, Marshall declared illegal a portion of the Judiciary Act of 1789, by which Congress first set up the federal courts. He argued that since the courts exist to enforce the law, and since the Constitution is "the supreme law of the land" (see Article 6, clause 2, p. 134), it is for federal judges to decide, when cases come before them, whether or not laws passed by Congress are constitutional. This decision greatly angered the Republicans because it gave a veto on federal laws to judges who were neither chosen by the people directly nor made accountable to them by periodic elections. It was in fact not the first

time that the federal judiciary had declared federal laws unconstitutional, and judicial review of state legislation had been established in the Judiciary Act of 1789, but *Marbury v. Madison* was in the long run of immense importance. The relentless logic with which Marshall showed that the federal courts must interpret the Constitution in order to obey it impressed itself on men's minds. The power of the federal judiciary, and especially of the Supreme Court, to exercise the great power of judicial review became as much a fact as the President's veto. In no other country in the world do the courts enjoy such unrestricted power.

Jefferson's Re-election, 1804

Jefferson's first term was a success. "The vessel in which we are all embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world," as he metaphorically called the federal government in his Inaugural Address, had been successfully steered on a new course. The national honor had been redeemed by the Tripolitan War, and the national domain increased by the Louisiana Purchase, both of which will be described in Chapter 8. War had broken out in Europe, but its first effect in this country was only to increase foreign trade and to enrich shipowners. Although taxes had been reduced, the income of the federal government from the tariff was sufficient not merely to pay running expenses but also to reduce the national debt. This good management and good fortune resulted in a great Republican victory when Jefferson ran for a second term in 1804. He received 162 out of 176 electoral votes, carrying every state except Connecticut and Delaware. Only Washington before him, and after him only James Monroe in 1820, Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, and Lyndon Johnson in 1964, gained such overwhelming triumphs. But Jefferson's second term was to be far less successful than his first.

Activities: Chapter 7

For Mastery and Review

1. Explain the three different political meanings of "Federalist."

2. Compare the Federalist and Republican parties with regard to (a) leaders and candidates, (b) purposes and principles, (c) social groups from which each drew, (d) economic programs, and (e) other differences. Parallel columns might help here.

3. Summarize relations between the United States and France during Adams's administration.

4. What were the terms of the Alien and Sedition Acts? Why were they passed? What were the reactions to them?

5. Describe the presidential campaign of 1800. Why did the Republicans win? Why was the election decided in the House of Representatives?

6. Summarize the major ideas of Jefferson's First Inaugural Address. Why did he say, "We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists"? Why did he think a republic is a strong form of government? What did he want done with those who would change the form of government? What foreign policy did he advocate? How would he have divided governmental powers between the states and the central government?

7. What were the major accomplishments of the Federalist party? Why did it lose power? What parts of the Federalists' program were retained by the Republicans? What parts were changed? For what reasons did the Republicans attack the federal judiciary?

8. Outline the decision given in the case of *Marbury v. Madison* and the importance of that decision to American history.

Unrolling the Map

1. Study the election maps of 1796 and 1800 (pp. 182, 187). What differences do you see? How do you account for the differences?

2. Prepare a display of the city of Washington. Include a map showing the location of the District of Columbia.

Who, What, and Why Important?

Federalists	Virginia and Kentucky
Republicans	Resolutions
French Revolution	Twelfth Amendment
Thomas Jefferson	Major L'Enfant
John Adams	Benjamin Banneker
Aaron Burr	-laissez-faire
XYZ Affair	"midnight-judges"
Naturalization Act	John Marshall
Alien and Sedition acts	<i>Marbury v. Madison</i>

To Pursue the Matter

1. How close did Aaron Burr come to being elected President? See Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 102-105, and/or Allis, *Government Through Opposition: Party Politics in the 1890's*, pp. 79-81.

2. What were the actual effects of the Alien and Sedition acts? Did their enforcement cause a "reign of terror," as the Republicans insisted? See Miller, *The Federalist Era, 1789-1801*.

3. For reflection, discussion, investigation:

a) If the capital of the United States were to be relocated today, where should it be placed? Should it be created out of nothing, as was Washington, D.C., or should it be placed in an existing city? For a contemporary example of a country's building a capital from scratch, see Peterson, *Latin America*, pp. 88-89.

b) "The major American political parties have tended to be bundles of local interests, loosely tied together for the purpose of winning elections." To what extent does this statement apply to the two major parties today?

4. By what means did Jefferson exercise control over Congress? See Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations, 1801-1809*.

5. Thomas Jefferson considered David Rittenhouse, builder of the famous orrery (see p. 92), one of the three greatest Americans, along with Washington and Franklin. Why? See Boorstin, *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson*.

I was a fool to
ever leave you
side
me sums you
such a lovely
ride
te break up we had
had made me
lovely
meeting, love you
I want you
K

Chapter 8

Foreign Entanglements

*If you wish to avoid future collision,
you had better abandon the ocean.*

—HENRY CLAY, 1812

Jefferson hoped that “nature and a wide ocean” would keep the United States entirely isolated from European rivalries. “Peace,” he wrote to an English friend, “is our passion.” As has been seen, he proposed to lay up the navy and to trust the defense of the United States to militia instead of a standing army. Unarmed isolation, however, proved impossible.

TROUBLE WITH TRIPOLI

The first threat to peace came not from one of the great powers of Europe, but from Tripoli, a small country on the north coast of Africa. Piracy was a principal business of Tripoli and the other Barbary Coast states of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis. The ships of countries not paying them tribute were subject to capture and their crews to enslavement. In the Confederation period, American shipping had been driven from the Mediterranean because the United States lacked money to pay tribute. During the Federalist period, however, the United States treasury could afford the demands of the Barbary pirates. Between 1789 and 1801 the United States paid over \$2,000,000 in “protection” for our ships. At the time of the XYZ Affair, when Americans were cheering the

toast, “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!” a United States warship carried twenty-six barrels of silver dollars to Algiers.

Thinking the United States as weak as it was distant, the Barbary Coast states increased their demands. In 1801, just two months after Jefferson’s inauguration, the ruler of Tripoli cut down the flagpole of the American consulate in his capital to show his dissatisfaction with the amount of American tribute.

Although peace might have been Jefferson’s passion, he did not propose that the United States should be perpetually subject to organized robbery. He therefore carried on a four-year war with Tripoli. Eventually the commander of the American naval force in the Mediterranean had fourteen ships under his command. In Egypt an American consul, William Eaton, organized a small force of Americans, Greeks, Arabs, and Tripolitans. Crossing 500 miles of the desolate Sahara, he invaded Tripoli and captured a strong fortress. The ruler of Tripoli then made peace on payment of \$60,000 ransom for American sailors captured in the course of the war. The vigor of the American forces for a time discouraged the other Barbary Coast states from asking addi-

tional tribute. In 1807 Jefferson withdrew the American naval squadron from the Mediterranean and attacks on American shipping were resumed. The piracy of the Barbary states did not end until 1815, when an American flotilla under Stephen Decatur, joined by warships of European nations, once and for all put an end to the nuisance.

Although the Tripolitan War thus was not, as is sometimes thought, especially decisive, it did save the American navy from being disbanded and gave American officers training which proved valuable in the War of 1812. The war also revealed the power of the President. There was never a congressional declaration of war. Jefferson as commander-in-chief simply ordered American ships to the Mediterranean to defend American interests.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, 1803

A far more serious threat to the United States than any possible demands of the Barbary pirates came with the news that in 1800 Spain had secretly ceded Louisiana, including New Orleans, back to France. The French were now ruled by Napoleon Bonaparte, whose devotion to conquest and war kept Europe in turmoil for many years. Napoleon made France stronger in Europe than ever before, and he intended to create a new French empire in America.

The prospect of seeing New Orleans taken over by French officials and garrisoned with French troops greatly alarmed Jefferson. Although regarded as a friend of France, he wrote Robert Livingston, our minister in Paris, as follows:

There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our national and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market.

If France took possession of New Orleans, wrote Jefferson, "we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." Thus, to keep a strong power from controlling the mouth of the Mississippi, Jefferson was willing to abandon his opposition to "entangling alliances." Before tying up with Britain, he authorized Livingston to offer France \$10,000,000 for New Orleans and West Florida, and sent James Monroe as a special envoy to Paris to help put across the purchase.

It is unlikely that American arguments, threats, or dollars would have moved Napoleon if his plans for a French empire had not suffered a terrible defeat. The most valuable of the French colonies in the Americas was *Sainte Domingue* (later called *Haiti*). In the eighteenth century its exports of sugar, indigo, coffee, and cotton almost equaled in value those of the entire thirteen colonies. In 1791 its half-million Negro slaves, inspired by the French Revolution, threw off the yoke of their white masters. Under the leadership of a remarkable general, Pierre Toussaint L'Ouverture, "the black Napoleon," the Haitian Negroes attempted to make their island an independent state.

In 1801 Napoleon sent an army under his brother-in-law, General Charles LeClerc, to subdue the Haitians. Toussaint L'Ouverture organized such effective resistance, however, that the French expedition failed, although he himself was captured. The warfare and yellow fever killed 50,000 French troops, including LeClerc himself. The disaster was so complete that Napoleon was induced to abandon his American ambitions completely.

Meanwhile, Livingston for many months had been urging the French to sell New Orleans. One day in April 1803, Talleyrand, French foreign minister, astounded him by asking how much the United States would give for the whole of Louisiana. At just this time Livingston was joined by Monroe, and it took only a few

days to reach an agreement by which the United States was to pay about \$15,000,000 for a region which would double the size of the United States.

Was the Purchase Constitutional?

When news of French willingness to sell this vast territory reached the United States, Jefferson was torn between joy over a magnificent bargain and worry over the constitutional powers of the federal government. Although the right to acquire new territory is nowhere stated in the Constitution, Jefferson had already convinced himself that the federal government possessed such a power. What really worried him was a provision in the Louisiana Purchase treaty which stated that Louisiana was to be "incorporated into the Union" and its inhabitants were to become citizens of the United States. If the treaty were carried out, it meant that the executive department, with the consent of the Senate, assumed the right to admit aliens to citizenship. Yet under the Constitution the powers of admitting new states and naturalizing foreigners were clearly reserved to Congress.

Jefferson urged a constitutional amendment to remove any doubts about the legality of the Louisiana Purchase treaty. His followers in the cabinet and Congress pointed out that time was pressing and that Napoleon might change his mind. Waiting for the slow processes of a constitutional amendment might lose Louisiana altogether. Jefferson therefore agreed to submit the treaty to the Senate. His strict-constructionist principles were thus sacrificed to the immense benefits which the Louisiana Purchase brought to the farmers of the West by acquiring the mouth of the Mississippi, and to the whole nation by averting difficulties with France.

The Senate approved the greatest real estate bargain in history in October 1803, and Amer-

ican officials took over from the French in December. Just what territory the United States had acquired was still, however, not clear. Did the purchase include "West Florida" (see map, p. 175)? Did it include Texas? No one knew

for sure. These uncertainties were likely to cause difficulty later. None could doubt the tremendous significance of the Louisiana Purchase in spite of its vague boundaries.

The annexation of this vast area made the United States master of the largest and one of the most fertile river valleys in the world. There could no longer be much doubt that, if it could remain united, the United States would dominate North America and expand to the Pacific. (See U.S. in 1850, pp. 320-321.)

Exploratory Expeditions, 1804-1806

Very little was known about the area west of the Mississippi, and it excited Jefferson's curiosity. The first scientific project to receive federal funds was the expedition sent up the Missouri River under Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, officers in the United States Army. Jefferson himself drew up their instructions. He told them to find the sources of the Missouri, to try to find a practicable route across the Rockies to the Pacific, to observe the customs of the Indians they met, and to make detailed zoological, mineralogical, geological, and meteorological observations. The expedition, numbering 29 "robust healthy hardy young men," as Clark described them, started from St. Louis in May 1804, in three boats. They returned over two years later with their mission accomplished, having surmounted hardships ranging from "ticks and musquitos" to near-

starvation, floods, attacks by Indians, and pursuit by immense grizzly bears as yet unafraid of man. Amazingly, only one man was lost, and he through a sudden attack of illness that was probably appendicitis. The expedition added immensely to the knowledge of the vast area it traversed, and it helped the United States to lay claim to the region beyond the Rockies known as Oregon.

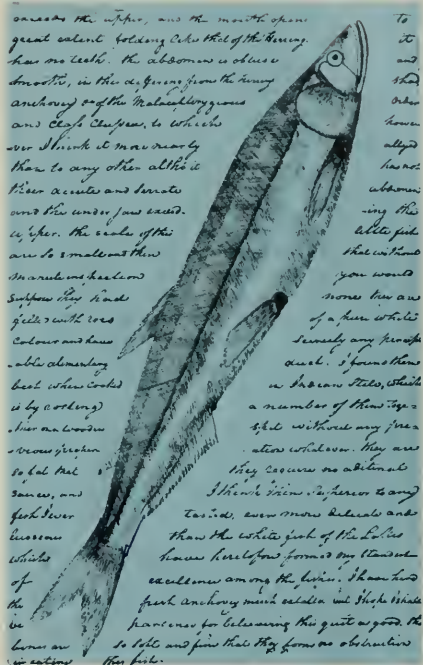
In 1805 another expedition, under Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, was sent up the Mississippi to seek its source. Although he failed to find the exact spot where the great river began, Pike made good maps and brought back valuable information. The next year he journeyed westward across the Great Plains to the Rockies, within sight of the great peak that bears his name. When he ventured southward toward Santa Fe, he was captured and for a time held prisoner by the Spanish, who feared he was a spy, but was later freed.

INTERNAL DISSENSIONS

Jefferson's great majority in the election of 1804 might seem to show that the United States was becoming completely united. But two plots, in both of which Aaron Burr was implicated, revealed that the federal union was still in danger of breaking apart.

The Louisiana Purchase drove some New England Federalists to plan for secession of the northeastern states. They feared that the expansion of the West would submerge New England as a force in politics and would subordinate its commercial interests to the agricultural interests of the South and West. "The people of the East," said a prominent Federalist, "cannot reconcile their habits, views, and interests with those of the South and West."

It was felt essential that New York should join the new federation. The plotters found a tool in Aaron Burr, who was willing to desert



Missouri Historical Society

William Clark's journal of the expedition he and Meriwether Lewis led to the Pacific contained careful descriptions of flora and fauna. Hence his drawing of a Pacific salmon caught in the Columbia River.

the Republican party and run for governor of New York as Federalist candidate in 1804. Once elected, he apparently hoped to detach his state from the Union.

Burr's plans were thwarted in part by Alexander Hamilton, who in 1800 had helped to prevent his being elected President over Jefferson. Some of Hamilton's criticisms of Burr were quoted in an Albany newspaper and had a wide circulation. Burr demanded that Hamilton either back up or deny what he had said, putting his demands in such a form that they might be regarded as a challenge to a duel.



The New York Historical Society

Aaron Burr, whose character is still a matter of dispute among historians, narrowly missed both election to the presidency and conviction for treason. The portrait above was done in 1809.

It is strange that Hamilton should have finally agreed to fight. He had a wife and several young children; he was burdened with debts; and his eldest son had recently been killed in a duel. Apparently, he believed he must observe the code of military men of the day so that he might later be available for command. He foresaw a situation in which he might be needed as an American Napoleon to suppress an uprising of the people and restore order.

Early on a July morning in 1804, Hamilton, Burr, their seconds, a physician rowed across the Hudson to a little shelf of rock at

the foot of the Palisades. At the signal to fire Burr, an excellent shot, sent a bullet into Hamilton's body. Hamilton died the next day. Thus he went to his death in part because he had tried to protect the Union from dismemberment and in part because he lacked faith in government by the people. When a New York coroner's jury indicted Burr for murder, he slipped out of New York, but this was not the end of his troubles.

Burr's Conspiracy, 1805-1806

In 1805 and 1806, Burr was in the West arranging a conspiracy of which the details are even now obscure. He tried to draw a number of influential men into his schemes, as partners or as dupes. These included a senator from Ohio, the British and Spanish ministers to the United States, the commander of the federal troops in the West, and leaders of the former French colony in New Orleans. Sometimes Burr talked of secession of the western states, sometimes of the conquest of Mexico (with himself as emperor). He collected arms, bought flatboats on the Ohio, and floated down toward New Orleans with fifty or sixty men. His movements became so widely known, however, that the federal government had ample time to prepare for anything he might do. Eventually, Burr fled in disguise, but he was caught and taken to Richmond to face trial for treason before Chief Justice Marshall.

At the trial Marshall followed the letter of the Constitution in protecting the rights of a person accused of treason. The Chief Justice insisted that the prosecution produce two witnesses to an "overt act" on Burr's part (see Article III, Section 3, p. 130). Since Burr had had little chance to do more than talk, and since there were no trustworthy witnesses against him, he was acquitted. He went into exile for four years and then returned to New York.

INDIAN REMOVALS

During Jefferson's administration and that of James Madison which followed it, the ever-advancing white settlers, hunters, and land speculators pressed hard on the Indians. Jefferson favored a policy of removing Indians from east of the Mississippi and settling them in unoccupied lands in the Louisiana Territory.

He insisted that the Chickasaws and Cherokees give up their lands in what is now Alabama and Georgia and move to what is now Arkansas. North of the Ohio, the Treaty of Greenville had not satisfied the whites' desire for land.

By persuasion, force, and fraud, Indian chiefs were induced to give up more and more land. In spite of solemn treaty promises that were to run "as long as the sun shall climb the heavens or the waters shall run in the streams," whites persisted in hunting in areas reserved for Indians, thus destroying their principal source of livelihood. Mere contact with the white men degraded the Indians. William Henry Harrison, long governor of the Northwest Territory, wrote as follows:

I can tell at once upon looking at an Indian whom I may chance to meet, whether he belongs to a neighboring or more distant tribe. The latter is generally well-clothed, healthy, and vigorous; the former half-naked, filthy, and enfeebled by intoxication.

Harrison, who has been described as "the most talented American at depriving the Indians from their ancestral lands," wrote fifteen treaties whereby Indians gave up nearly all of modern Indiana and Illinois, plus other territories.

At this time of crisis for the Indians, there appeared a remarkable leader, Tecumseh, chief of the Shawnees. He hoped to unite all the tribes, north and south, into a great federation to resist the ever-encroaching whites. He and his brother persuaded his people to avoid alcohol and to refrain from fighting white men

except in self-defense. He went to Harrison and urged that the United States give up some recently "purchased" territory on the ground that the chiefs who signed the treaty had no authority. Harrison replied that only the President of the United States could comply with the request. Tecumseh answered:

Well, as the great chief is to decide the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head to induce him to give up this land. It is true, he is so far off he will not be injured by the war; he may sit still in his town and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out.

This prediction came true. In 1811 Harrison started a preventive war against Tecumseh's followers at a time when he knew the great Indian leader was absent. Invading the Indian lands, he fought a rather inconclusive battle at Tippecanoe in modern Indiana. The Indian braves were armed with guns received from British fur traders. Westerners believed that Tecumseh was a hired British agent, and that the British government egged on the Indians and paid them handsomely for the scalps of white settlers.

DEFENDING AMERICAN NEUTRAL RIGHTS AT SEA

Jefferson's presidency saw a renewal of war in Europe. In 1803 Great Britain and France went to war, after a truce of less than two years. Again the United States as the neutral nation possessing the largest merchant marine benefited greatly because of the wartime demand for goods. As in the period from 1793 to 1801, the warring countries again violated American rights.

In 1805 Napoleon won the great battle of Austerlitz, which made him master of most of western Europe. In the same year, Admiral Horatio Nelson's victory at Trafalgar gave Great Britain undisputed command of the sea. Thus

the war became one “between the tiger and the shark.” Unable to strike directly at Great Britain, Napoleon resolved to ruin the trade of “the nation of shopkeepers.” By the Berlin and Milan Decrees in 1806 and 1807, the emperor forbade any country under his control to import British goods or to allow British ships to enter its harbors. Neutral ships bringing British goods, stopping at British ports, or even submitting to search by British naval vessels were to be confiscated.

Great Britain answered the Napoleonic decrees by Orders in Council directed especially at the United States. British traders were already

alarmed by the great increase in the American merchant marine. If American ships now took over the trade with Europe forbidden to the British by the French decrees, the United States might displace Britain as the greatest trading nation in the world. Therefore, Orders in Council of 1807 forbade neutral ships to trade with Europe unless they stopped in England first, and in any case to carry no products of the French colonies and nothing of military value.

American Shipping in Difficulties

If thoroughly enforced, the Napoleonic decrees and the Orders in Council might have put

Tecumseh, the Great Failure



History is too often written by the winners, about the successful. The United States, however, sometimes honors the greatness of a loser and a failure. Such was Tecumseh, chief of the Shawnees.

A tall, handsome man, with proud bearing, Tecumseh had little reason to feel friendly toward the whites—his father had been brutally murdered by frontiersmen—but he sternly opposed the savagery of Indian retaliation against white captives.

Learning English from the daughter of a pioneer farmer, he tried to understand Americans in order to deal with them. Someone had to deal with them: white settlers were flooding into the Old Northwest. Tecumseh tried to stop them by uniting the Indian tribes into a single, strong nation. Traveling constantly, he spoke eloquently at tribal meetings from Florida to Michigan and west to Iowa. Young braves, anxious for adventure, shouted approval, but the older leaders shook their heads. Not for them any union with old enemies!

Tecumseh's greatest wrath fell on the common white practice of “lickering up” the Indians and persuading them to sign treaties ceding tribal lands. In conference with General William Henry Harrison, he challenged the rights of a drunken chief: “Sell a country? Why not sell the air, the clouds and the great sea as well as the earth? Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?”

Alarmed at Tecumseh's activities, General Harrison wiped out the town of the Prophet, Tecumseh's brother and ally, on the Tippecanoe River. But the chief was not there. As the American-Indian warfare merged into the War of 1812, he joined his British allies against American forces near Detroit, on the Thames River. Deserted by the British, the Shawnees fought gallantly until Tecumseh fell. Then they fled, carrying his body—and all hope of Indian unity—with them.

(Theme 9, see p. xil)

an end to American trade with Europe. If an American ship visited a British port, it was liable to seizure by the French; if it sailed direct to the Continent, the British might confiscate it. British warships cruised outside American harbors to search our ships and learn their destinations. French officials confiscated hundreds of American ships in European ports. Neither blockade, however, was complete, and the profits from successful evasion were so great that the American merchant marine prospered.

Even more humiliating than the attempt to cut off our trade was the British practice of "impressing" sailors from American ships. Discipline in the British navy was so strict, and the pay so low, that it was impossible to man the British navy with volunteers. For centuries, Britain had secured sailors for its navy by a legalized form of kidnaping known as impressment. Sailors might be not merely impressed in port, but even taken off merchant ships at sea. British sailors frequently deserted their country's service and signed on American vessels, where the conditions and pay were better. Sometimes a British warship calling in an American port found it difficult to sail away because so many of the crew deserted. Therefore, Britain claimed the right to stop our ships, search for former British subjects, and force them back into service.

The United States had protested about this practice ever since 1794, when John Jay had gone to England with instructions to persuade the British to give it up. No British government, however, would abandon impressment off American ships for fear it might become impossible to man the Royal Navy. In the course of the Napoleonic Wars, it has been estimated that about 9,000 American citizens were forced to serve under the Union Jack; many of them lost their lives in the king's service.

In June 1807, an American warship, the *Chesapeake*, was just leaving this country for

a voyage to the Mediterranean when she was hailed by a British naval vessel, the *Leopard*. The commander of the *Leopard* demanded that he be allowed to search the *Chesapeake* for British deserters. When he was refused, the British ship fired three broadsides at the wholly unprepared *Chesapeake*, killing three Americans and wounding eighteen. After the American ship surrendered, the British carried off four sailors.

Like the later sinkings of the *Maine* in 1898 and the *Lusitania* in 1915, the attack on the *Chesapeake* caused tremendous indignation in this country. Jefferson, however, delayed calling Congress until passion had time to cool. The President did not intend to accept humiliation at British hands, but sought some alternative to war.

Embargo Act, 1807

Jefferson thought he had found a substitute for war in the use of an economic boycott. Before the Revolutionary War, stopping trade with Great Britain had been successful in forcing repeal of the Stamp Act and modification of the Townshend acts. Now Jefferson assumed that both Britain and France were so dependent upon American exports that if the United States cut off trade with them, they would stop violating American neutral rights. Under the President's urging, Congress in December 1807 passed the Embargo Act which forbade American ships to sail for foreign ports anywhere in the world.

The Embargo Act proved to be a disastrous failure. It caused some suffering in Britain, but hurt France very little. Its worst results were in the United States. Thousands of sailors were put out of work and many had to beg. Ships rotted at the docks. Merchants were ruined. Stores of wheat, cotton, and tobacco piled up on the wharves while prices dropped. Success of the embargo depended upon popular support,



A cartoon criticizing Jefferson and protesting the Embargo (Ograbme spelled backwards). Jefferson, at left, watches goods being smuggled from a British ship. Many vessels tried to evade the Embargo; freight rates were so high that one successful trip might pay for the cost of the entire ship.

but it became intensely unpopular, especially in New England, where it was widely evaded and where town meetings condemned Jefferson in language similar to that used against George III a generation earlier. The Jefferson administration resorted to such "un-Republican" measures as an increase in the regular army to control smuggling into Canada and powers of search and seizure that went beyond anything attempted by British customs officers before the American Revolution. "No peacetime President," it has been observed, "ever sought, or received, such a vast concentration of power as did Jefferson, and at the expense of provisions in the Bill of Rights which he himself once advocated as necessary checks against tyranny."

Madison Elected President, 1808

Jefferson was glad to step down as President after two terms and retire to Monticello. For the rest of his life he carried on an immense correspondence and busied himself with founding the University of Virginia. He did not look

back on his years as chief magistrate with pleasure. He had felt driven by the requirements of the office into violating his oft-expressed principles of individual freedom and limited federal power. In the epitaph he wrote for himself he asked to be remembered only as the author of the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Bill for Religious Freedom, and as father of the University of Virginia.

Jefferson's refusal to run for a third term as President helped to fix the two-term tradition that continued until Franklin D. Roosevelt's election for a third term in 1940, and that the Twenty-second Amendment made part of the Constitution in 1951. Jefferson used his influence to pass the Republican nomination on to his close friend and Secretary of State, James Madison. Madison defeated his Federalist opponent, Charles C. Pinckney, by an electoral vote of 122 to 47. Because of opposition to the Embargo Act, all of New England except Vermont went Federalist.

Fruitless Efforts to Defend Neutral Rights

Even before Jefferson left office in March 1809, Congress repealed the unpopular Embargo Act. In its place was substituted the Nonintercourse Act, which banned trade with ports under British or French control but allowed it with the rest of the world. Although less disastrous in its effects on American trade than the Embargo Act, the Nonintercourse Act was no more successful in forcing the warring countries to respect American rights. In 1810 it was replaced by a strange piece of legislation known as Macon's Bill No. 2. Macon's Bill temporarily dropped all restrictions on foreign trade, but provided that if France would abandon her decrees, the United States would revive nonintercourse against Britain, and that if Britain would drop the Orders in Council, the United States would revive nonintercourse against France. Napoleon saw in Macon's Bill a chance to trick the United States into action against Britain. In August 1810, his foreign minister sent a letter to the United States minister to France offering to repeal the Napoleonic decrees if the United States forced England to respect American rights.

Madison failed to see that the condition attached to the French offer made it worthless. Not even waiting for the actual repeal of the French decrees, Madison cut off trade with Great Britain in February 1811. Napoleon shortly revealed how little his offer meant when his officials continued to seize American ships trading from Britain to the Continent.

Drifting Into War

In May 1811, tension between the United States and Great Britain broke out into actual hostilities. An American frigate, the *President*, cruising off New York, attacked and defeated a small British warship, the *Little Belt*. American opinion applauded this action as a deserved

revenge for the attack on the *Chesapeake*, while British opinion considered it an act of unprovoked aggression. Popular feelings were reflected in diplomacy. The American minister to England left London in disgust and returned to this country. A British minister to the United States continued to serve in Washington, but he was not empowered by his government to offer the United States the slightest concession. The two governments had reached the point where they were, in effect, no longer on speaking terms.

Neither the British nor the Americans really wanted war. Hostilities with the United States would distract Britain from fighting its primary enemy, Napoleon, and Canada might be lost. The United States was almost wholly unprepared militarily, and in the process of carrying on an extended war, the federal government might go bankrupt. Why a useless and unwanted war nevertheless broke out in 1812 is a matter of continuing debate among historians.

In the nineteenth century the common view was that the War of 1812 was fought for "seamen's rights," brought on because the British Orders in Council and her impressment of American seamen were intolerable invasions of American rights on the high seas. The difficulty with this interpretation was that the war was most strongly opposed in New England, where the shipping industry was concentrated. The people who had suffered most at the hands of the British were the least anxious to retaliate. The most outright support for the war came from the agrarian West and South. This fact led to a theory that the nation was impelled toward war by Westerners eager to end the Indian menace in the Northwest and to satisfy their insatiable land hunger by annexing Canada, allied with Southerners anxious to drive the Spanish out of Florida.

Those who called the most loudly for a showdown with Britain were a group of young

western and southern congressmen, nicknamed the "War Hawks," led by Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. But the Westerners and Southerners together did not have enough votes in Congress to bring a declaration of war. The most votes in favor of war came from Pennsylvania, a state that had no fear of Indian raids and nothing to gain from annexing Canada or Florida. So recently the wheel has come full circle, and historians are coming back to the original idea that the War of 1812 was caused primarily by British impressment and by Orders in Council. Americans had become increasingly exasperated by the fact that British cruisers were taking young men off American coasting vessels and seizing ships in sight of our shores. The policy of commercial coercion had apparently failed, so there seemed to be just two choices left: submit or fight. Further submission would be galling to the sensitive pride of a new nation. It would also be confirmation of the opinion we have met before: that republics were by their nature too weak and vacillating to survive in the jungle world of international politics. If the United States continued to accept humiliation, therefore, it would not only be a blot on the national honor, but it would hurt the cause of free government everywhere. Led by the War Hawks, the Republican majority in Congress finally decided, rather hesitantly, that the country must accept the appalling risks of war rather than allow itself to be pushed around.

Declaration of War, June 19, 1812

The War of 1812 would never have been fought had there existed any means of instantaneous communication, such as the Atlantic cable or wireless. On June 23, 1812, the British government formally revoked the Orders in Council. British harvests had been bad and British manufacturers had bombarded Parlia-

ment with statements that they faced utter ruin unless the American market was reopened. Jefferson's and Madison's policy of commercial coercion was at last effective—but too late. The United States had declared war four days earlier. The vote on the war resolution was 79 to 49 in the House of Representatives, 19 to 13 in the Senate. Thus in neither branch of Congress was the declaration supported by two-

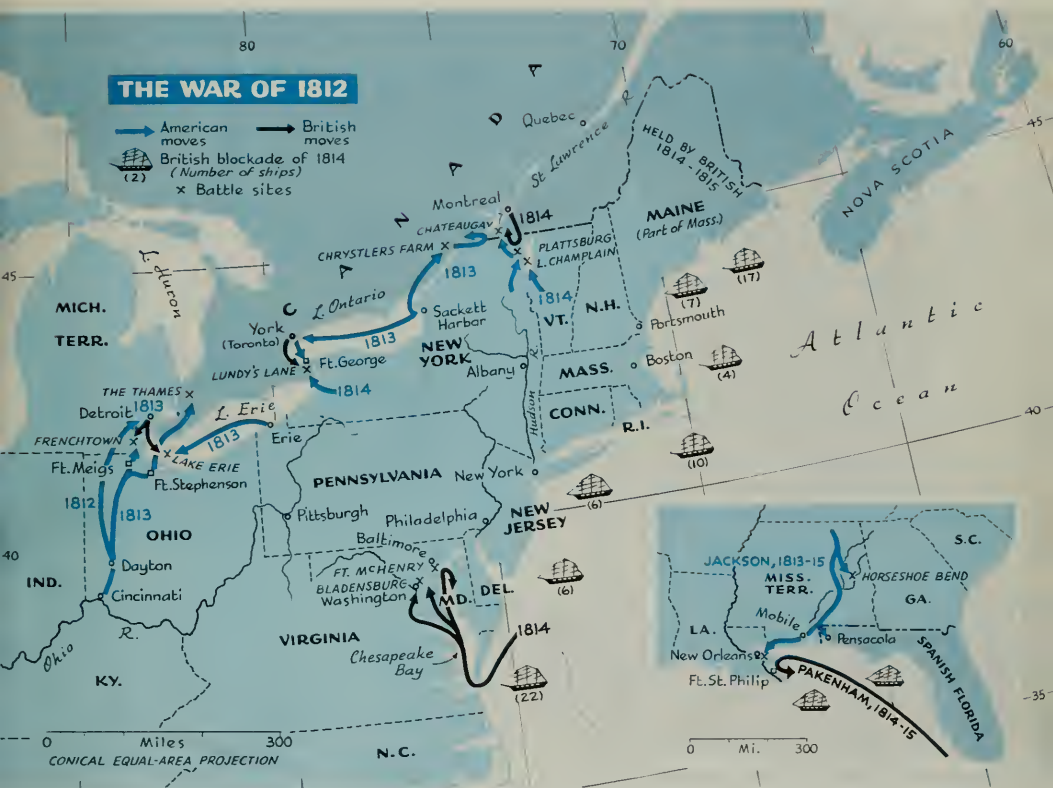
QUESTION • A two-thirds vote in the Senate is needed to make peace, only a majority of Congress to declare war. Should the latter provision be changed?

thirds of the members. Even the members of Congress who voted for war did so with little enthusiasm, and only because they saw no

alternative. Knowledge that the British were even thinking of abandoning the Orders in Council would have held up the vote, and their revocation would have averted war. The declaration of war against Great Britain did not suggest any sort of alliance with France. A proposal to include France in the declaration of war was defeated in the Senate by the close vote of 18 to 14.

Madison's Re-election, 1812

In the presidential election of 1812, Madison was opposed by De Witt Clinton of New York, a Republican who broke the New York-Virginia alliance and gained support from the New England Federalists. Issues were confused because Clinton made appeals to both those who wanted to end the War of 1812 and those who wanted to prosecute it more vigorously. The voting, however, revealed the same pattern as that on the declaration of war itself. Clinton carried most of the northeastern states, but lost in the electoral college 89 to 128. Had he carried Pennsylvania, which he lost by a narrow margin, he would have won the election.



THE WAR OF 1812

Andrew Jackson was expressing a widely-held opinion when he predicted that the conquest of Canada by the United States would be a "mere military promenade." There were indeed a number of reasons why an attack northward promised well. Canada was sparsely

populated, and the French Canadians were lukewarm toward their British rulers. The narrow strip of settlement running up the St. Lawrence and north of Lake Ontario was so close to the United States that it was everywhere subject to attack. Montreal, the strategic center of Canada, was only thirty miles from New York State.

Yet Canada did not fall, principally because the military forces of the United States were almost totally unprepared. The regular army of perhaps 6,000 men was scattered throughout the frontier posts. The top commanders, veterans of the Revolution, were too old for warfare. There was no single commanding general and no over-all plan as to how the war should be fought.

To make up for the lack of regular troops, Madison called on the states to furnish militia. The result revealed how false was the idea that militia could be, as Jefferson had called them in his First Inaugural Address, "our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them." Some New England governors refused to furnish any troops at all, because they were opposed to "Mr. Madison's War." New York's militia refused to cross the Niagara River into Canada, maintaining that they had enlisted only to defend their state from invasion. Once lured into battle, militiamen were apt to flee, because they lacked the discipline which comes from proper training.

The results of this unpreparedness were seen at once. Small but ably led Canadian forces took Detroit and two forts on Lake Michigan. An American attack across the Niagara River was turned back. No serious attempt was made to take Montreal.

In 1813 matters improved at the western end of the war zone. Commodore Oliver H. Perry built a small fleet on Lake Erie and won a brilliant victory over a similar British squadron. This forced the British to abandon Detroit. A force of Kentucky volunteers under William Henry Harrison then advanced into Canada and defeated a British army at the battle of the Thames. In the East, however, incompetent American commanders failed dismally in attempted invasions of Canada from Sackett Harbor and Lake Champlain.

In 1814 Napoleon was defeated and forced into exile, so the British were able to send much stronger forces to America. From Montreal, in late summer, an army of over 10,000 British veterans advanced southward under Sir John Prevost. This was a stronger force than the Burgoyne expedition of 1777, and was three times as big as the American army barring its way at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain. By this time, however, the relics of the Revolutionary War had been weeded out of command positions. In their place were younger men who had risen to the top by sheer ability. One of these, General Alexander Macomb, was at the head of the American land forces at Plattsburg, and another, Commodore Thomas Macdonough, commanded a small fleet. Both men handled their smaller forces so well that they repulsed British attacks, inflicting heavy losses. Prevost retreated to Montreal.

Attacks on Washington, Baltimore, and New Orleans

In 1814 the British sent two other expeditions to America: one to attack Washington and Baltimore, the other to take New Orleans. In August British transports landed an army of about 4,000 soldiers at Chesapeake Bay; it marched overland and took the capital with ease. Five thousand American militia, in a position to defend the city, ran away after only ten of their number had been killed. The British burned the public buildings of Washington in revenge for similar destruction by American troops at York (now Toronto) in a raid across Lake Ontario in 1813. From the capital the British went on to attack Baltimore, but were repulsed by the forts guarding the city.

The British expedition to capture New Orleans did not reach the mouth of the Mississippi until December 1814. To oppose the 6,000 veteran redcoats, there were gathered an equal number of Americans commanded by



Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection of the Brown University Library

Loss of a Capital — the Birth of a National Anthem

The British cartoon suggests that Madison will flee "to Elba to his bosom friend," following the burning of Washington, D.C. The picture on the right commemorates the British bombardment of Fort McHenry in September 1814, during which time Francis Scott Key wrote the "Star Spangled Banner."



Chicago Historical Society



Maryland Historical Society

Both the American and British forces burned and plundered during the War of 1812. Above, British troops burn and plunder Havre de Grace, Maryland. Below, an American fleet under Commodore Perry decisively defeats the British on Lake Erie. Although the Americans achieved notable success in individual engagements with the British, the naval superiority of the British fleet was soon felt and most American ships were bottled up in port.

Andrew Jackson, a Tennessee Indian fighter. The American force consisted mostly of militia, with a few pirates recruited for their ability to handle artillery. Jackson was a man of such extraordinary qualities of leadership that he was able to instill discipline into his ill-trained soldiers.

When the final British attack came on January 8, 1815, the American troops were sheltered behind a barricade of cotton bales. The British advanced in the open, as they had at Bunker Hill forty years before, and as at Bunker Hill they suffered terrible losses. After more than a third of their number had been killed or wounded, the invaders gave up the



Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society

assault, and New Orleans was safe from capture. The battle of New Orleans, greatest American victory of the War of 1812, was a useless slaughter, for it occurred two weeks after peace had been signed. Again the lack of a transatlantic cable affected the course of history.

The War at Sea

The American navy had not been expected to take much part in the War of 1812. Only five ships were ready for service when hostilities began. Jefferson and Madison had no interest in the navy, and the only vessels built during their administrations were four small ships for the Tripolitan War, plus a number of small gunboats designed for coastal defense. These gunboats were so unseaworthy they had to stow their guns in the holds except in calm weather. The United States had no ships of the line, the counterparts of the modern battleship. In John Adams's administration, however, there had been completed half a dozen excellent frigates, such as the famous *Constitution*. A frigate was the sailing ship counterpart of the modern cruiser. The American frigates were specially designed to have more fire power than any European ships of the same class and to be fast enough to escape from ships of the line. The Tripolitan War had trained a number of excellent officers, and American crews were composed of volunteers rather than men impressed into service. They were especially skillful at gunnery.

When war broke out, the American frigates put to sea and within a few months had won an uninterrupted series of victories in duels with individual British vessels. These triumphs had no noticeable effect in weakening British sea power, because the British navy outnumbered that of the United States at least twenty to one. But the British had ruled the sea so long that even a few defeats came as a shock. After reporting one of the American victories, a

British newspaper of the day lamented as follows:

Can this be true? Will the English people read this unmoved? Any man who foretold such disasters this day last year would have been treated as a madman or a traitor. He would have been told that ere seven months had gone by the American flag would have been swept from the ocean. . . . Yet not one of the American frigates has struck. They leave their ports when they choose and return when it suits their convenience. . . . Nothing chases them; nothing interrupts them—nay—nothing engages them but to yield in triumph.

On this side of the Atlantic, the naval victories helped to make up for the dismal failure of the war on the northern frontier.

In addition to naval vessels, the United States sent to sea more than 500 privateers; they took 1,330 British vessels and made captures within sight of the British coast. Like the frigate victories, their success served to raise American morale and alarm Britain.

As the war went on, American success at sea diminished. The British rejoiced when one of their frigates, the *Shannon*, won a duel with an American frigate, the *Chesapeake*. What was even more important was that, with overwhelmingly superior numbers, the British fleet was able to lay a tight blockade on the entire Atlantic coast. American foreign trade ceased almost entirely, and the American navy was bottled up in port. While the war on land started with disaster and ended in success, the war at sea started with victories and ended in failure.

The Hartford Convention, 1814

New England opposed the War of 1812 from the first. The opposition took the form of refusal to send militia to the Canadian borders, of failure to purchase United States bonds issued to cover the cost of the war, and of protests by individuals and public meetings. Typical of



Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The naval battle between the *U.S.S. Constitution* and the British *Guerrière* (right) was one of the single-ship engagements that demonstrated the fighting ability of the American frigates and their superior gunnery. This picture is by Thomas Chambers.

the latter was a "Memorial to the President of the United States" issued by the town meeting of Brewster, Massachusetts, in July 1812. The people of Brewster, hoping that no "suspicion of treason" would fall upon them for exercising "the privilege and duty of free citizens to inquire and judge of publick proceedings," declared that the war created an "awful crisis." They saw no navy sufficient to protect them, and disliked fighting on the same side as "the monster" Napoleon. Above all, they foresaw that the war would be ruinous to themselves:

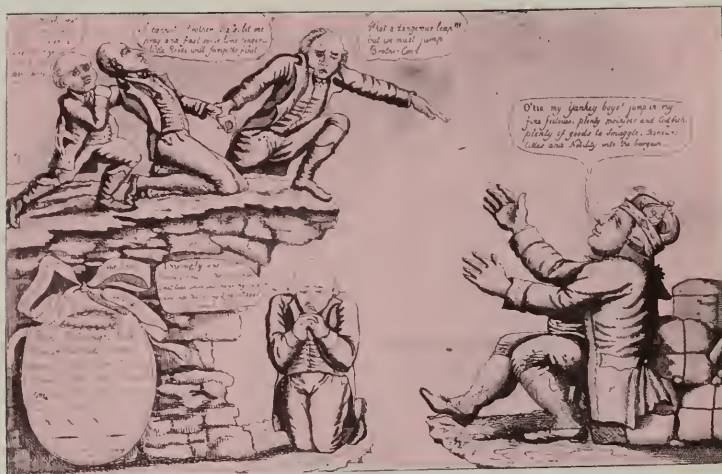
We ask leave in conclusion to state that about three fourths of our townsmen depend on the sea for the means of subsistence for themselves and their families. By the recent declaration of war more than one half of that proportion is liable to fall into the hands of the enemy with a large part of their prop-

erty, and many of their wives and children may thereby be reduced to extreme poverty. . . . We feel it therefore most strongly incumbent upon us by all lawful and constitutional methods to seek for a speedy termination of the present war.

By 1814, prominent New England leaders were ready to discuss separation from the Union. Not only were trade and shipping at a standstill, but a British force had invaded Maine and occupied several eastern counties. In December 1814, delegates from the New England states met at Hartford, Connecticut, to confer on their grievances and recommended action. These sessions were secret.

The Hartford Convention did not go so far as to recommend that New England leave the Union at once, but it did demand seven amendments to the Constitution to increase the po-

Hartford Convention delegates (right) are mocked as trade and title seekers who are timid to boot. Below is the Battle of New Orleans as designed on the scene by an artist. The slaughter of British soldiers charging the American breastworks (in left foreground) was needless, as a peace treaty had already been signed.



Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, Calif.

Lowe vs. Lincoln

Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society



litical power of the New England states and to protect their interests. The Convention insisted, for instance, that southern states no longer be allowed to count three-fifths of their slaves in determining representation in Congress. It urged a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress for admitting new states and for declaring war.

The resolutions passed by the Hartford Convention expressed the hope that the Union should be preserved "if possible," but there was a strong suggestion that if the war continued and New England's demands were not met, the next step might be an attempt to secede.

The Hartford Convention sent commissioners to Washington, D.C., to present its demands to the President and Congress in person. They arrived at the capital at exactly the time when word came that Jackson had won a great victory at New Orleans and that a peace treaty had been signed. Amidst the great celebrations attending these events, the commissioners had no choice but to return to their homes.

The Treaty of Ghent, 1814

A curious fact about the War of 1812 was that almost from the moment it began, both sides tried to end it. Great Britain had no wish to be diverted from fighting Napoleon. The United States would have stopped fighting at once if Great Britain had agreed to stop impressment. Partly through the efforts of Alexander I, czar of Russia, commissioners representing the two

QUESTION • If the War of 1812 had not been fought, what would have been different in American history?

nations met at Ghent, Belgium, in July 1814. The American delegation included three very able men—John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin. It was well that this was so because it was something of a

diplomatic triumph for them to persuade the British to accept a peace treaty that simply restored the situation before the war. The Treaty of Ghent contained not a word about neutral rights or impressment. Not a square mile of territory changed hands. The warring nations simply agreed to stop fighting, to restore previous boundaries, and to put other problems off to future settlement. Signed on Christmas Eve, 1814, the treaty was unanimously ratified by the Senate when it reached Washington, D.C., in January 1815.

On the face of it, the War of 1812 was a useless and foolhardy adventure. The Americans risked foreign invasion, loss of territory, bankruptcy, and disunion, but failed to gain any of the purposes for which they fought. Yet the war also brought benefits. When in 1816 Henry Clay was challenged in Congress to say what the United States had gained by it, he replied:

What is our present situation? Respectability and character abroad—security and confidence at home. If we have not obtained in the opinion of some the full measure of retribution, our character and Constitution are placed on a solid basis, never to be shaken.

The Americans had regained confidence and self-respect. They soon forgot their dissensions and defeats and remembered only their victories. The disgraceful flight of the militia entrusted to defend Washington was forgotten, while the successful defense of Baltimore is celebrated in our national anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner." Probably a hundred people know of "Old Ironsides" to one who knows of the successful British blockade. Perry's victory on Lake Erie and Jackson's at New Orleans were added to Bunker Hill, Saratoga, and Yorktown as stimulants to American patriotism. It is not surprising that the War of 1812 was followed by a period in which men consciously strove to strengthen the American nation.

Activities: Chapter 8

For Mastery and Review

1. Why did the United States pay tribute to the Barbary States? How was the problem finally dealt with?
2. Why did France regain Louisiana? What were Jefferson's reasons for seeking the purchase of New Orleans? Why was Napoleon willing to sell all Louisiana? What was Jefferson's concern over the constitutionality of the Purchase? Why did he not wait for an amendment?
3. What were the instructions to and the importance of the Lewis and Clark expedition?
4. Describe the conspiracies in which Burr was accused of taking part. What did he attempt to do in each? What were the results?
5. Show how the Berlin and Milan Decrees, the Orders in Council, and impressment injured American commerce.
6. What conditions, including Jefferson's reasoning, led to the Embargo Act? What were its effects at home and abroad?
7. Trace the steps in our foreign policy as a neutral from the Embargo to the break with England in 1812. What are some of the explanations of why the United States declared war on Great Britain? Would better communications have prevented war?
8. Outline the course of the War of 1812 (a) on land and (b) on sea. What were the terms of the Treaty of Ghent?
9. Why did the Hartford Convention meet? Explain its demands.

Unrolling the Map

1. In a modern atlas study the Mediterranean region. Locate places which were once part of the Barbary Coast: Tripoli, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis. Study the triangular trade (p. 27) that took American shipping into the Mediterranean. What commodities were involved in that triangular trade?
2. On an outline map of the United States, show the Louisiana Purchase, with its indefinite boundaries. Show the Mississippi River system and New Orleans, to indicate the commerce situation. Locate West Florida and the part of Texas claimed by the United States. Trace the routes of (a) the

Lewis and Clark expedition and (b) the Pike explorations.

3. Study the map on p. 209 in preparation for a class discussion of the War of 1812. Note the blockade and the battle sites. Where did the Americans succeed and where did they fail?

Who, What, and Why Important?

Tripolitan War	the Nonintercourse Act
Louisiana Purchase	War Hawks
Toussaint L'Ouverture	battle of the Thames
Lewis and Clark	Plattsburg
Aaron Burr	capture of Washington
Tecumseh	battle of New Orleans
Berlin and Milan Decrees	frigate
Orders in Council	British blockade
impressment	Hartford Convention
the Embargo Act	Treaty of Ghent
James Madison	The "Star-Spangled Banner"

To Pursue the Matter

1. How did John Marshall extricate himself from a difficult position in *Marbury v. Madison*? See Bragdon *et al.*, *Frame of Government*, pp. 175-183.
2. Did Burr's conspiracy actually threaten the safety of the federal union? See Abernathy, *The Burr Conspiracy*.
3. Explain Tecumseh's effectiveness in uniting the Northwest Indians and why he failed eventually. See Van Every, *The Final Challenge: The American Frontier, 1803-1845*.
4. How do you define the difference between a politician and a statesman? When you have formulated a definition, apply it to Washington, Hamilton, Burr, Jefferson, and John Adams.
5. The German statesman Bismarck remarked that there seemed to be a special providence watching over idiots, children, drunkards, and the United States of America. Assess this remark as applied to the Louisiana Purchase and the War of 1812. For a useful source of information see Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.

THEMES

PART 2

Recurring ideas, concepts, or "themes" run through most of American history and help to give it its unique character. Most of these are either explicit or implicit in each of the nine Parts into which this text is divided. It is useful, however, to select particular themes for illustration, emphasis, and study at the end of each Part.

Two themes seem especially relevant in connection with Part II: "belief in reform rather than revolution" and "toleration of differences." Both are involved in these questions about the election of 1800:

1. Why was it possible for the Republicans to gain power in the election of 1800 without violence?

2. Why did the Federalists allow themselves to be voted out?

3. Why did New England's threats of secession not materialize?

Assistance in answering these questions is found in Allis, *Government Through Opposition: Party Politics in the 1790's*.

READINGS

PART 2

Special Supplements

ARNOF, "A Sense of the Past, Part Two.

BRAGDON, McCUTCHEN, and BROWN, "Frame of Government," "The Constitution of the United States," pp. 89-159; "The Judiciary Act of 1789," pp. 161-169; "John Marshall as Chief Justice," and "Marbury v. Madison," pp. 171-183.

BRODERICK, F. L., "The Origins of the Constitution, 1776-1789. (New Perspectives.) A study in depth of the origins of the Constitution, with conflicting interpretations analyzed.

ALLIS, F. S., JR., "Government Through Opposition: Party Politics in the 1790's. (New Perspectives.)

A lively account of the origins of the two-party system, working in recent scholarship.

Specialized References

THE WEST

R. BILLINGTON, *Westward Expansion*, is a good survey of the entire westward movement. D. VAN EVERY's "Ark of Empire and The Final Challenge," vols. III and IV of *The Frontier People of America*, carry the story of the West up to 1845. B. DE VOTO's very readable "The Course of Empire" includes material on the Louisiana Purchase. For life in the Cumberland Valley of Tennessee and Kentucky, see H. S. ARNOW, *Seedtime on the Cumberland*. The Lewis and Clark Expedition is described in J. DAUGHERTY, *Of Courage Undaunted*, and in the explorers' own writings in J. BAKELESS

(ed.), "The Journals of Lewis and Clark. Two American Heritage articles particularly fit this period: "First by Land" (Alexander Mackenzie), October 1957; and "The Letter That Bought an Empire" (the Louisiana Purchase), April 1955.

THE CONSTITUTION

There are two excellent books on the Constitutional Convention: E. S. CORWIN, "Framing of the Constitution," and C. VAN DOREN, "The Great Rehearsal. In HART, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, vol. III, is James Madison's report of the debate on the last day of the Convention; the debate is also given in COMMAGER and NEVINS, *Heritage of America*, as is Benjamin Franklin's speech on the last day. Franklin's speech is also in COMMAGER, *Living Ideas in America*.

"The Federalist," a collection of essays by HAMILTON, MADISON, and JAY, is a classic interpretation of the Constitution and the most powerful document written in favor of its ratification. B. and L. MITCHELL, "Biography of the Constitution," describes the Constitution and its interpretations up to 1963. J. GARRATY (ed.), *Quarrels That Have Shaped the Constitution*, is a collection of well-written essays on important constitutional cases. Among the better analyses of the Constitution are E. S. CORWIN, "The Constitution and What It Means Today; H. S. COMMAGER, *Majority Rule and Minority Rights*; and B. and E. FINDLAY, "Your Rugged Constitution. C. ROSSITER, "The American

Presidency, and R. G. McCloskey, **The American Supreme Court*, are both first-rate surveys. On the presidency, see also "The Presidents and the Presidency," in the April 1956 *American Heritage*.

FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS

M. CUNLIFFE, **The Nation Takes Shape, 1789-1830*, is a good, brief survey. J. C. MILLER's **The Federalist Era, 1789-1801*, is a more detailed survey of a shorter period. W. N. CHAMBERS, **Political Parties in a New Nation: The American Experience*, is a first-rate introduction to a development that dismayed many of the Founding Fathers. S. G. KURTZ, **The Presidency of John Adams*, is a readable and sympathetic study. J. C. MILLER, **Crisis in Freedom: The Alien and Sedition Acts*, relates the history of those controversial laws.

H. ADAMS, *The Formative Years*, is a witty and elegantly written classic on the years 1801-1817, but it is nine volumes long. Fortunately, part of the first volume has been published as H. ADAMS, **The United States in 1800*. C. G. BOWERS, *Jefferson in Power*, is highly favorable to its subject. D. J. BOORSTIN, **The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson*, interprets the intellectual climate. L. WHITE, *The Jeffersonians*, is a readable but detailed administrative history. On the party politics of the Jefferson administration, see N. E. CUNNINGHAM, *Jeffersonian Republicans in Power*. T. P. ABERNATHY, *The Burr Conspiracy*, describes one of the more bizarre episodes in our early history.

On the building of the new capital, see C. M. GREEN, *Washington: Village and Capital, 1800-1878*.

THE WAR OF 1812

The causes of the second war with Britain are admirably and thoroughly discussed in B. PERKINS, *Prologue to War*, and R. HORSMAN, **Causes of the War of 1812*. On the naval war, C. S. FORESTER, *The Age of Fighting Sail*, is superb. *American Heritage* articles dealing with the war include "Victory at New Orleans," August 1957; "Journal of the Letter-of-Marque Schooners *David* and *Leo*," October 1957; and "These Lands Are Ours" (Tecumseh and the Indians), August 1961.

Biographies

There are excellent multi-volume biographies of most of the leaders, but there are few good

single-volume biographies. Among the few are: G. CHINARD, **Honest John Adams and Thomas Jefferson*; and A. J. NOCK, **Jefferson*. J. WOODRESS, *Yankee's Odyssey: The Life of Joel Barlow*, and C. M. GREEN, *Eli Whitney*, are good biographies of lesser figures.

Some of the writings of the leaders are included in M. HALL (ed.), **Alexander Hamilton Reader*; J. ADAMS, **The Political Writings of John Adams*; and S. K. PADOVER, **Thomas Jefferson on Democracy*. Remember to look at the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Historical Fiction

G. ATHERTON, *The Conqueror*, a novel, presents a fictional life of Hamilton. E. E. HALE's *The Man Without a Country* is a powerful and moving story about the different facets of patriotism.

Most of the novels about the War of 1812 are based on the sea. Some of the best are: K. ROBERTS, *The Lively Lady and Captain Caution*; C. S. FORESTER, *The Captain from Connecticut*; A. HEPBURN, **Letter of Marque*; and C. G. MULLER, *Hero of Champlain*.

Basic Books for Part Two

1. BILLINGTON, R., *Westward Expansion*, 2nd ed. New York, Macmillan, 1960.
2. VAN DOREN, C., **The Great Rehearsal*. New York, Viking, 1948 (Viking Compass).
3. MITCHELL, B. and L., **Biography of the Constitution*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1964.
4. GARRATY, J. (ed.), *Quarrels That Have Shaped the Constitution*. New York, Harper, 1964.
5. CUNLIFFE, M., **The Nation Takes Shape, 1789-1837*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1959.
6. CHAMBERS, W. N., **Political Parties in a New Nation: The American Experience*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1963.
7. ADAMS, H., **United States in 1800*. Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press.
8. ROSSITER, C., **The American Presidency*. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1960 (Harvest).
9. MCCLOSKEY, R. C., **The American Supreme Court*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960.
10. FORESTER, C. S., *The Age of Fighting Sail*. New York, Doubleday, 1956.



Part 3

THE NATION AND THE SECTIONS



TWO INDIANS ON THE MACOUN RIVER, GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM

HISTORY AS FABLE

History, it has often been remarked, is but a fable agreed upon. In American history, a generally accepted part of the fable has been that 1815 marked a turning point. But what, it may be asked, was so special about the year 1815? Did Americans suddenly and collectively turn their backs on Europe? Were they ever in fact "free of foreign entanglements"? Were they not still part of an Atlantic community being drawn ever closer together as steamships replaced sailing ships, as wheat from the Dakotas and pork from Indiana began to feed Liverpool and London, and as an ever-increasing flood of European immigrants poured into American ports?

And yet the fable that a great change had started in 1815 was itself a fact. Americans thought they were isolated from Europe; indeed, they congratulated themselves upon it. The millions of immigrants seeking a new life in America often strengthened American isolationism because they sought to escape from their past. It took two world wars in the twentieth century to shock Americans out of the belief that with the close of the Napoleonic Wars the United States had no further need to concern itself with European politics.

Or consider the myth that men make history while women wash the dishes. History books have so consistently left half the human race out of account that Henry Adams remarked, "History is useful to the historian by teaching him his ignorance of women."

The very word "pioneer" conjures up the picture of a man in coonskin cap and leather jacket armed with a rifle. But as you trace the march of the frontier from the Appalachians to the Pacific, remember that there were women pioneers too. Left to himself, the man on the frontier often went savage—witness his treatment of the Indians. It was the women who turned cabins into homesteads, planted flowers outside the doors, and put curtains in the windows. It was usually the mothers and schoolteachers who transmitted to the next generation the heritage of the past.

It was, nevertheless, a man's world insofar as men could make it so. By law, the husband legally ruled the wife. Rigid taboos dictated women's clothing and freedom of action. Small wonder, then, that some brave women demanded equal rights with men and started a revolution that continues to the present (see p. 282). The embattled feminists who met at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 appealed to the principles and used the phrases of 1776. Thus, each generation must find new uses for the Declaration of Independence, or it too could become a fable.



Chapter 9

Forces for Union and Disunion

In war we are one people. In making peace we are one people. In all commercial relations we are one and the same people. In many other respects the American people are one.

—JOHN MARSHALL

Always the free range and diversity—always the continent of Democracy—

Always the prairies, pastures, forests, vast cities, travelers . . .

—WALT WHITMAN

The year 1815 saw the beginning of a century of peace in Europe that lasted with few interruptions until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. For nearly a century no warring nations preyed on the foreign commerce of the United States or violated our neutral rights. Apparently free of foreign entanglements, Americans turned their backs on Europe. "The continent lay before them," wrote the historian Henry Adams, "like an uncovered ore-bed." The conquest of the continent was for the most part not a matter of military force, although it involved us in numerous Indian wars and a war with Mexico. Instead, it was a struggle between men and their environment—the conquest of eastern forests by the axe, of the prairies by the plow, of vast distances by canals, steamboats, and railroads. Lured by the promise of a better life, millions of Europeans came to America, and within America the people were on the move. Helping to promote these developments

came the greatest technological change in the history of mankind—the industrial revolution.

The expansion of the United States created political problems, of which the most obvious was that of holding the Union together. In all history such a huge area as the United States had seldom been ruled effectively by a single government—*never* by a government of the people.

THE SPIRIT OF NATIONALISM

The survival of the United States as one country was a product of many forces. The Americans were fortunate to inherit a common language and common institutions. The territory they inhabited was immense, but at least from the Atlantic coast to the Rocky Mountains it is one of the most unified geographical areas in the world. Much of it lies within the flat watershed of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, the

world's largest river system. In the area east of the Rockies, the Appalachians are the only mountain barrier, and they are far easier to penetrate than. European ranges such as the Alps, the Pyrenees, or the Carpathians.

By 1815 the economic unity of the United States was not far advanced. Most Americans traded with people of their own localities or with foreign nations. But during the nineteenth century, various developments growing out of the industrial revolution tended to tie the United States together economically. As manufacturing cities grew, they had to find both markets and sources of raw materials throughout the country, and a great web of transportation was developed to carry goods back and forth.

The most important binding force of all was the development of American nationalism. Nationalism has been one of the powerful forces in the modern world. At the time of the French Revolution, it inspired the French not only to resist foreign invaders, but to embark on a career of conquest that subsided only when Napoleon lost an army in the snows of Russia in 1812. In the nineteenth century, it was the spirit that turned Germany and Italy from geographical expressions into nations. In the twentieth century, nationalism has inspired scores of colonies to break the bonds of imperialism and to declare their independence. Nationalism is not easy to define, because it is a complex matter and its characteristics vary from country to country. More a matter of emotion than of reason, it is a compound of beliefs, loyalties, and traditions. It expresses itself in literature and song, as well as in symbols such as the Statue of Liberty and the Stars and Stripes. It expresses itself in action: "To have done great things in the past and to wish to do more of them are the essential conditions of being a people." Nationalism in the United

States is bound up with the belief expressed in the Declaration of Independence that men can create for themselves a great society based on freedom, equality, and human brotherhood.

The "Era of Good Feelings"

The War of 1812 provided a stimulus to American nationalism. It revealed the dangers of disunion and at the same time promoted a sense of self-confidence and pride. Albert Gallatin, a former member of Jefferson's cabinet who had been one of the commissioners at the Ghent peace conference, described the new spirit in a letter written only a few months after the close of hostilities:

The war had renewed & reinstated the National feelings & character, which the Revolution had given, & which were daily lessened. The people . . . are more American: they feel & act more as a Nation, and I hope that the permanency of the Union is thereby better secured.

For four or five years after the Treaty of Ghent, national sentiment was so much stronger than before that the period is commonly called the "Era of Good Feelings." The leaders of the Federalist party had never overcome their scorn for the mass of people, and the people in turn were less and less disposed to choose Federalists for public office. Now the party was so discredited by its connection with the New England secession movement that it disappeared from the national scene. In 1816 James Monroe, Republican candidate for President, was elected over Rufus King, his Federalist opponent, by 183 votes to 34. In 1820 Monroe was re-elected with only one opposing vote, since there was no longer a Federalist candidate in the field. "The demon of party for a time departed," said a newspaper of the period, "and gave place to a general outburst of national feeling."

The Country Fair, 1824, by John A. Woodside, suggests the prosperity of American farmers at a time when growing cities and better transportation were expanding the market for agricultural products.



NATIONALIST LEGISLATION

Postwar nationalism was revealed not only in election results but in legislation. The war had shown that the Jeffersonian ideal of a central government with strictly limited functions failed to meet the needs of the country in crisis. The result was that during the two years after the close of hostilities a Congress dominated by Jefferson's Republican party passed a series of laws that might have been written by Alexander Hamilton.

Republicans had consistently opposed the first Bank of the United States. They let its charter run out in 1811 and substituted nothing for it. The results were disastrous. The notes of the B.U.S. had been a universally accepted national currency. Now the country, lacking sufficient specie for metallic currency, had to fall back on notes issued by banks chartered by the different states. These state bank notes were generally accepted only in the locality where they were issued. Thus it was almost impossible for a citizen of Kentucky, say, to send money to Boston.

Meanwhile, hundreds of new banks were started, many of them without sufficient capital and some of them downright dishonest. With-

out a central bank, the federal government had a hard time borrowing during the War of 1812 and sometimes could not pay its troops. "More than once the paymaster of the army was unable to meet demands for sums so trifling as thirty dollars."

Under these circumstances the very men who in 1811 had opposed the recharter of the Bank of the United States now supported the creation of a new bank modeled on the old. In 1816 Congress passed a law to establish a second Bank of the United States. It was signed without argument by President Madison, who in 1791 had argued that the first Bank of the United States was unconstitutional. The new Bank had a capital of \$35,000,000, 80 per cent owned by private individuals, 20 per cent by the government. Five of the twenty-five directors were appointed by the President; the rest were elected by private individuals who owned the stock. The Bank could issue notes which served as a national currency. It also acted in a number of ways to provide federal control of state banks and to prevent their issuing worthless notes.

During the War of 1812 it was impossible for Americans to obtain British manufactures, and this situation provided a stimulus to Ameri-

can industry. Once the war was over, goods from Britain flooded the American market at prices so low that they threatened to put American manufacturers out of business. Congressmen now reread Hamilton's "Report on Manufactures" and found its arguments more persuasive than they had been in 1791. Although protection would mean that American consumers would pay more for clothing, pots, pans, and plates, this seemed simply the price of securing economic independence from Great Britain.

Although there was opposition to protection, especially from northeastern shipping interests and southern agriculturalists, support for higher tariffs came from all sections of the country. The tariff was expected to bind the country together, for the manufacturing sections would sell their goods to the agricultural sections and buy food from them. Also, every section still had hopes of becoming a manufacturing area. In 1816 a tariff law was passed, levying duties averaging over 20 per cent on foreign manufactures.

The War of 1812 had revealed the need for a better transportation system, since it had proved extremely difficult to move armies, with their baggage and cannon, from one place to

another. There were many who felt it was the duty of the federal government to improve transportation. In 1816 John C. Calhoun of South Carolina

QUESTION • The governor of Georgia in 1827 complained that wheat from central New York sold for less in Savannah than wheat from central Georgia. How could this be?

presented to the House of Representatives a bill to set aside for the building of roads and canals the \$1,500,000 that the private owners of the Bank of the United States had paid for their charter. In a speech in support of the so-called Bonus Bill, Calhoun said,

Let it not be forgotten, let it be forever kept in mind, that the extent of our republic exposes us to the greatest of all calamities, next to the loss of liberty, and even to that in its consequences,—*disunion*. We are . . . rapidly—I was about to say fearfully—growing. . . . Let us, then, bind the republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals. Let us conquer space.

The Bonus Bill passed both houses of Congress, but President Madison vetoed it. He argued that to spend money improving transportation was an unconstitutional extension of federal power.

ROADS AND WATERWAYS

Calhoun was undoubtedly correct when he argued that the United States had a crying need for better transportation. There was as yet no way in which the agricultural products of the West or bulky manufactures from the East could be shipped across the Appalachians. With the steamboat in its infancy, the Mississippi River was still a "one-way street." Goods could be floated downriver, but very little could be brought upstream.

The National Road and Private Turnpikes

The first great step toward the creation of a national system of transportation was the building of the Cumberland or National Road. Starting from Cumberland, Maryland, on the Potomac River this road reached the Ohio River at Wheeling, Virginia, in 1817 (see map, p. 229). It spanned the Ohio River on what was in its time the longest suspension bridge in the world; it measured 1,010 feet in length and was hung from towers rising 153 feet above the river. The National Road went westward as far as Vandalia, Illinois. The older portion was built with great care. It cut a path 80 feet wide through the wilderness, the center 30 feet being "macadamized" with crushed stone. Along this

Cumberland to Illinois

Travel by stagecoach on the new turnpikes was apt to be an uncomfortable experience. The roads were usually rough. They were dusty in summer and muddy in winter. Travel by canalboat or steamboat was much more pleasant.



route went great Conestoga wagons drawn by teams of four, six, or eight horses.

The National Road was the only great federal transportation project. Madison's veto of the Bonus Bill set a precedent for discouraging the use of federal funds for building roads and canals. In general, improvements in transportation were undertaken by states or by private enterprise.

The so-called turnpike era lasted from about 1790 to 1820. During this period, hundreds of miles of roads were constructed by state-chartered private companies that charged tolls. These toll roads were called turnpikes because they were barricaded at intervals by piked poles which held up the traveler until he paid his fee. They turned out to be profitable only in the East, where traffic was heavy, or on main routes such as that from Albany to Lake Erie. Western highways were therefore generally constructed by the states themselves, at times with the aid of federal funds.

Although by 1840 the country was crisscrossed with roads, they were in many ways an

unsatisfactory means of transportation. Except in the East, few of them were surfaced or had adequate bridges. In woods, the stumps were likely to be cut low to 12 or 18 inches but not removed. In swampy places, there was "corduroy" (logs laid sidewise), which hurt horses' legs and jolted wagons to pieces. Roads were vitally useful for men on horseback, for families traveling west with their belongings, and for men who herded cattle and hogs to market. But bulky goods could not be profitably transported long distances by land.

Inland Waterways and Steamboats

Far more important for moving products such as grain, coal, dressed beef, barrels of pork, and bales of cotton were inland waterways. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, rivers were used for transporting goods to an extent which today seems almost unbelievable. This was true not merely on great rivers like the Ohio but on quite small streams. When in 1840 Henry Thoreau and his brother went off camping on the Concord and Merrimac



American Antiquarian Society

Transportation: Pre-Civil War

The natural outlet for the surplus produce of the "Old Northwest" was down the Mississippi River system. The picture of the harbor at New Orleans in 1850 (below) indicates the volume of this traffic. But the amazing Erie Canal opened an East-West water route. The canal was carried over the Genesee River by a remarkable stone aqueduct, here portrayed (left) on a plate made in Staffordshire, England.





Canals (like the Erie, shown on p. 228) and highways created eastward routes to markets in the 1830's and 1840's, helping to lay the groundwork for the economic "take-off" of the 1850's (see p. 322). As the cost of transport by road was high, waterways were the preferred routes. But by the 1850's the "canal craze" was over, as railroads assumed supremacy. (See also maps p. 324).

rivers, the Merrimac was alive with small barges carrying bricks, hay, and cordwood.

It was the invention of the steamboat, however, which really made American rivers, especially the Mississippi system, into national highways. The steamboat era began with Robert Fulton's famous vessel the Clermont, which made its first voyage on the Hudson River in 1807. The *Clermont* had no feature in it that had not been seen in still earlier steam-

boats. What made it unique was that it became a commercial success, Robert Fulton's business sense being just as good as his inventiveness.

The first steamboat in western waters was the New Orleans, built at Pittsburgh, which in 1811 went down the Ohio to New Orleans and then steamed upriver as far as Louisville. By 1850 there were about 800 steamboats on the Mississippi system—more than in the entire British merchant marine!

River steamboats navigated the Mississippi and nearly all its tributaries, sometimes for hundreds of miles. Flat-bottomed steamboats were developed which, it was claimed, could navigate on a heavy dew. Actually, some of them drew less than two feet of water. Profits were high, but risks were great. The average life of a river steamboat has been variously estimated as from three to six years. The high mortality is not surprising when one takes into account the danger from snags, ice, bursting

boilers, collisions, fires, and sand bars. So great were these dangers that many boats were deliberately built to last only a short time—which, of course, increased the risks.

Almost as important in their day as the river systems were the thousands of miles of canals built during the first part of the nineteenth century. For the purpose of moving heavy goods, canals were far more efficient than even the best roads. On a good road it took four horses to haul a payload weighing

DeWitt Clinton and the Erie Canal



DeWitt Clinton was a politician who had his downs as well as his ups, partly through faults in his own character. He was inconsistent in his principles; he was overbearing in manner; he sometimes failed to show gratitude to his supporters; and he was an intriguer who often made the mistake of being found out. Yet he was also a great public servant. His principal claim to fame is that both as a private citizen and as governor of New York he was the man most responsible for persuading the people of his state to undertake the digging of the Erie Canal.

Clinton had a true and prophetic vision of what the canal would mean to the nation and to his city. In 1825, as the great work was nearing completion, he wrote:

As an organ of communication between the Hudson, the Mississippi, and the St. Lawrence, it will create the greatest inland trade ever witnessed. The most fertile and extensive regions of America will avail themselves of its facilities for a market. All their surplus productions, whether of the soil, the forest, the mines, or the water, their fabrics of art and their supplies of foreign commodities will concentrate in the city of New York, for transportation abroad and for consumption at home. . . . And, before the revolution of a century, the whole island of Manhattan, covered with habitations and replenished with a dense population, will constitute one vast city.

Along the great waterway there developed other prosperous cities, although less huge than Manhattan: Buffalo, Syracuse, Rochester, Albany, Utica, Rome. Life on the canal became the subject of many songs. The verse of one of them, sung in a minor key, gives a sense of the slow pace of the mules hauling the boats:

I've got a mule and her name is Sal,
Fifteen miles on the Erie Canal.
She's a good old worker and a good old pal,
Fifteen miles on the Erie Canal.
We've hauled some barges in our day,
Filled with lumber, coal, and hay,
And we know every inch of the way
From Albany to Buffalo.

(Theme 4, see p. xli)

a ton and a half. A single pair of horses or mules could draw a canalboat with a load of fifty tons.

The Erie Canal, 1825

Before 1815 a number of short canals had been built, most of them around rapids and falls in rivers or connecting nearby natural waterways. Yet the canal craze did not really begin until the completion of the Erie Canal. At the time it was dug, the Erie Canal was the greatest engineering feat in the history of the Western Hemisphere. Built by New York State between 1817 and 1825, it cost what was then considered a huge sum—\$7,000,000. Running from Albany on the Hudson River to Buffalo on Lake Erie, the canal was 363 miles long. It averaged 40 feet wide and 4 feet deep. In an age when concrete, dynamite, and structural steel had not yet been invented, the labor that went into the canal was prodigious. The “big ditch” itself had to be dug entirely by men with shovels and scoops drawn by draft animals. The stone to face the 83 locks had to be cut and set by hand. At Rochester, the canal was carried across the Genesee River by an aqueduct over 800 feet long. Several reservoirs and many miles of feeder canals were needed to insure a steady supply of water.

The Erie Canal was an immediate success. It lowered from \$100 to \$8 the cost of carrying a ton of goods from Buffalo to New York City. It made New York the greatest port in the country and upstate New York for a time America's most prosperous agricultural region.

The Erie Canal started a craze for canal-building. Faced with competition from New York, Pennsylvania completed in 1834 an extraordinary system of canals and portage railways connecting Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. At the highest point in this route, canalboats were hauled over a ridge 2,326 feet above sea level! Ohio went deeply into debt to build over 500 miles of canals connecting the Ohio River

and Lake Erie. Before the canal boom collapsed in the late 1830's, it saw at least 10,000 miles of canals either built or being built. (See map, p. 229.)

In terms of the nation, the most important effect of the Erie Canal was that it connected the Northeast and the “Old Northwest” (see map, pp. 174–175). The natural geographical connection of the Northwest was with the South by way of the Mississippi. The natural market for the farm products of the Northwest, however, was the industrial Northeast. The Erie Canal by opening this market helped to create an economic alliance between the two sections (see maps, p. 324). Later, this became a political alliance.

THE NATIONALIST DECISIONS OF JOHN MARSHALL

The nationalism of the period after the War of 1812 was also revealed in a series of decisions by Chief Justice John Marshall interpreting the Constitution. Marshall, appointed by the last Federalist President, John Adams, had always stood for the basic Federalist ideas—defense of the rights of men of property, distrust of democracy, and strengthening the power of the federal government. Although by 1815 the majority of the Supreme Court justices had been appointed by Republican Presidents, Marshall still dominated the Supreme Court. He was a man not only of strong convictions but of such great friendliness and persuasiveness that, according to one historian, he “moulded his fellow judges like putty.” During his 34 years as Chief Justice, Marshall found himself in a minority on only one case. He composed the majority of the decisions, and they were written with such clarity that a layman could understand them. Marshall was a magnificent debater. Once admit his premises and you were lost. Jefferson once said that when conversing with Marshall he



Boston Athenaeum

John Marshall, through his judicial decisions, played a greater part in shaping American government than any other man, with the possible exceptions of Washington and Madison. Marshall served as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for thirty-four years.

never admitted anything for fear it would be turned against him. "Why if he were to ask me if it were daylight or not," said Jefferson, "I'd reply: 'Sir, I don't know. I can't tell.'"

Implied Powers and Loose Construction

McCulloch v. Maryland (1819) involved an attempt by Maryland to tax the Baltimore branch of the Bank of the United States. The case brought out basic questions about the origins and powers of the federal government.

Was the Constitution created by the states or by the people of the United States? Marshall

argued that "the people" acting collectively had created the federal government. It is, he wrote, "the government of all; its powers are delegated by all; it represents all, and acts for all." It is thus a national government and in no way subordinate to the states within its sphere. But what was its sphere? This brings up the next question:

Was the federal government to be held strictly to its enumerated powers? In answering this question Marshall simply paraphrased Hamilton's argument in favor of the constitutionality of the first Bank of the United States (see p. 160). As long as the purposes of a law are constitutional, he wrote, it is the right of the federal government to choose any obvious means. The purposes of a central bank—to control currency, to assist in borrowing money and collecting taxes—are stated in the Constitution. The Bank was clearly adapted to carry out these purposes. Therefore the Bank was constitutional. This was an eloquent statement of implied powers and loose construction (see pp. 121–123).

Having established the constitutionality of the B.U.S., Marshall finally considered whether Maryland had the right to tax its operations. Arguing that "the power to tax is the power to destroy," he said no. If a state could tax one agency of the federal government, it could tax any other—the mails, the courts, the custom houses—and so make it impossible to carry on government at all. This was the weakest part of the decision. The Chief Justice's comparison of the B.U.S. to the post office was not accurate. The former was a profit-making corporation, mostly owned by private individuals; the latter was part of the executive department. The true issue was not the fact that Maryland taxed the Bank, but the degree—was the tax so unreasonably high as to put the Bank out of business? This part of the *McCulloch v. Maryland* decision has been overridden by the Supreme Court in the twentieth century.

Protection of Property Rights

Dartmouth College v. Woodward (1819) was one of several cases in which Marshall laid down decisions protecting property rights from interference by state legislatures. In 1815 the New Hampshire legislature had attempted to alter a charter granted to Dartmouth College by George III in 1769. Under the new charter a new set of trustees was elected, and the college was put under stricter state control. The old trustees, however, did not resign, and the former officials refused to turn over the college records and funds. When the case came before the Supreme Court, Marshall wrote a decision in which he supported the original charter. He argued that a charter was a contract with which a state had no right to interfere (see Article I, Section 10, clause 1, p. 122). Much of American business is carried on by corporations receiving charters from state legislatures. The Dartmouth College case, called the "Magna Carta of the corporation," helped to free business from attempts by state legislatures to alter the terms under which it might operate.

Expansion of Commerce Clause

Gibbons v. Ogden (1824) involved an attempt by New York to grant Robert Fulton and men associated with him a monopoly of all steamboat traffic on the Hudson River and other New York State waters. Marshall declared this monopoly unconstitutional. He argued that in granting such a monopoly New York invaded the power of the federal government over interstate commerce. In the course of this decision, he produced definitions of interstate commerce which have been of great importance in increasing federal power, especially in the twentieth century. Marshall said that interstate commerce was not just the exchange of goods but included a wide variety of interstate relations.

It is under this interpretation that the federal government has come to exert control over all

sorts of activities which seem remote from commerce—radio, television, kidnaping, the protection of migratory birds, and so forth. Marshall maintained that whatever affects interstate commerce may come under federal control. Thus the federal government may exert control over a dam on a stream which runs into a navigable river which eventually crosses a state line.

Criticism of Marshall; His Influence

In the three cases mentioned, and in a number of others, the Supreme Court overrode the actions of state legislatures, and also the decisions of state courts. Thus the Court became a means whereby the federal government increased its power over the states. Marshall was naturally attacked by defenders of states' rights. He was also branded as an enemy of democracy. It was pointed out that the state legislatures which taxed the Bank of the United States, altered the Dartmouth College charter, and granted Fulton a monopoly were all elected by the people of their states and presumably acted in accordance with what the people wanted. Marshall had been appointed in 1801 by a President already repudiated by the voters. When Andrew Jackson was President, he once simply refused to carry out one of Marshall's decisions.

Yet in the long run Marshall triumphed. His great decisions became the law of the land. His nationalist, loose constructionist point of view, written into constitutional law, made the Constitution flexible enough to meet the ever-changing needs of a growing country in its passage from the horse-and-buggy age to the twentieth century.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1815-1825

Although peace with Great Britain had been declared in 1815, bitter feelings continued. For many years a standard feature of Fourth of July celebrations—along with firing of cannon, balloon ascensions, and parades of militia—were



Metropolitan Museum of Art

James Monroe, portrayed by Gilbert Stuart. Monroe was twice elected President, exercising the office during a period of strong national sentiment known as the "Era of Good Feeling." The famous Doctrine that bears his name was actually a policy originated by his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams.

speeches damning the country that had impressed our seamen and burned our capital. Britain's true character, said a typical Independence Day orator, is "vain-glorious, haughty, mean, profligate, unjust; uniting the barbarities of savage life to the more refined cruelties of civilized man." The Treaty of Ghent was widely regarded as a mere truce. "That man must be blind to the indications of the future," declared Henry Clay in 1816, "who cannot see that we are destined to have war after war with Great Britain." Disputes over fishing rights at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River led to acts of violence between Canadian and New England fishermen. There was a naval race on the Great Lakes. On Lake Ontario the British built a vessel carrying the amazing total of 112 guns, and in answer the United States started to build

two ships of the line. From Maine to Oregon the boundary between the United States and Canada was unsettled.

Fortunately, there were influences that worked for peace. Each country was the other's best customer: industrial Britain provided a market for American raw materials, and agrarian America was an outlet for British manufactured goods. Neither country had anything to gain by renewed hostilities. The British foreign minister, Lord Castlereagh, was of the opinion that there were no two states "whose friendly relations are of more practical value to each other, or whose hostility so inevitably and so immediately entails upon both the most serious mischiefs." Under Castlereagh's leadership, Britain again and again took action to smooth out Anglo-American relations. For instance, the British ended all assistance to Indian tribes in United States territory south of the Great Lakes, and they allowed Stephen Decatur to use Gibraltar as a naval base for his ships operating against the Barbary pirates.

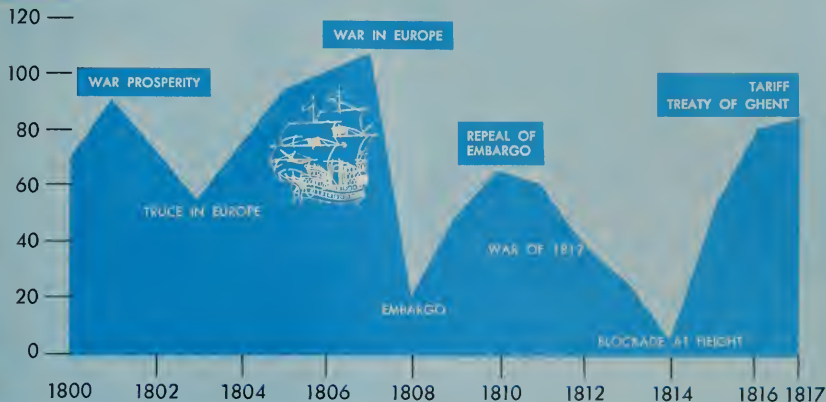
Secretary of State John Quincy Adams

It was fortunate, too, that John Quincy Adams served as United States minister to Britain in 1815-1817 and as Secretary of State under President Monroe from 1817 to 1825. Son of John Adams, he had already spent eighteen years abroad in the diplomatic service. From the time he started his college studies at the University of Leyden in Holland at the age of thirteen, he had shown great ability and an amazing capacity for work. He knew five foreign languages. An intense patriot and strong nationalist, Adams looked forward to the day when the United States would dominate the entire North American continent.

As minister to England, Adams started negotiations leading to the famous Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817. By this the United States

MILLIONS
OF
DOLLARS

U.S. FOREIGN TRADE, 1800-1817



American foreign trade reflected both conditions in Europe and the foreign policy of the United States. Note the decline that came with a brief truce in Europe in 1801-1803, and the sharp drop accompanying the Embargo Act and the War of 1812. On the other hand, foreign trade boomed when the goods of the United States, a neutral, were in demand in warring Europe.

and Britain agreed to lay up all armed ships on the Great Lakes, built or building, except for a few small vessels to control smuggling. Its importance should not be overemphasized, since it did not end fortification of the border and either party could withdraw from the agreement at any time. It was, however, the first example of mutual naval disarmament in history, and eventually the United States and Canada removed all fortifications along the 3,000 mile boundary from the Bay of Fundy to the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

Convention of 1818

A year after the Rush-Bagot Agreement came the Convention of 1818, dealing with fisheries, the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, and Oregon (see map, p. 236). In regard to the St. Lawrence, this treaty tried to specify where United States fishermen might

sink their lines and nets, and on what shores crews might land to dry and cure their catch. It fixed the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase by running the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. Beyond the Rockies, the treaty provided "joint occupation" of Oregon for ten years. This meant that each country was free to carry on the fur trade and make settlements without interference from the other. Thus the Oregon question was not settled but deferred for later decision.

It was an achievement to make these treaties with Britain within three years of the close of the War of 1812, at a time when public opinion in each country was antagonistic to the other. The Rush-Bagot Agreement and Convention of 1818 did not settle all disputes. The Maine boundary, for instance, was still unclear. But when there is tension between nations it often clears the air to agree on *anything*.



John Quincy Adams, a great Secretary of State, arranged the "transcontinental treaty" whereby Spain agreed to cede Florida, fix the boundary of Louisiana, and give up claim to Oregon. With Great Britain he arranged the Convention of 1818, dealing with Oregon, the Canadian-U.S. boundary, and fishing rights. He also induced Russia to withdraw from Oregon to the 54° 40' line.

The Florida Question and the "Transcontinental Treaty," 1819

Florida had been a cause of friction between the United States and Spain ever since the purchase of Louisiana in 1803. Spain claimed that the western boundary of Florida was the Mississippi River, while the United States maintained that it was the Perdido River, 200 miles farther east. By 1813 the United States had seized the disputed territory.

During the War of 1812, Spain was an ally of Great Britain. Florida therefore became a base of British and Indian operations against the United States. Even after the war, it remained a base for Creek and Seminole Indians who were on the warpath against the whites in Georgia and Tennessee.

In 1818 Andrew Jackson, in command of a force of Tennessee militia, pursued a force of Seminoles into Florida. Jackson not only ig-

nored the boundary between the United States and Spanish territory but also seized Spanish posts at Pensacola and at St. Marks. (See pp. 320-321.)

Angry protests from Spain followed. The Spanish government demanded an indemnity for the "outrage" and punishment for Jackson. A majority of Monroe's cabinet at first thought Jackson should at least be censured, but John Quincy Adams defended him, saying his actions were a result of Spanish failure to keep order in Florida. Spain must either govern it efficiently or cede it to the United States.

Too weak to police or to defend Florida, Spain gave in. In 1819, by the Adams-Onís Treaty, the United States gained Florida and in return agreed to pay claims of American citizens against Spain, up to \$5,000,000. Also called the "Transcontinental Treaty," this agreement fixed the "step boundary" from the Gulf of Mexico northwest to the 42nd parallel and along that line to the Pacific. This meant that the United States abandoned a shadowy claim to Texas, while Spain gave up a claim to Oregon as strong as our own. The Adams-Onís Treaty has been called with justice "the greatest diplomatic victory won by a single individual in the history of the United States."

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The last great event of John Quincy Adams's term as Secretary of State was the issuance of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. This famous statement of foreign policy had a rather complex background. It involved events in Latin America, in Europe, and on the Pacific coast of North America.

Between 1814 and 1824, many of Spain's South American colonies declared independence under the leadership of two great heroes, Simón Bolívar, "the Liberator of the North," and José de San Martín, "the Liberator of the South."

"Spectacular as were George Rogers Clark's expedition to the West and Washington's march to Yorktown," it has been observed, "they represent but short walks compared to Bolívar's slow advance to Peru through more than two thousand miles of towering mountains." Even more amazing was San Martín's expedition across the Andes from the Argentine, when he led an army of 5,000 across mountain passes over 12,000 feet high. By 1823 Mexico and Central America had also declared independence from Spain. The people of the United States were enthusiastically on the side of the revolutionaries, who declared their right to rule themselves as Americans had done in 1776.

Sympathy for the Spanish Americans was increased by events in Europe. After Napoleon had been finally defeated in 1815, Europe was dominated by the monarchs of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France. Determined to "make the world safe for monarchy," these rulers were tied together in the Quadruple Alliance, popularly although mistakenly called the "Holy Alliance." One purpose of this alliance was to suppress democracy wherever it might appear. In the words of Klemens von Metternich, the Austrian prime minister, democracy was "the disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be burned out with the hot iron." The rulers declared the right to intervene in other countries to suppress liberal revolutions. In 1821, Austrian soldiers put down revolutions in Italy. In 1823 a French army crossed the Pyrenees into Spain and quelled a rebellion there.

Fear of European Intervention

After their success in crushing democratic movements in Europe, some leaders of the Quadruple Alliance talked of attempting the same thing in the Western Hemisphere. Although in fact there was never any likelihood that the project would be adopted, rumors that

it was being considered caused alarm in the United States.

Once relieved of Spanish commercial restrictions, the new Latin-American republics threw open their ports. This was an advantage to Britain, which had the largest merchant marine in the world and the cheapest manufactured goods. If the Quadruple Alliance returned these republics to Spanish rule, Britain would suffer loss. George Canning, successor to Castlereagh as British foreign minister, also feared that France might take advantage of an opportunity to re-establish a colonial empire in America. He therefore hoped to discourage intervention to suppress the young republics. He also desired to promote better relations between the United States and Britain. In August 1823, he suggested to Richard Rush, United States minister in London, that they issue a joint statement to the effect that they thought Spain could not recover her colonies, that they opposed acquisition of them by any other power, and that the United States and Great Britain would not acquire any portion for themselves. The extraordinary proposition almost amounted to setting up an Anglo-American alliance, and Rush referred the question to Washington for decision.

Greek Rebellion;

Russian Expansion in North America

At the time of these events, there also arose two other situations that disturbed relations between the United States and European powers. In 1821 the Greeks rebelled against their Turkish masters, demanding independence. For eight years they carried on a heroic war against their oppressors. The Greeks won great sympathy in this country, because they were Christians and because they claimed descent from the heroes of classical times. Throughout the United States, churches collected money and arms for Greece. Some young Americans talked of raising a volunteer army to fight the Turks.

There were demands that the federal government aid the rebels. This helped to promote popular enthusiasm for ancient Greece, with significant effect on American culture. This was seen in the Greek revival movement in American architecture, in the founding of Greek letter fraternities in colleges, and in literature (see Edgar Allan Poe's poem "To Helen").

In 1821 Russia, already in possession of Alaska, made an aggressive move on the Pacific coast. The czar proclaimed that his dominions extended south to the 51st parallel, far into Oregon. He warned all non-Russian ships to stay over a hundred miles away from the region he claimed.

In the latter part of 1823, therefore, the United States was faced with a number of difficult decisions in foreign policy. Should the United States allow Russia to expand her holdings in North America? Should the United States aid the Greeks? How should the United States meet the threat of intervention in America by the Quadruple Alliance? Should the United States accept Canning's offer of co-operation or act alone?

Monroe discussed these questions with his cabinet and consulted his fellow Virginians, Jefferson and Madison. The former Presidents favored Canning's proposal for a joint statement with Britain. But John Quincy Adams remarked that it would look ridiculous for the United States "to come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war." He urged that the United States act independently, and his view prevailed.

Principles of the Monroe Doctrine

Out of these discussions came the Monroe Doctrine. This landmark in foreign policy was presented to the world in an undramatic way. It appeared in two widely separated passages in Monroe's annual message to Congress on De-

cember 2, 1823. It contained four essential provisions—two warnings and two reassurances. (For the text of the Monroe Doctrine, see pp. 802-803):

(1) *Hands off the American republics.*

The political system of the allied powers is essentially different . . . from that of America . . . We . . . should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

"The political system of the allied powers" means the system whereby countries are dominated by kings and noblemen. "That of America" refers to self-governing republics, like the United States and most of the new Latin-American countries. This statement denies to European countries any right of intervention in the Western Hemisphere.

(2) *No new colonization in the Americas.*

. . . the American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

This was directed at Russian expansion into Oregon. This "no colonization" principle, as applied to the whole Western Hemisphere, originated with John Quincy Adams. It is now broadened, so that it forbids transfer of colonies in the Western Hemisphere from one European power to another. When in 1940 Germany conquered Denmark, for instance, the principle was invoked to prevent the Danish territory of Greenland from coming under German rule.

(3) *Existing European colonies are in no danger from the United States.*

With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere.

While objecting to new colonization, the United States reassured European countries as to their existing colonies. This applied especially to the fertile island of Cuba, still under Spanish

rule. Many Americans, with John Quincy Adams, expected Cuba to fall into the hands of the United States eventually, "like a ripe apple," but this statement was designed to allay British fears that immediate annexation was planned.

(4) *No participation by the United States in purely European affairs.*

In the wars of European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense. . . .

Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, . . . remains the same, which is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers.

This meant specifically that the United States would send no aid to the Greeks in their war with the Turks and that the United States would take no action to prevent intervention by the Quadruple Alliance in European countries. These sentences have a far wider significance, however, than their particular meaning in 1823. They are a restatement of the isolation and non-entanglement principles laid down in Washington's Neutrality Proclamation of 1793 and in his Farewell Address, as well as in Jefferson's First Inaugural Address. Not until the twentieth century, when the United States had become a world power, were these principles altered.

Importance of the Monroe Doctrine

Monroe's message had no special influence at the time it was issued. If the statesmen of the Quadruple Alliance ever seriously contemplated intervention

QUESTION • Was the
Monroe Doctrine a "bluff"? it was the British
navy, not Mon-

roe's warning, that made them back down. In 1824 the Russians, already in possession of more



Detroit Institute of Art

A Detroit scene, during the first state election in Michigan, 1837. Methods of electioneering were crude, and on occasion votes were sold. Cotton culture along the Mississippi gave rise to cotton markets (below), which changed little from pre-Civil War days to the time Degas painted these merchants in 1873.



Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass.

Sectionalism: Different Ways of Life

In Hangtown, California, by 1853, Studebaker had established a wagon factory, depicted by H.M.T. Powell.



land than they could efficiently govern, agreed to withdraw from Oregon and to make 54° 40' the southern boundary of Alaska. The Greeks managed to gain independence without American aid.

Obviously, then, the Monroe Doctrine owes its importance to later developments. Its bold warnings to European powers became important only when the United States was able to back them up without reliance on British sea power.

Latin-American nations have never shown much enthusiasm for the Monroe Doctrine. This may seem odd when the doctrine was apparently designed to protect them. But in fact the doctrine was *unilateral*—it was a one-sided statement of the interests of the United States. While it asserted that Latin-American countries were to be protected from European aggression, they were not consulted. Furthermore, the doctrine did not protect our southern neighbors from intervention or expansion by the United States itself.

SECTIONALISM

In most countries there are centrifugal or divisive forces working against the spirit of nationalism. They take a variety of forms: tribalism and language differences that handicap many African states; antagonism between classes, such as that between the bourgeoisie, the peasants, and the proletariat in nineteenth-century France; or religious strife, such as that between Hindus and Muslims in India, or between Roman Catholics and Buddhists in Vietnam. During the early years of the United States, the most obvious counter to nationalism was sectional rivalry.

By the 1820's it was clear that the three major sections—the Northeast, the South, and the “Old Northwest”—were following different lines of development. Manufacturing plants were multiplying in the Northeast. The South was doubling its production of cotton every ten years. The Northwest was the home of independent farmers who raised crops on land they themselves cleared and put under the plow. Regional differences led to regional loyalties. A recent historian claims, perhaps with some exaggeration, that these loyalties were stronger than national patriotism:

By the close of the 1830's every one-horse planter in the cotton belt, every coonskin-clad farmer along the western waters, every shopkeeper in the smoky mill towns of New England, was blindly loyal to the region where he lived. This spirit of sectional patriotism alone allowed Americans to place regional interests above those of the nation.

Manufacturing in the Northeast

In the long history of civilization from the building of the Egyptian pyramids three thousand years before the birth of Christ until the eighteenth century, there was little important change in men's tools or sources of power. Then came the industrial revolution. This has changed

the way men live, especially in Europe and America, more in 200 years than it changed in the previous 5,000. Basically, the industrial revolution has consisted of three developments: (1) the substitution of complicated machines for simple hand tools; (2) the substitution of artificial sources of power, such as the steam engine and electric motor, for natural sources of power such as draft animals and falling water; and (3) the invention of faster, more efficient means of transportation and communication.

The industrial revolution began in England. Between 1730 and 1800, new machines transformed the cotton industry. So great was the efficiency of mechanical means of spinning and weaving that cotton cloth, formerly a luxury, became the cheapest textile the world had ever seen. With the great improvements made by James Watt, the steam engine began to supply a tremendous new source of power for industry and transportation. For a time the industrial revolution was almost a British monopoly. Britain enjoyed certain advantages over the rest of the world: among them were established markets, mechanical skills, and surplus capital to build factories. British laws, furthermore, forbade the export of textile machinery or the emigration of skilled workmen.

The Textile Industry

The new technology reached America with the arrival of the Englishman Samuel Slater in 1789. Before coming here, Slater had memorized the details of the best English textile machinery. Within a year he built machines that were set up in a factory in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. This was but the first of many mills that Slater equipped with his machinery.

The textile industry centered in New England for a number of reasons. The region contained available water power and an abundant water supply. There were funds available for



Maryland Historical Association

The Union Manufacturing of Maryland, about 1812. Not all of America's early textile factories were in New England. This Maryland plant was established during the Embargo, when it was necessary to produce at home many goods previously obtained abroad. Here 600 employees tended 80,000 spindles driven by 16 water wheels.

investment in new enterprises. But New England's principal resource was human. In over two centuries of wresting a living from an unpromising environment in a harsh climate, New Englanders had developed traits that made the term "Yankee" a synonym for ingenuity, thrift, and hard work. Unable to meet the competition from newly cleared, more fertile farm regions in the West, many Yankees moved to factory towns. By 1840, some 700 cotton mills and 500 woolen mills in New England employed about 50,000 workers. There were also many small factories turning out products such as shoes, clocks, carriages, and paper. All this was, however, just a beginning. There were in the region as many people engaged in shipping as in manufacturing, and even more engaged in farming.

In the Middle Atlantic states—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York—manufacturing took

hold even more than in New England. The new transportation system opened western markets, and European immigrants supplied much cheap labor. There were textile factories in this region, although not as many as in New England. The area was the great center of the iron industry and of the manufacture of machinery.

Early Effects of the Industrial Revolution

The beginnings of the industrial revolution had several important effects: (1) Existing cities, such as New York and Philadelphia, grew rapidly; at power sites new cities appeared, such as Lowell and Lawrence at falls and rapids on the Merrimac River. (2) There was a great demand for better transportation to carry food and raw materials to the cities and manufactured goods to markets. (3) The cities provided new markets for farm products. (4) There

appeared two new classes of people—the industrial capitalists and the industrial laborers—those who built and owned the factories and those who worked in them. In the handicraft age, the master worker who owned a shop sat at the same bench as his journeymen and apprentices and dressed as they did. Now owners and workers performed distinctly different functions; they no longer worked together daily; they led dissimilar lives. Their differences in dress became symbols that are still understood today: a top hat and frock coat designate a capitalist; a cap and overalls, a factory worker. (See also p. 286.)

The profits from manufacturing and shipping in the Northeast were great. Much of the money went back into the businesses, but much of it also went into banks in the larger cities. The bankers of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York in turn made investments all over the country. They lent money to speculators in western lands, to companies building Mississippi River steamboats, and to Alabama cotton producers. Thus the country began to be tied together by a web of credit.

Cotton Culture in the South

The British industrial revolution affected the South even more than New England, although in a different way. As British cotton mills produced cheaper and cheaper goods for a world-wide market, they demanded more and more raw cotton, most of which came from the southern states.

It was the cotton gin, invented by Eli Whitney in 1793, which made it possible to produce cotton cheaply in the South. In cotton as it is harvested from the fields, the fibers are so tightly fastened to the seeds that a hand laborer could get rid of the seeds in only one pound of cotton per day. Whitney's machine, operated by hand, could clean fifty pounds a day; with water power, a thousand pounds.

Change in the Southern Attitude Toward Slavery

British demands for cotton and the invention of the cotton gin changed the southern attitude toward slavery. In the late eighteenth century the only part of the South where slave labor paid its way was in the rice fields of South Carolina and Georgia. Elsewhere, planters were "slave poor" because they owned slaves but could make little profit from their labor. Slaves were usually less efficient than free laborers. Having no incentive to work hard, they required continual supervision. They had to be fed and clothed in seasons when there was no work to do.

As we have seen, many Southerners, including Jefferson, Washington, and Patrick Henry, publicly condemned slavery. In 1787 Southerners supported the Northwest Ordinance, which prohibited slavery north of the Ohio River. In 1808 they supported the abolition of the slave trade at the earliest date allowed by the Constitution.

Southern planters were perplexed, however, as to what to do with slaves after they were freed. Many of the Negroes would be helpless, particularly if not given land, tools, and training in how to live on their own. To meet this situation, slaveowners in Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky founded the American Colonization Society to send freed slaves back to Africa. Among the early members were James Madison, Andrew Jackson, and Henry Clay. In 1819 Congress appropriated \$100,000 to support the project, and in 1822 the society founded the republic of Liberia ("land of freedom") on the west coast of Africa as a haven for American Negroes. But the society lacked funds to send more than a few thousand Negroes back to the continent from which their ancestors came. The project was impractical in any case, because long residence in America made it difficult for Negroes to adapt themselves to conditions in



In the heyday of river traffic on the Mississippi, from about 1840 until the Civil War broke out in 1861, the volume of traffic through New Orleans was exceeded only by that through New York. Following the harvest season, the levee and the streets behind them were piled high with the staples of the vast region drained by the Mississippi River and its tributaries — sugar, molasses, rice, tobacco, corn, pork, barrel staves, wheat, oats, flour, and, above all, cotton.

Africa, and few had any desire to leave this country.

Meanwhile, cotton culture proved ideally suited to the use of slave labor. The operations—planting, hoeing, picking, and ginning—were simple and required little training. Most of the work was done in gangs and so could be easily supervised. Cotton growing occupied the Negroes more continually than other crops, such as wheat or tobacco, so they did not have to be supported through any long periods of idleness. Thus slavery became profitable. Southerners began to change their attitude and to defend slavery. Criticism of the institution died out. In 1827 there were over a hundred anti-slavery societies in the South; ten years later all had disbanded.

Since the climate of the upper South was unsuited to cotton growing (see map, p. 9), cotton first was a major crop in South Carolina and Georgia. Cotton plantations moved rapidly west into the fertile “black belt” of Mississippi and Alabama and then into the rich bottom lands along the Mississippi River and its tributaries. The admission into the Union of the states of Mississippi in 1817, Alabama in 1819, and Arkansas in 1836 revealed this migration. The rapid expansion of cotton culture was not merely the result of the increased demands of British mills. It also came from the fact that planters often sowed one cotton crop after another until they had “mined” the fertility from the soil and had to move on. It was cheaper to migrate than to restore fertility.

Cotton was not the only important southern crop. Virginia, Kentucky, and North Carolina produced tobacco. Louisiana produced sugar. Everywhere farmers raised corn, wheat, hogs, and cattle. Still, "Cotton is king" was a common southern saying; it was the greatest export, not only of the South, but of the nation.

The institution of slavery, which had been abolished in the North, made southern society unique. The characteristics and effects of slavery in the South will be discussed in a later chapter (see pp. 331–334). Suffice it to say now that the South developed something like a caste system. At the top were a few great planters, owning 50 to 200 or more slaves and cultivating the best land. Below the great owners was a class of small planters who generally made a rather poor living. Then there was a large group of small farmers raising diversified crops. This group often fared rather well, especially in regions unsuited to cotton growing. At the bottom of the white social scale was a class of impoverished white people, some of them on the move and others just managing to live on exhausted soils for which cotton growers had no use. At the bottom were the Negroes. All but a few were slaves, and nearly all performed heavy labor or menial tasks.

There was little manufacturing in the South. There was no such readily available labor supply as in the Northeast because whites disliked factory labor and Negroes were not thought to be fitted for it. Furthermore, the money and credit of wealthy men were tied up in land and slaves, so there was little surplus capital available for building factories or buying expensive machinery.

Rapid Settlement of the Northwest

"All America is moving westward," wrote a British traveler who passed through Pittsburgh in 1816. The census of 1820 revealed that one-quarter of the population of the United States

lived west of the Appalachians. Even more rapid than the settlement of the Gulf states was that of the Northwest.

Settlement of this region had been slowed up until after the War of 1812 because of the danger from Indians. The result of the war had been to break up Tecumseh's Indian league and to put an end to British support of the northern tribes. After the defeat of the Sauk chieftain Black Hawk in 1832, the Indians were driven west of the Mississippi.

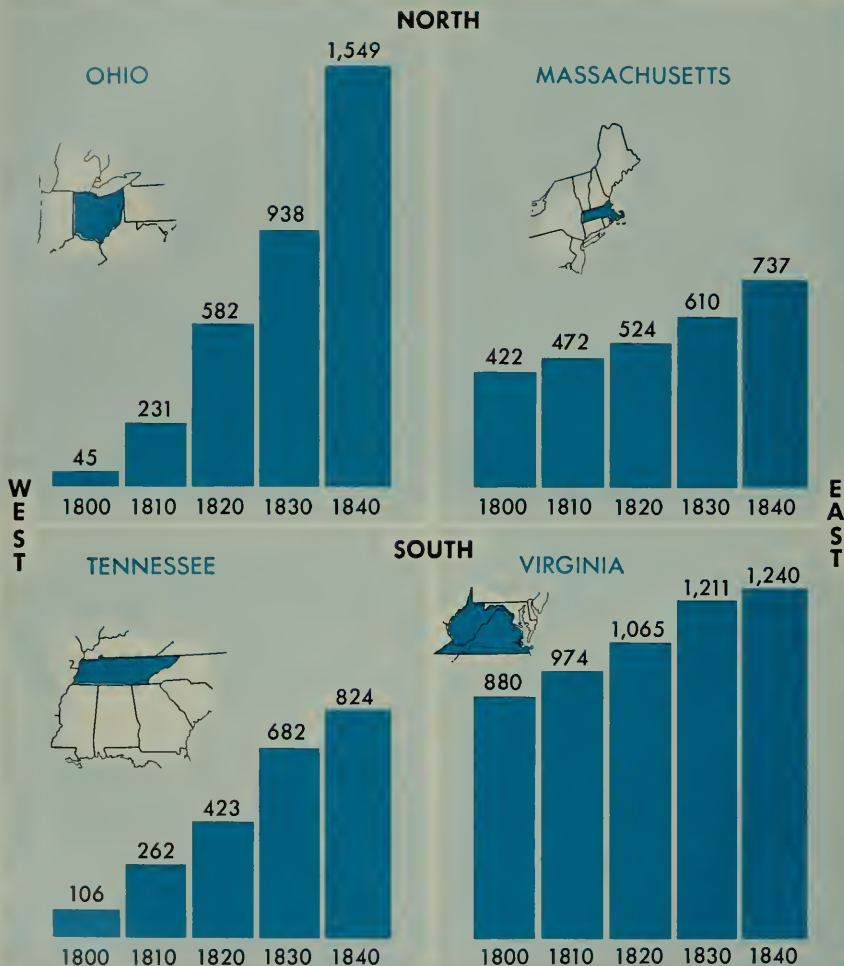
Many who first came to the Northwest described it as a paradise on earth. The Ohio, they wrote, was truly "the beautiful river" if only because of the magnificent hardwood trees—oak, maple, ash, chestnut—along its shores. The forest was occasionally broken by clearings where the grass grew four and five feet high in the rich soil. The amount of game was almost unbelievable. There was an abundance of deer, bear, duck, turkey, goose, and partridge. A single flock of pigeons might take four or five hours to fly over a spot, and when they alighted they were so tame they could be slaughtered by men armed only with clubs. Fish were no less plentiful. A party fishing at a waterfall on the Maumee River in Ohio in the 1830's filled 850 barrels with walleyed pike and bass.

Cheap Land

But the greatest lure of the Northwest was vacant land. According to the English economist and novelist Harriet Martineau, who made an extended tour of the United States in the years 1834 to 1836:

The possession of land is the aim of all actions, generally speaking, and a cure for all social evils, among men in the United States. If a man is disappointed in politics or love, he goes and buys land. If he disgraces himself, he betakes himself to a lot in the West. If the demand for any article of manufacture slackens, the operatives drop into the unsettled lands. If a citizen's neighbours rise above

GROWTH OF POPULATION (in thousands) 1800-1840



Can the rapid growth of two typical western states be explained by the attraction of cheap land? Does the fact that Massachusetts expanded more rapidly than Virginia, and Ohio more rapidly than Tennessee, suggest the superiority of a free labor system over one based on slave labor? What other information would you need to draw this conclusion? What other conclusions can you draw from the above charts?

him in the towns, he betakes himself where he can be monarch of all he surveys.

Land was everywhere cheap. Many settlers did not even bother about survey lines and "squatted" on whatever unoccupied acres they could find.

So the settlers poured into the Northwest. From the South came independent farmers and impoverished whites anxious to get away from slavery and the plantation system. From the northeastern states came farmers lured by tales of the almost unbelievable fertility of the western lands. Eventually, Europe supplied a third stream of immigrants, who often landed at New York and traveled west by the Erie Canal.

The typical citizen of the northwestern states lived on his own farm, which was cultivated by him and his family. On the very edge of the frontier, he might live in an open-sided lean-to. Killing the trees by "girdling" (cutting the bark all around at the base) in order to let in the sun, he would plant a crop of corn. He might also raise a few razorback hogs, which would be allowed to run practically wild in the woods. For the rest, he lived on game. In longer-settled areas, the farmer would probably build a frame house. He would then raise more varied crops—wheat, cattle, vegetables, and fruit—and acquire cash by sending his products to market.

Growth of Towns and Cities

But the farmer alone did not develop the West. He could not prosper entirely by his own efforts. He needed sawmills for his lumber and flour mills for his grain. He needed barges and wagons to carry his produce to market, merchants to buy it, and storekeepers to provide the goods he could not make himself, such as glassware, shoes, lamps, and iron tools. Such people, as has been pointed out earlier (p. 86), gathered in towns usually situated at points of transshipment. Among these were Cincinnati (near where three tributaries pour into the

Ohio River), Louisville (at the Falls of the Ohio), and Nashville (at the head of steam navigation on the Cumberland River).

Manufacturing sprang up in such cities. The showpiece of Cincinnati at one time was a combined flour and textile mill run by a steam engine. This "stupendous pile" of stone and brick reached the then amazing height of nine stories. The largest manufacturing center, however, was Pittsburgh. Here were glass factories, which in 1815 produced glassware worth \$235,000. Even more important were Pittsburgh's iron works.

In western towns, men could often make money more rapidly than on the farms. Skilled workers such as masons and wheelwrights were so scarce that they demanded, and got, high wages. Manufacturers could charge high prices because the demand for their articles was always increasing and because the cost of transporting goods across or around the Appalachians acted as a sort of tariff, raising the price of eastern goods. Western towns offered such prospects of wealth that selling lots in future cities became a standard way for speculators to fleece suckers. Glowing descriptions of town sites were satirized in a southern editor's imaginary prospectus of the "City of Skunksburgh":

This charming place . . . is situated . . . not far from the junction of Pitt's main branch, and a Western fork called the Slough, which runs in the rainy season, and washes the confines of Farnsworth's lower hog pens. . . . A noble bluff of 18 inches commands the harbor. . . . Commodious and picturesque positions will be reserved for the Exchange and City Hall, a church, one Gymnastic and one Polytechnic foundation, one Olympic and two Dramatic theatres, an Equestrian circus, an observatory, two marine and two Foundling Hospitals, and in the most commercial part of the city will be a reservation for seventeen banks, to each of which may be attached a lunatic Hospital. . . .

A line of Velocipede stages will be immediately established from Skunksburgh straight through the

The historian finds the social sciences useful in studying patterns of population growth and trade as the industrial revolution reached the United States. Geography and economics are especially useful in understanding why cities grew at different rates during the nineteenth century.

Population of the Ten Largest Cities of the United States, 1820, 1840, 1860

	1820		1840		1860
Philadelphia	137,000	New York	349,000	New York	1,072,000
New York	135,000	Philadelphia	258,000	Philadelphia	585,000
Baltimore	63,000	New Orleans	102,000	Baltimore	212,000
Boston	44,000	Baltimore	102,000	Boston	178,000
New Orleans	27,000	Boston	93,000	New Orleans	169,000
Charleston	25,000	Cincinnati	46,000	Cincinnati	161,000
Washington	13,000	Albany	34,000	St. Louis	161,000
Albany	13,000	Charleston	29,000	Chicago	109,000
Richmond	12,000	Washington	23,000	Buffalo	81,000
Salem	11,000	Providence	23,000	Newark	72,000

Study of this table reveals a good deal about the economic growth of the United States. While you examine this, make constant reference to the transportation system map of the United States on page 229. After examining the table and the map, answer the following questions:

1. What was the common geographical characteristic of the ten largest cities in 1820, and what does this reveal about the American economy at that time?
2. In 1860, which of the four largest northern cities were west of the Appalachians? What is significant about their rapid growth and their position on the transportation map?
3. Note the rapid growth of New Orleans from 1820 to 1840. However, the city slipped from third to fifth place by 1860. What might explain the spurt after 1820 and the decline in growth rate relative to the eastern cities after 1840?

O-ke-fin-o-cau Swamp, . . . and, as soon as a canal shall be cut through the Rocky Mountains, there will be a direct communication with the Columbia River, and then to the Pacific Ocean. Then opens a theatre of trade bounded only by the Universe.

Western Democracy

The Westerner was proud of his self-reliance and independence. A man was judged by what he could do for himself—how well he could handle an axe, slaughter a hog, or plow a furrow. Equality was not a theory stated by philosophers, but a fact of life. “Into all activities was carried the practice of democracy, whether politics, law, military, or religious life. The judge could leave his bench, and return to his plow; the preacher from pulpit to stable work.”

With equality went democracy. Whereas in the original thirteen states voting rights had depended on ownership of a certain amount of

property, in the West this was replaced by manhood suffrage—the right of all adult

males to vote. In the older states, voters had usually chosen for office their “betters”—men of wealth and social position; in the West, they elected men like themselves. When young Abe Lincoln started making his way in Illinois politics in the 1830’s, part of his success as a vote-getter was the result of his skill in wrestling, handling a scythe, and splitting rails.

Points of Sectional Conflict

Of the different sections here described, each had its own prevailing attitude on four major issues—public land policy, a protective tariff, internal improvements at federal expense, and the extension of slavery into the territories. The questions involved in these issues and the attitudes of the sections may be summarized as follows:

(1) **Public land policy.** Should lands be offered to settlers at a low price or a high one?

Should they be opened to settlement rapidly or slowly? Should “squatters,” who occupied lands before they were opened for sale, have any rights to the land they farmed? Western frontier farmers naturally favored cheap land, rapid settlement, and “squatters’ rights.” Eastern manufacturers were opposed to such policies for fear the West would draw off their labor supply. Eastern farmers were often opposed to cheap western lands for fear of western competition. Southerners were divided on this issue. Plantation owners wanted lands opened rapidly to sale, but were opposed to “squatters’ rights” because the squatters might get to the best lands first.

(2) **A protective tariff.** Should there be high tariffs to protect United States industries? Or should there be a low tariff which would allow foreign goods to come in cheaply in exchange for American agricultural products? Northeastern manufacturers and laborers naturally favored protective tariffs that would keep out foreign goods, or at least raise the prices for the consumer, so that American factories could compete successfully in the American market. As Southerners came to realize that their section was not to become a manufacturing region, they turned more and more against the system of protection. The high tariff caused them to pay more for manufactured goods, but they received no benefit from it. Furthermore, they felt they would get a better price for their cotton from Britain if the British could sell more goods in this country. Surprisingly, the Northwest, a farming region, was the section most completely in favor of protection. The explanation for this apparent contradiction is that the Westerners thought that the growth of industrial cities would increase the market for farm products. Protection might encourage manufacturing west of the Appalachians, and revenue from the tariff might be used for building much-needed roads and canals. The American protective system also included high tariffs on cer-

QUESTION • Equality and democracy—do they necessarily go together?

tain staples grown in the West, such as wool from Ohio and hemp from Kentucky.

(3) **Internal improvements.** Should the federal government spend money to build roads and canals, or at least help states and private companies to build them? The Northwest was overwhelmingly in favor of using federal money for such purposes because it needed roads and canals to get its goods to market and yet had very little cash. The South, with a fine river system, was opposed. Southerners also feared that such schemes would be used as an argument to keep up tariffs in order to obtain more money for the federal government. The Northeast generally favored internal improvements at federal expense, partly because the tariff might have to be kept high to pay for them.

(4) **Extension of slavery into territories.** Should the territories be closed to slavery on the model of the Northwest Ordinance? Or should slaveowners have the right to take slaves with them into the territories, just as they might take cattle or horses? Since cotton culture demanded

the expansion of the plantation system into new lands and apparently depended on slave labor, Southerners insisted that they be allowed to take their slaves with them anywhere but into the free states. Opposed to the southern attitude were northern convictions equally determined. Many Northerners felt that slavery was a moral wrong. While agreeing that southern states had a right to maintain slavery where it already existed, they felt it should not be allowed to expand. Another argument against extending slavery, especially strong in the Northwest, was that the territories should be reserved as an area where poor men could go and establish farms for themselves. Wherever slavery existed, the free laborer and small farmer did not fare well. Plantation owners took the best lands, and manual labor was scorned as the occupation of slaves.

These conflicting sectional interests became the major problem of national politics. It was the task of politicians to find means of compromise in order to save the Union.

Activities: Chapter 9

For Mastery and Review

1. What are basic elements of nationalism? In what ways did it express itself in federal politics?

2. What was the National Road? How did turnpikes differ from it? In what ways were the roads of the day unsatisfactory? Describe the Erie Canal. What were some of its economic and political effects?

3. For four of John Marshall's decisions (see pp. 196, 231–233), explain (a) the factors involved in each case, (b) the opinions themselves, and (c) their importance. On what grounds were Marshall's decisions attacked?

4. Outline the terms of the agreements made between the United States and Great Britain while John Quincy Adams was Secretary of State. What

were the causes of friction between the United States and Spain over Florida? What were the terms of the Adams-Onís Treaty? Why was it called the “transcontinental treaty”?

5. What was the Quadruple Alliance? What were its purposes? How did these purposes apparently affect Latin America? What was the United States' interest in the situation? How was England affected? Explain the specific meaning and application of each part of the Monroe Doctrine as of 1823. Explain the Latin-American reaction.

6. Describe the geographical concentration of industry. Why did the textile industry settle in New England? What manufacturing developed in the Middle Atlantic states? Why? What were the effects of the beginning of the industrial revolution?

7. Trace the developments by which cotton became "King" in the South. What were the main social classes in southern society? Why was there little manufacturing there?

8. What factors led to the rapid settlement of the West? Describe the life of the "independent farmer." Where and why did cities develop in the West? Why did the West lead the manhood suffrage movement?

9. Make a chart comparing in three parallel columns the stands of the Northeast, the Northwest, and the South on (a) the policy of public land, (b) a protective tariff, (c) internal improvements at federal expense, and (d) the extension of slavery into the territories. Indicate divided opinion within the sections.

Unrolling the Map

1. On an outline map of the eastern half of the United States, trace and name the major rivers, showing the head of navigation of each. Draw in the National Road and other major highways. Show the major canals. Place on the map cities that owe their importance to transportation: those at important points of canals, those at heads of navigation of rivers, and those located on the National Road.

2. On an outline map of the United States, trace the boundaries settled while John Quincy Adams was Secretary of State (1817-1825). Emphasize the element of compromise by shading the territorial claims relinquished by the United States and cross-hatching its gains.

Who, What, and Why Important?

nationalism	National Road
"Era of Good Feeling"	turnpike
James Monroe	Robert Fulton
second B.U.S.	Erie Canal
Tariff of 1816	John Marshall
John C. Calhoun	John Quincy Adams

Rush-Bagot Agreement	Samuel Slater
Convention of 1818	Eli Whitney
Adams-Onís Treaty	American Colonization
Latin-American independence	Society
Quadruple Alliance	plantation system
Monroe Doctrine	"independent farmer"
Greek Revolution	public lands
sectionalism	internal improvements

To Pursue the Matter

1. For opinions of English ladies about travel in America and the people they met see Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 128-134.

2. For texts and analyses of some of John Marshall's great constitutional decisions see Bragdon *et al.*, *Frame of Government*, pp. 171-199.

3. What hardships of frontier life so shortened people's lives that few men and women lived to old age? See Clark, *Frontier America*, ch. 9.

4. What was it like to travel on Mississippi River steamboats? See Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, or "Heyday of the Floating Palace," *American Heritage*, October 1957.

5. Who should get credit for the Monroe Doctrine? See Fine and Brown, *The American Past*, issue no. 11.

6. Make a diagrammatic map of the Erie Canal, showing its many remarkable features. See Waggoner, *Long Haul West: The Great Canal Era, 1817-1850*.

7. For reflection, discussion, investigation:

a) Why was water travel superior to overland transportation in the early nineteenth century?

b) Have the elements promoting American national patriotism changed since the period touched on in this chapter? How? And what of sectionalism?

c) "The Westerner was proud of his self-reliance and independence; . . . with equality went democracy." Is this true of Americans today?

Chapter 10

Jacksonian Democracy

It is not impossible to conceive the surprising liberty that the Americans enjoy; some idea may likewise be formed of their extreme equality; but the political activity that pervades the United States must be seen in order to be understood. No sooner do you set foot upon American ground than you are stunned by a kind of tumult; a confused clamor is heard on every side, and a thousand simultaneous voices demand the satisfaction of their social wants.

—ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

The Federalist opposition had disappeared, but the near-unanimous election of James Monroe as President in 1820 was misleading. The triumphant Republican party was itself bitterly divided. The congressional caucus that renominated Monroe for the presidency had selected him over his Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, by the slim margin of 65 to 54. In 1824, as we shall soon see, the Republicans broke up into sectional factions. The Union was in danger.

INTERSECTIONAL COMPROMISE

Of the major issues on which there was controversy between the sections, the question of the extension of slavery was the most dangerous. It was first brought to a head in 1819 when Missouri applied for admission to the Union as a slave state. As soon as the bill to allow this was presented to Congress, Representative James Tallmadge of New York proposed an amendment to the effect that slavery should be gradually abolished in Missouri and future importation of slaves into the state forbidden.

The Tallmadge Amendment passed the House of Representatives on a strictly sectional vote, but caused a violent outcry from Southerners who saw it as a violation of their equal rights in the territories of the United States. The amendment, and with it the question of Missouri's admission to the Union, was held up for over a year, while debates in Congress became increasingly bitter. "This momentous question," wrote Jefferson, "like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I consider it at once as the knell of the Union."

A new element in the discussion was introduced when Maine asked to be separated from Massachusetts and admitted as a free state. At this time there were eleven free and eleven slave states, thus making a balance in the Senate where each state had two members. In the House of Representatives, the North had an edge of 105 congressmen to 81. This advantage was sure to increase because conditions of life in the free states attracted more emigration from Europe. If Maine, however, were admitted as a free state and Missouri as a slave state, the balance in the Senate would continue.

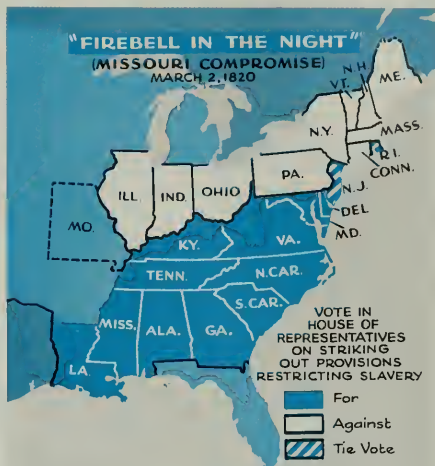
The Missouri Compromise, 1820

Finally a compromise was reached. Missouri and Maine were admitted to the Union together. In the as yet unsettled portions of the vast area acquired by the Louisiana Purchase, slavery was forbidden north of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$, a line running west from the southern boundary of Missouri. By these arrangements the Southerners "won the battle but lost the campaign." They had secured their immediate purpose, the admission of Missouri as a slave state. But the area closed to the future expansion of slavery was far greater than the area that might be occupied by slaveowners (see map, p. 255). The free states had been allowed this advantage partly as a result of a mistaken notion that the prairie region west of the Mississippi was unfit for human settlement. When Southerners realized that this region was not "the Great American Desert," they began to demand the annexation of Texas.

The Missouri Compromise stood untouched for over thirty years. The slavery question was so dangerous that politicians of all sections agreed that the only way to save the Union was to dodge the issue entirely.

Overlapping of Sectional Interests: the "American System"

Fortunately for the nation, the extension of slavery was the only issue on which inter-sectional disagreements were clear-cut. In New England, for instance, the demand of manufacturers for a protective tariff was strongly opposed by shipping interests that would lose money if the United States imported less foreign goods. In their demands for cheap land, Westerners found allies among the factory workers of the eastern cities. Even workers with no idea of ever acquiring farms of their own thought their wages would be better if others had a chance to go west. The commercial interests of southern ports such as New Orleans, Charles-



The overwhelmingly sectional nature of the vote on the Missouri Compromise explains why, for the next thirty years, politicians avoided the explosive issue of slavery whenever they could.

ton, and Baltimore made money from inter-sectional trade and had close ties with northern bankers and merchants. Thus conflicts within the three great sections and ties between groups in different sections blurred and softened inter-sectional rivalry.

Henry Clay, a strong nationalist who very much wanted to be President, saw in the overlapping of sectional interests an opportunity for compromise on a vast scale by a program of legislation that would win support from all over the country. Calling his plan the "American system," Clay proposed high tariffs that would tend to promote eastern manufactures. The revenue, however, would be used to build a transportation system needed by the West and to improve the navigation of southern rivers. Eastern textile mills would provide a domestic market for southern cotton and western wool, and eastern cities a market for

western foodstuffs. A national bank would supply a national currency. The "American system" eventually became the basis for legislative programs promoted by the Whig party, which Clay helped to found, and later of the second Republican party organized in 1854.

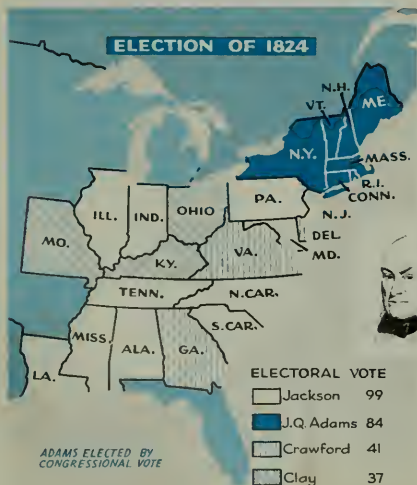
THE "FAVORITE SON" ELECTION OF 1824

The three-cornered sectional struggle broke into the open in the presidential election of 1824. Instead of one Republican presidential candidate there were four, each representing a sectional interest. Two of these "favorite-sons," Henry Clay of Kentucky and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, came from the West. John Quincy Adams found his strongest support in his native New England. William H. Crawford of Georgia represented the old South. A fifth candidate, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, stood aside and ran for the vice-presidency.

In the election of 1824, Jefferson's Republican party broke up into factions supporting "favorite sons." Only Jackson drew support from all sections.

When the electoral votes were counted, it was found that Calhoun had easily been elected Vice-President; but no candidate had a majority of the presidential ballots. Jackson stood first with 99 electoral votes, Adams was second with 84, while Crawford and Clay were far in the rear with 41 and 37 votes respectively. In such a situation, the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution provides that the President be chosen by the House of Representatives from the three men polling the highest number of electoral votes. In this case, congressmen from each state vote as a unit, with each state having one vote.

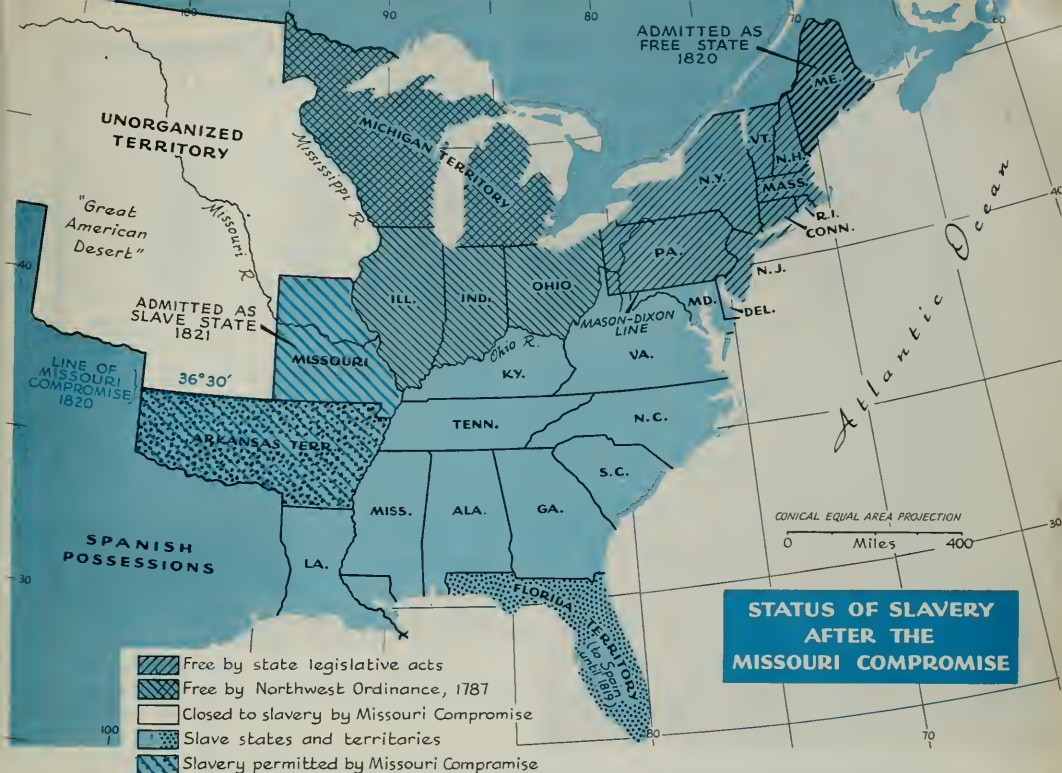
Being fourth, Clay was out of the running. But he was in a position to decide the election by throwing his weight on the side of either Adams or Jackson. The Kentuckian had strong reasons for supporting Adams, since he and the New Englander agreed on most public questions, while he and Jackson were personal enemies. Clay's influence in the House was strong enough to give the election to Adams on the first ballot. Adams won the vote of thirteen states against Jackson's seven and Crawford's four.



President John Quincy Adams, 1825-1829

No American public man has served his country with more devotion than John Quincy Adams. Few, if any, have had more ability. Yet he was a failure as President, partly because the followers of Andrew Jackson were determined that he should not succeed.

Adams's troubles began when he chose Clay for his Secretary of State—a logical appointment because of the close agreement of the two men on public questions. But in an anonymous letter to the newspapers the charge was made that Clay got the job as a result of a "corrupt bargain." Adams, so the story went, had promised to make Clay Secretary of State if the latter would swing votes to him in the House of



By agreeing to the ban of slavery in "the Great American Desert," the South lost by the Missouri Compromise an immense region north of the 36°30' line. This was to have far-reaching effects after the fertility of the so-called "Desert" became known.

Representatives. No trustworthy evidence in support of this smear has ever come to light. Nevertheless, the Jackson supporters kept crying "bargain and corruption" until they made many people believe them. Among those they convinced was Jackson. He had not especially wanted to be President and at first had taken his defeat calmly. But he soon became convinced that the election had been stolen, and told a Kentucky audience, "Corruption and intrigue in Washington...defeated the will of the people."

In his first message to Congress, Adams set forth a statesmanlike program of nationalist legislation. He urged the use of federal funds not merely for roads and canals, but also for a national university, for exploration, and for scientific research. His opponents ridiculed his proposals. Adams, for instance, had suggested the building of astronomical observatories, terming them "lighthouses of the skies." How fantastic, said his enemies, to spend the taxpayers' money on such frills. When Adams and Clay proposed to send delegates to a Pan-

Edmund Anderson

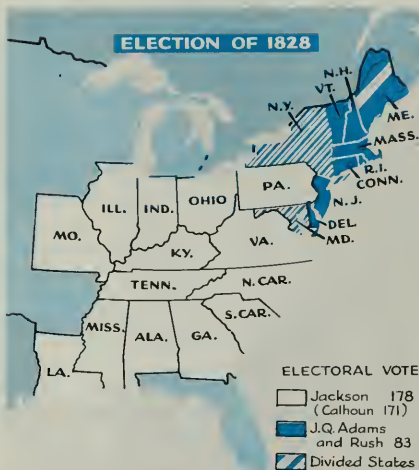


The presidential campaign of 1828 was a dirty one, although neither Jackson nor John Quincy Adams had any part in the mud slinging. Jackson, as this "coffin handbill" shows, was accused of being a murderous barbarian. Before the Battle of New Orleans he had six deserting militiamen executed, to encourage the rest to stay around and face the British.

son's time—agrarians of the South and West and those who avored limiting federal power. But there was much confusion, and support for one man or the other often depended on purely local issues, such as the rivalry of religious denominations. Party labels were confused too, although generally the Adams men called themselves National Republicans, and the Jackson followers took the name Democratic Republicans or simply Democrats. The hero of New Orleans especially attracted the rising class of professional politicians who were interested less in issues than in simply getting and holding office. Unlike Clay and Adams, the general had not made enemies by taking a strong stand on major issues. Democratic newspapers hammered on one theme above all: Andrew Jackson is the candidate of the people. The Democrats capitalized on the fact that “Old Hickory” was the first presidential candidate with a popular nickname. Hickory poles and brooms were tied on houses, steamboats, and church steeples, and hickory trees were planted at village crossroads by “Hickory Clubs.”

Avoidance of Issues

Warned by the fate of Henry Clay, who had run for the presidency on the “American system” in 1824 and had come in last, the politicians avoided issues in 1828. Instead they engaged in personal attacks. The Jacksonians continued the “bargain and corruption” smear and went on to charge that Adams had allowed the federal civil service to become scandalously dishonest and had wasted the people’s money on “gaming tables” (a billiard table and a chess set) for the White House. Dethrone “King John the Second,” demanded Democratic editors, and put “Old Hickory” in his place with a hickory broom to clean out the “Augean Stables.” Adams’s followers retorted in kind. Jackson was portrayed as a headstrong barbarian who “mis-spelled every fourth word,” a potential Julius



In 1828, Jackson, like Jefferson before him, carried the agrarian West and South and at the same time gained support from northern city machines. John Quincy Adams drew most of his strength from formerly Federalist New England.



Caesar who would subvert American liberties, and a “butcher” who had murdered a score of men. According to a recent historian, “There can be no question that this election splattered more filth in more different directions and on more innocent people than any other in American history.” Neither of the candidates, however, engaged personally in the mudslinging.

Importance of Jackson's Election

The result of the election of 1828 was a decisive victory for Jackson over Adams by 178 electoral votes to 83. Adams was strong only in New England, where he won all but one electoral vote. Jackson swept every southern and western state except Maryland and Delaware; he also carried Pennsylvania and gained a majority of the electors in New York.

Although the campaign itself had been trivial and disgraceful, this election was one of the most important in American history. For the first time a candidate from the region west of the Appalachians was elected President. The six previous Presidents had all come from either Virginia or Massachusetts. Now, with the rapid growth of the West, the political center of gravity was swinging away from the eastern seaboard. All former Presidents had enjoyed in early life the advantages of wealth or education or both. Jackson, orphaned at thirteen, had made his way entirely on his own. The common people felt they had elected one of themselves. Jackson was, in fact, more truly the choice of the people than had been any previous President.

There was a higher turn-out of voters in the presidential election of 1828 than in any since 1812, when people were much worked up over continuance of the war with Britain. Now the interest was apparently in two strong candidates. Since Jackson's presidency roughly coincided with various democratic reforms, such as manhood suffrage, his election became a symbol of the growing power of the common man in politics.

ANDREW JACKSON: THE MYTH AND THE MAN

During his lifetime, Andrew Jackson was such a controversial figure that it was difficult to find the truth behind the slanders of his enemies and the extravagant praise of his admirers. According to James Parton, his first important biographer, the evidence could be so interpreted as to show Jackson to have been both "a patriot and a traitor." "He was," wrote Parton, "one of the greatest of generals and wholly ignorant of the art of war. A writer brilliant, elegant, eloquent, without being able to compose a correct sentence or spell words of four

syllables. . . . A democratic autocrat. An urbane savage. An atrocious saint." Anti-Jackson cartoons generally showed him either as a profane yokel with an ungovernable temper or as "King Andrew"—"king" then having the same impact as "tyrant" today. Jackson's friends emphasized his humble birth. Born in a log cabin on the North Carolina frontier, he had lost both parents at an early age, and had made his way to fame by his own exertions. He thus became the visible evidence that American institutions threw open "to the humblest individual the avenues of wealth and distinction." In his own time, indeed, Jackson became somewhat of a mythical figure. Thus George Bancroft, a New England historian who was also an ardent Democrat, wrote of Jackson's entrance into the presidential office:

Behold, then, the unlettered man of the West, the nursing of the wilds, the farmer of the Hermitage, little versed in books, unconnected by science¹ with the tradition of the past, raised by the will of the people to the highest pinnacle of honor, to the central post of republican freedom, to the station where all the nations of the earth would watch his actions—where his words would vibrate through the civilized world, and his spirit be the moving-star to guide the nations.

"A Gentleman and a Soldier"

The Jackson myth obscures many facts about him. His lack of education, for instance, has been much exaggerated. He could read at the age of five and by the age of eight had developed a passion for maps. Possessed of as much legal training as John Marshall, he had a successful career as a lawyer and judge in Tennessee. He bought 28 scholarly books on various aspects of law on a single trip to Philadelphia. He enjoyed reading history and subscribed to as many as twenty newspapers at one time.

¹ "Science" here means knowledge of any kind obtained by systematic study.

Jackson's early life had been notable for violent personal quarrels. He took part in five duels, killing a man in one of them. In such actions, however, he simply reflected the violence of the frontier. As he grew older, both his temper and his actions became milder; by the time he reached the White House, he had become a person of dignity and natural courtesy. A visiting Englishwoman who saw him on the way to his inauguration wrote that "in spite of his harsh, gaunt features, he looked like a gentleman and a soldier." Jackson regarded himself as a "gentleman" and was so regarded by his Tennessee neighbors. On the frontier only gentlemen, for instance, fought duels with pistols; others used fists or knives. Jackson dressed elegantly, owned as many as 30,000 acres at one time, and kept a stable of fine horses. Although his followers referred to it as a "humble farm," the Hermitage, Jackson's home near Nashville, was as fine a mansion as Washington's Mount Vernon or Jefferson's Monticello. It had French wallpaper, and refreshments were served in imported cut glass.

Traits of Character

Without regard to education or fortune, Jackson had qualities that made him an outstanding President. A natural leader, he had been elected Tennessee's first congressman before he was thirty years old. In the War of 1812, he had been one of the few American generals who could get ill-trained militia to stand up to the British redcoats. His most obvious trait was tremendous force of will. It was related that he could instill a special desire to win even in his race horses. This characteristic was never stronger than when someone tried to defy him.

Jackson surely had no such trained mind as Jefferson or John Quincy Adams, and his political opinions were sometimes vague and



Marine Museum of the City of New York

A full-size statue of Andrew Jackson carved in wood as the figurehead of a ship. Even in his lifetime, Jackson was something of a mythical figure: the embodiment of the dream that any boy could rise from a log cabin to the White House.

changeable. Yet when questions came to him for decision, he showed quick and firm judgment. Like Washington, he habitually sought advice from several sources, and as President had a group of personal friends, called by his enemies the "kitchen cabinet," who advised him on all major decisions. "The character of his mind," wrote his friend Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, "was that of judgment, with a rapid and almost intuitive perception, followed by instant and decisive action."

To will power and decisiveness, Jackson added two other virtues—honesty and loyalty. On the Tennessee frontier, he was noted for his uprightness in business matters. There is no doubting his sincerity when he said of his actions as President, "I do precisely what I think just and right." His sense of personal loyalty to family, friends, and followers was very strong. So was his loyalty to the Union. He had served the United States in the Revolutionary War at the age of thirteen and had successfully defended New Orleans against a British attack in the War of 1812. When as President he faced a threat of disunion, he was willing to take up arms again to save the nation.

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

As the time for Jackson's inauguration approached, his admirers poured into Washington. Men slept five or six in a bed; when no more beds were to be had, they spent the night on sofas, billiard tables, and floors. Seized with a fear approaching panic, conservatives thought of Rome being overrun by hordes of Goths and Vandals. John Quincy Adams left Washington rather than attend the ceremony that might mean the end of the republic. A typical reaction was that of Daniel Webster, senator from Massachusetts:

Gen. J. will be here abt. 15 Feb.—

Nobody knows what he will do when he does come. . . .

My fear is stronger than my hope.

Although it was feared that Jackson would try to make political capital out of his military career, he refused a military pageant. Instead, he followed Jefferson's precedent of walking to the inaugural ceremony. His hands shook as he read a rather cautious and colorless inaugural address. What happened later, however, seemed to justify those who had gloomily predicted

that Jackson's election meant the reign of "King Mob." From the Capitol he rode on horseback to the White House, surrounded by a cheering throng. There, a reception had been prepared for invited guests and important officials only. There was no means, however, to prevent the crowd from pushing in. Chairs and china were broken; women fainted. The press around Jackson was so great that he had to be helped to escape through a back window. The crowd was induced to leave the presidential mansion only when big bowls of punch were placed on the lawn outside.

Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy Compared

Like the election of 1800 that brought Jefferson to the White House, Jackson's election in 1828 has been called a "revolution." In both cases control of the federal government had been captured by men who professed belief in the goodness and wisdom of the people. The two events are directly connected because the Jacksonians regarded themselves as the political heirs of Jefferson.

Jacksonian democracy reveals its debt to Jefferson in many ways. The Jacksonians professed and practiced many Jeffersonian principles: economy in government, laissez-faire, and limitation of the sphere of federal action to powers explicitly stated in the Constitution. The Jacksonians also agreed with Jefferson that farmers were "the chosen people of God." Jackson called himself "a plain cultivator of the soil." Martin Van Buren, his successor as President, wrote in an annual message to Congress that American prosperity was "to be looked for nowhere with such sure reliance as in the industry of the agriculturalist."

In spite of their points of similarity, however, there were important differences between Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy. Jefferson, for instance, had a great deal to do with



Jackson on his way to Washington for his first inauguration, as drawn by Howard Pyle, a modern artist. As Jackson traveled through the country by stagecoach to Washington, D.C., great crowds cheered their hero in every town. At a session of the Senate immediately before the inaugural ceremony, he was described as "the plainest dressed man in the chamber."

founding the movement that bears his name. He and his close friend Madison organized the Republican party and led it during their sixteen years in the presidency. Both men were political philosophers, and as such they defined a fairly clear-cut Republican creed. It is not easy to define Jackson's connection with Jacksonian democracy, but one thing is certain: he did not create it. Instead, the movement found him, thrust him into office, and made him, as we have seen, a heroic symbol.

Jacksonian democracy differed from its predecessor in that it was much more far-reaching, more diverse, and more difficult to define. It stemmed from many sources and took many forms, some of them totally unrelated to Andrew Jackson. It was also, at least in its professed philosophy, more democratic. Jeffersonian democracy had been government for the people, but hardly by them. Its leaders were liberal-minded aristocrats like Madison, Gallatin, and Jefferson himself. In Jefferson's time the general

feeling was that voting rights should be limited to men who had a stake in society, as shown by the possession of some property, usually land. By the time of Jackson most states, in the East as well as in the West, had adopted universal manhood suffrage. Thus a man became a full citizen not because of what he owned, but simply by virtue of being a man (a white man, that is). Among those who now gained the franchise were workmen in eastern cities. When Jefferson had talked of "the people," he generally meant "farmers"; now the term included "mechanics" and thus acquired an urban as well as a rural dimension.

Before Jackson's time, the voters expected public officials to use their own best judgment. Now the voters came to believe that officials should act according to the direct demands of the people. One way to make government respond more directly to popular will was to increase the number of elective offices. This development did not affect the federal government, but at the state and local level positions formerly appointive—such as judges, constables, and public surveyors—were thrown open to election. Terms of office were shortened so that the people's will could be known more frequently through the process of elections.

Professional Politicians; the "Spoils System"

As new voters gained the ballot and made demands on government, they needed political organization. This was supplied by the rising group of professional politicians. And with the professional politicians came the "spoils system," which is the practice of appointing men to office on the basis of party loyalty and party service. This was not an entirely new development. George Washington had often made support of Federalist principles a test of appointment to office. When Jefferson became President, he complained of the Federalist jobholders whom he inherited. "Few die," he said,

"and none resign." He therefore only gradually replaced Federalists with Republicans.

Jackson was the first President to make wholesale removal of jobholders in order to appoint his followers to office. He based his action on the Jeffersonian principle that there should be rotation in office. "More is lost," he wrote, "by the long continuance of men in office than is generally gained by their experience." Holding that special training for the civil service was unnecessary, he said in his first inaugural that "the duties of public officers are so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance." While the extent of Jackson's removal of men from office has been exaggerated, and while some of his removals were justified, his actions set a bad precedent. The spoils system lowered the efficiency and honesty of the federal government. A contemporary observer not unfriendly to Jackson noted that "office-seeking and office-getting was becoming a regular business, where impudence triumphed over worth."

Increase in Presidential Power

Another development that can be traced to Jackson personally was a great increase in the power of the presidential office. He had none of Jefferson's distrust of executive power. When he thought it necessary to carry out his policies or to crush opposition, he used the presidential office in new ways. Whereas all previous Presidents together had vetoed only nine bills passed by Congress, Jackson alone vetoed twelve. He was also the first President to use the "pocket veto." (See p. 119.)

Jefferson had found himself opposed by Chief Justice John Marshall and had come off second best. (See p. 196.) Not so Jackson. In vetoing a bill for recharter of the Bank of the United States, he went flatly against Marshall's opinion in *McCulloch v. Maryland*. When

Marshall gave a decision ordering the state of

QUESTION • Does the President have the constitutional right to ignore Supreme Court decisions? Did Jackson have the right to refuse to carry out Marshall's decision regarding the Cherokee Indians?

Georgia to return certain lands to the Cherokee Indians, Jackson refused to carry it out. "Marshall has made his decision," he is reported to have

said. "Now let him enforce it."

In struggles with opponents in Congress and out, Jackson appealed, more than any previous President, directly to the people. His veto messages, worked over by able newspaper editors, were designed more to persuade voters than congressmen. His great power as President thus came principally from wholehearted support by the majority of the people, who regarded him as one of their own.

Unhappy Lot of Negroes and Indians

Jacksonian democracy had nothing to offer two already oppressed minorities: the Negroes and the Indians. In the South, criticism of slavery became increasingly unusual, and those who made it suffered unpopularity and even physical danger. In the North, the Negro was now free, but usually as a second-class citizen. When states instituted manhood suffrage, the vote was often extended only to white men. The Missouri debates had shown that the slavery issue was so explosive that a policy was instituted that has been called "the great silence." Serious discussion of slavery as a national political issue was taboo. From 1836 to 1844 anti-slavery petitions to Congress were automatically "laid on the table"—that is to say, ignored. Abolitionist literature was often barred from the mails.

As to the Indians, the Jackson and Van Buren administrations ruthlessly pursued the policy begun by Jefferson: removal to territory west of the Mississippi. Twenty thousand

Cherokees, for example, were forced to move from their homes in Georgia to what is now Arkansas and Oklahoma. It is estimated that 4,000 of them died on the way because of starvation, disease, and exposure. By 1840 the few Indians still living east of the Mississippi had been herded into reservations, except for the Seminoles, some of whom managed to hold out in the swamps of Florida.

TARIFF AND NULLIFICATION CONTROVERSIES

The protective tariff of 1816 did not prove to be high enough to satisfy American manufacturers. In response to their demands, duties on imported manufactures (and on some raw materials as well) had been raised twice more, in 1824 and 1828. These laws aroused increasing resentment in the South, especially in South Carolina. That state was declining in prosperity as rich cotton lands farther west came into production. Instead of blaming natural causes, however, South Carolinians tended to attribute all their ills to the tariff. When the news of the Tariff of 1828 (called by its enemies the "Tariff of Abominations") reached Charleston, there was violent indignation. Flags were hung at half-mast; college students resolved to buy no northern goods; and there was talk of leaving the Union. But South Carolina held back from formal action against the Tariff of Abominations because John C. Calhoun, the leading politician of the state, had aligned himself with Andrew Jackson and had run for Vice-President on the Democratic Republican ticket in 1828. It was hoped that Calhoun's influence in the Jackson administration might result in tariff reduction.

Calhoun's Theory of Nullification

South Carolina did, however, make its opposition to the protective system known when in 1828 its legislature published a document known as the "South Carolina Exposition." Al-

though unsigned, it was generally known to have been written by Calhoun. As a strong nationalist, Calhoun had supported the Tariff of 1816, calling protection "a new most powerful cement" to hold the Union together. By 1828 he had changed his point of view to that generally held in his native state: a protective tariff was "unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust." But what could a state do to defend itself against a law passed by Congress and signed by the President? Calhoun's answer to this problem was to revive the theory of nullification that had been first suggested in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions written by Jefferson and Madison (see p. 185). He expanded the theory, however, to a degree that the original authors never dreamed of.

Calhoun's argument may be summarized as follows: The federal government was created by

a "compact" (contract) between the individual states, whereby each state gave up only such powers as were expressly granted in the Constitution (especially in Article I, Section 8). If the federal government exceeded these powers, it was no use to seek justice from the Supreme Court, because the court was itself a branch of the federal government. Instead, each individual state had the right to decide whether or not a federal law was constitutional. If the state decided in the negative, it might declare that law null and void within its own borders. Behind nullification lurked the threat to secede from the Union.

Webster-Hayne Debate

South Carolina leaders were anxious to win converts to this doctrine. They hoped for support not only in the South, but in the West,

Scene in the Senate as "Black Dan" Webster made his famous speech in reply to Hayne of South Carolina. Until 1860 the Senate met in this small semi-circular chamber; on this occasion the gallery was crowded with visitors eager to hear one of America's greatest orators.

Faneuil Hall, Boston



because both were agrarian sections and paid more for their manufactured goods as a result of the tariff. A major move toward getting western support was taken by Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina in a senatorial debate in 1829-1830. Senator Samuel A. Foot of Connecticut, representing eastern manufacturers worried about losing their labor supply, had suggested that a limit be put on land sales. When Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri angrily attacked Foot for promoting the interest of his section at the expense of the pioneer farmers of the West, Hayne supported him. In a wide-ranging, confused debate covering several days, northwestern and southern senators attempted to win Westerners to their side of various public questions. Eventually Hayne and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts engaged in a full scale discussion of nullification, with Vice-President Calhoun presiding.

Webster's political career had followed a course exactly opposite to that of Calhoun. Calhoun had been a War Hawk who had helped to bring the United States into the War of 1812; Webster had reflected the feeling of New England against the war, even to the extent of flirting with nullification of federal laws calling for raising troops. Where Calhoun had supported the nationalist legislation that followed the war, Webster had opposed it. By 1830 Calhoun had become a defender of states' rights, while Webster had come to favor a strong federal government which might promote the banking and manufacturing interests of the Northeast.

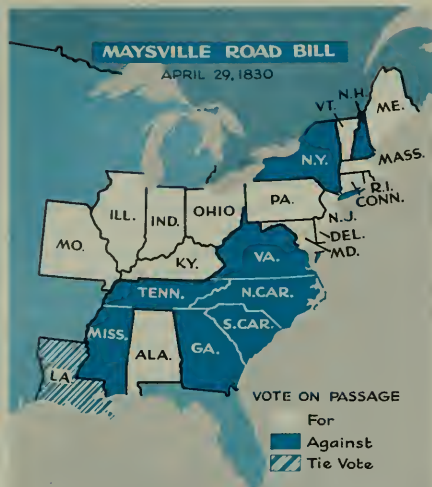
A man of imposing presence (it was said no man could be as great as Webster looked!), the senator from Massachusetts was also the greatest orator of his day. In his "Second Reply to Hayne," his greatest oration, he pointed out that in practice nullification could only mean the end of the Union. The Union, said Webster, was not a creature of the states: it was the peo-

ple's government. "We the people" had forged a national government for our own welfare and meant it to endure. The greatness of Webster's speech lay in his use of American patriotism to support the idea of a Constitution flexible enough to meet the needs of a growing country. His audience was not so much the Senate as the people at large. Thousands of copies of the speech were published, and hundreds of schoolboys for the next thirty years declaimed the closing paragraph depicting the blessings of union and horrors of disunion, with the famous final words: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

Jackson Versus Calhoun

Which side would Jackson take in the argument over nullification? Southerners hoped that the President, a slaveholder and planter himself, might favor a low tariff and nullification. Furthermore, Calhoun not only had run on the same ticket as Jackson in 1828, but had helped him choose his cabinet. The hopes of the states' rights men were raised by Jackson's first annual message to Congress in December 1829. In it the President warned Congress against "all encroachments upon the legitimate sphere of state sovereignty." He was especially opposed to the use of federal funds for roads and canals within state boundaries.

The nullifiers tried to get Jackson to show his hand at a dinner celebrating Jefferson's birthday, on April 13, 1830. Controlling the committee in charge of the banquet, they printed on the menu 24 toasts, many of them antitariff and pronullification. It was hoped that the President would fall into the mood of the occasion. But Jackson had no patience with the idea that a single state might evade the law. When his turn came, the old warrior asked everyone to rise, looked straight at Calhoun, and proposed a toast that echoed Webster: "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved."



Vote in Congress on a bill to have the federal government appropriate funds for a western road. The West was for it, the South generally opposed, the Northeast divided. What accounts for the sectional vote? Why did the Northeast divide?

Maysville Road Veto

The truth is that Jackson was both a nationalist and a strict constructionist. He believed in the absolute supremacy of the federal government within its sphere, but he wanted to limit that sphere. His strict constructionist point of view was shown only a fortnight after the Jefferson Day dinner by his veto of the Maysville Road bill. Congress had voted that the federal government should pay half the cost of building a turnpike from Maysville to Lexington, both of which lay within the state of Kentucky. Jackson vetoed the bill on much the same grounds as those on which Madison opposed the Bonus Bill of 1817: the Constitution did not grant the federal government power to spend the money on local transportation. Such activity was the province of the states.

"Peggy Eaton Affair"

The break between Jackson and Calhoun over nullification became personal as well as political. One point of disagreement involved a ridiculous dispute in Washington society. Mrs. Calhoun was one of the leaders of a feminine plot to exclude from official parties the wife of the Secretary of War, John H. Eaton. Jackson, whose own wife had been the object of unfair gossip, took the side of Mrs. Eaton. The extraordinary result of this "Peggy Eaton affair" was the creation of a serious division in Jackson's administration, based on whether the cabinet members and their wives were for or against the lady involved. Another reason why Jackson turned against his Vice-President was his discovery that Calhoun, while Secretary of War in Monroe's cabinet, had wanted to have Jackson censured for his actions in Florida. Believing Calhoun to be disloyal, Jackson broke with him entirely. The South Carolinian resigned from the vice-presidency in 1832.

The Nullification Crisis, 1832-1833

In 1832 Congress passed a new tariff law; the rates, while lower than those of 1828, were still high. South Carolina immediately called a special convention that voted overwhelmingly for an Ordinance of Nullification. This document declared that the federal tariff laws were "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this state, its officers, or its citizens." The ordinance went on to threaten secession. Meanwhile, the state government began to arm and drill a volunteer military force.

Jackson's response to this defiance of federal authority was to issue a "Proclamation to the People of South Carolina," in which he forcefully pointed out that nullification meant disunion and disunion meant treason. His duty as President was clear: he must enforce the law. Privately, he warned Senator Hayne that if there was bloodshed he would hang the first nullificationist he could get his hands on from

the first tree he could find. He had already strengthened military forces at Charleston.

The nullification crisis was settled by a compromise Jackson asked Congress to pass a Force Bill to give him the powers necessary to suppress disunion in South Carolina. If this passed, armed conflict might become unavoidable. While Congress debated this measure, Henry Clay presented a new tariff law. It provided for gradual scaling down of duties, over

QUESTION • Should Jackson have resisted all compromise and demanded that South Carolina back down completely, even if it meant bloodshed?

a ten-year period, to about the 1816 level. The bill was supported by both Calhoun, the nullifier, and Webster, the defender of the Union. The Tariff of 1833 and the Force Bill were passed the same day. Thus South Carolina's grievance about the tariff was removed, while at the same time its right to nullify was denied. South Carolina withdrew its Ordinance of Nullification and could claim it had won its major purpose—a lowering of the tariff.

Jackson agreed to the Compromise of 1833, yet he felt it was probably a mistake to give in at all. "The nullifiers in the South intend to blow up a storm on the slave question next," he wrote a friend. "This ought to be met." The next step, predicted Jackson, would be an attempt to form a southern confederacy bounded on the north by the Potomac River.

JACKSON'S WAR ON THE BANK

At the time that the question of nullification was coming to a head, Jackson was also engaged in a dramatic struggle with the Bank of the United States. Chartered in 1816, the "B.U.S.," as it was nicknamed, was a useful institution. Its functions were the same as those of the original Bank of the United States: it performed much of the financial business of the country

and controlled the supply of currency. (Be sure to refer back to pp. 160–161 for an explanation of these functions.)

Popular Feeling Against Banks and Monopolies

In spite of its usefulness, the Bank had many enemies who called it such names as "the Monster," "the Octopus," and "the Mammoth of the East." Opposition to it came from many sources and was motivated by different reasons. Banks chartered by state legislatures tended to be against the B.U.S. simply because it was a powerful competitor and because it undertook to prevent state banks from lending too freely or issuing too many bank notes. Another group, mostly farmers, were against all banks. They thought that the only "honest" currency was "hard money"—specie. It was the farmers, they felt, who created "real" wealth—corn, hogs, grain, cotton, tobacco—and who were somehow made to pay tribute to those who controlled "paper" wealth, such as mortgages and bank notes. "The hard earnings of the industrious farmer," said an Ohio newspaper, "are arrested [wrested] from his hands by a horde of swindlers employed by the banks."

Still another element in opposition to the Bank was a rising feeling against monopolies of every sort. Although the Bank of the United States was 80 per cent owned by private individuals, it enjoyed a monopoly of all government business. State legislatures granted somewhat similar monopolies to state banks, and also made monopoly grants to companies running toll bridges, steamship lines, and turnpikes. Feeling against this sort of exclusive privilege was especially strong in the East among workmen and businessmen. Monopolistic charters created, it was said, "an artificial inequality of wealth" and "forced the great body of working people" to "give over hope of ever acquiring any property." It should be noted that there was no element here of opposition to capitalism or to

free enterprise as such. It was just that no artificial barrier should stand in the way of a man's chance to acquire wealth by his own efforts. It was part of the creed of Jacksonian democracy that Americans should be allowed to give free rein to their "almost *universal ambition to get forward.*"

Jackson's Attitude Toward the B.U.S.

Jackson's personal attitude toward the B.U.S. was typical of many Westerners. He was a "hard money" man who distrusted all banks and all paper money. He had once lost almost his entire fortune and had gone into debt for twenty years because notes accepted from a Philadelphia merchant turned out to be worthless. The fact that the stock of the B.U.S. was mostly owned by wealthy men of the Northeast who had supported Adams for President surely did not endear the institution to Jackson. For the first three years of his presidency, however, he took no action against the Bank save to express the opinion that it had too much power.

Friends of the Bank finally drove Jackson into action. In the summer of 1832, Henry Clay presented to Congress a bill to give the Bank a new charter, even though the old one did not run out until 1836. Clay, a candidate for the presidency, hoped to embarrass Jackson by forcing him either to sign a bill he disliked or to veto it, and so give Clay an issue for the coming presidential campaign. The Recharter Bill passed Congress and was sent to the President. Shortly after it reached his desk, Jackson remarked to his closest advisor, "The Bank, Mr. Van Buren, is trying to kill me; but I will kill it." He vetoed the recharter and with his veto sent to Congress a message which showed little knowledge of banking but great understanding of why many people disliked the B.U.S. The Bank, wrote Jackson, favored the few against the many; it made "the rich richer and the potent more powerful." It was un-American, be-

cause more than a quarter of its valuable stock had been purchased by foreigners. It was an overextension of federal power, because the Constitution nowhere explicitly granted the federal government the right to establish a central bank. (For a discussion of the constitutional argument, see pp. 162-163.)

Election of 1832

In the presidential election of 1832 Jackson ran for a second term as the candidate of the Democratic party, a label that has remained unchanged to the present. Clay ran as a National Republican. There was also a strange third party in the field, the Anti-Masonic. This short-lived organization would now be forgotten except that it invented a new means of proposing candidates for the presidency. Previously, nominations had been made either by state legislatures or by a meeting of party members in Congress, the so-called caucus. In neither of these methods were the people consulted. The Anti-Masons conceived the idea of electing a national convention to choose their candidate. The procedure was immediately imitated by the Democrats and National Republicans, and has been followed ever since.

As Clay had hoped, Jackson's veto of the Recharter Bill made the Bank the principal issue of the 1832 campaign. The National Republicans accused Jackson of "appealing to the worst passions of the uninformed part of the people and endeavoring to stir up the poor against the rich." They produced sober arguments to show the value of the Bank to the nation's finances. But the bank issue boomeranged. It hurt Clay and helped Jackson, whose veto message had appeared to place him on the side of the mass of the people against foreigners and wealthy Easterners. The Democrats in any case did not answer National Republican arguments but traded on Old Hickory's great popularity. When the returns were counted, they

showed that Jackson had won an overwhelming victory. He received 687,000 popular votes to Clay's 530,000, and carried the electoral college by 219 votes to 49.

Destruction of the Bank

Jackson took his re-election as a demand from the people that he destroy the power of the B.U.S. at once, even though its charter did not run out until 1836. Although by law the funds of the federal government were deposited in the Bank, Jackson resolved to remove them. This required an order from the Secretary of the Treasury. Jackson had to ask two Secretaries of the Treasury to resign before he found a third who would give the order. Federal money was then gradually withdrawn from the vaults of the B.U.S. New funds from taxation and land sales were placed in strong state banks, called by Jackson's enemies "pet banks." The removal of the deposits caused a great outcry among Jackson's opponents, who branded the action as unconstitutional. It was, said one of them, the deed of "a detestable, ignorant, restless, vain and malignant tyrant." Nicholas Biddle, president of the Bank, claimed that removal of the deposits forced him to call in its loans and stop lending. Putting this policy into effect, Biddle created such a scarcity of credit that hundreds of businessmen were driven into bankruptcy and scores of banks failed. Factories closed down and workmen were discharged. At first all this was blamed on Jackson. Businessmen sent petitions urging him to save the country from depression. The President replied, "Go to Nicholas Biddle!" Eventually, Biddle's actions backfired: if one man at the head of a private institution could drive the country into depression, then Jackson was right in saying the Bank had too much power. Biddle backed down and started to lend freely again, and prosperity returned. In 1836 the the Bank charter expired. Jackson had won.



The Library of Congress

Jackson was a rich source for cartoons. Above, a cartoonist of the opposition shows him as a king, trampling on the Constitution and ruling by veto. Compare this cartoon with the cartoon on page 186.

The immediate effects of destroying the Bank of the United States were unfortunate. It had provided the country with a stable currency and had kept state banks from lending too freely. With the B.U.S. out of power, there was no check on local banks. Hundreds of new ones were chartered by state legislatures, and the number of bank notes quadrupled. The 1830's saw a period of feverish speculation in land. Land speculators had little trouble in persuading local banks to lend to them, and sales of public lands rose from 4 million acres in 1834 to 20 million acres in 1836. All this helped to cause a disastrous panic in 1837.

"Free Banking"

On the other hand, Jackson's victory over the Bank turned out to be a victory for free competitive enterprise. Before this time, state legislatures were in the habit of granting special charters to banks and business concerns, and these charters often carried with them monopoly rights and special privileges. Such arrangements denied opportunity to other businessmen. Jackson's success in the war on the Bank encouraged a movement toward "free banking" that had begun in New York State in 1829. Free bank laws permitted any individual or group of men to establish a state-chartered bank if certain regulations designed to protect the depositors and the public were observed. Comparable to free bank legislation were the general incorporation laws, designed to allow all businessmen to form corporations on the same terms. Legislatures continued, however, to pass special incorporation laws that gave privileges to favored companies.

The Laissez-Faire Philosophy

At the time of the Bank war, Jackson seemed to many conservatives to be leading the poor in an attack on the rich. Instead, he and like-minded politicians in the states were fighting to free business from government controls. The purpose was to allow business concerns to get ahead on the basis of real efficiency rather than on their ability to persuade legislators to grant them special favors.

Looking at Jackson's presidency as a whole, it should be noted that although he was a man of great personal force and dynamism, and although he greatly increased the power of the presidency, his essential mission was a negative one: to reduce the sphere of the central government. He put the "American system" in reverse. During his administration the level of the protective tariff was reduced, less and less federal money was spent on internal improve-

ments, and the central bank was destroyed. All this reflected the *laissez-faire* philosophy that the Jacksonians inherited from Thomas Jefferson. The role of government was simply "to restrain men from injuring each other" and "leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement."

RISE OF THE WHIGS

During Jackson's second term his opponents formed a new party called the Whigs, a loose coalition of National Republicans and a variety of other political factions opposed to Andrew Jackson. Taking their name from the English party that in the eighteenth century had resisted the power of the crown, they fought the extension of presidential power effected by "King Andrew I." Their principal leaders were Clay and Webster.

Election of 1836

As the election of 1836 approached, Jackson used his dominating position in the Democratic party to pick his successor. His choice fell upon Martin Van Buren, a New York politician whom his enemies called "the Fox," because he had a reputation of craftiness. His followers emphasized his humble birth in a small town by calling him "Old Kinderhook." Abbreviated to "O.K.," this nickname became part of American speech, meaning "all right." The Whigs were so divided they could not agree on a candidate. Instead, they nominated three "favorite sons" in the hope that among them they would get enough support to prevent Van Buren from getting a majority in the electoral college. If this happened, the election would be thrown into the Whig-controlled House of Representatives. But Jackson's continuing popularity and the general prosperity were enough to give the Democrats the election. Van Buren gained 170 electoral votes against 124 for all his opponents

combined, but his majority in the popular vote was small.

Panic of 1837

Hardly had Van Buren taken office when the country was hit by one of the most severe depressions in American history, the Panic of 1837. Banks and business houses closed their doors; thousands of farmers lost their farms through mortgage foreclosures; there was almost total unemployment among eastern factory workers; and work on canals and the new-fangled railroads almost ceased.

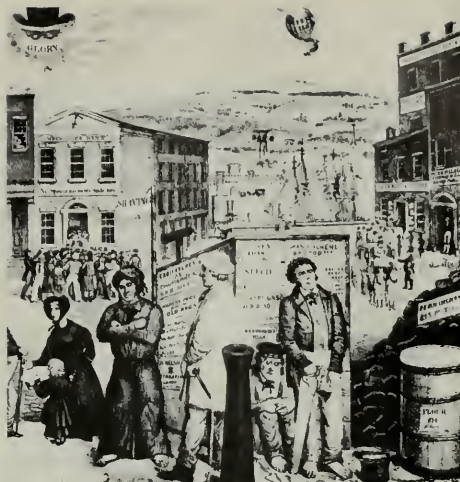
The depression had various causes. As has already been shown, the 1830's saw tremendous land speculation. Once Jackson had crushed the Bank of the United States, there was no means to discourage banks from lending money to speculators. At the same time, the states

QUESTION • A curious feature of the Panic of 1837 was that so much money disappeared from circulation that it was almost impossible to transact business except by barter. Why?

borrowed money through bond issues to build roads and canals. By 1835 the federal government had paid off the national debt. In 1836 it started distributing surplus funds to the states as loans. This encouraged still more reckless schemes for internal improvements. The indebtedness piled up by states and individual speculators outran the power of the country to produce wealth.

The Specie Circular

It was Jackson himself who pricked the speculative balloon by an executive order known as the Specie Circular, issued in 1836. It directed that all purchasers of public lands except actual settlers must pay for them in gold and silver coin rather than in state bank notes. This action created a demand for specie, which in turn put a strain on those banks that had



The New-York Historical Society

The panic of 1837 is depicted in this bitter cartoon. A widow and child beg, workers are barefoot, the manufactory is "closed for the present." Note the run on the bank and the auction on foreclosed property.

lent money too freely. To be sure of having specie on hand for depositors, stronger banks began to call in loans, and weaker banks failed.

Another push toward the depression came from Great Britain, whose banks at this time were the world's greatest source of credit. Attracted by high rates of interest in the United States, British investments in this country grew from \$66,000,000 in 1835 to \$174,000,000 in 1837. So much money was going abroad that the British became alarmed and began to call back their loans. In this way a vicious spiral began. A London bank would call on a New York bank for repayment of a loan. The New York bank might then call upon a New Orleans cotton broker for money owed, and the broker in turn on a cotton planter. The cotton planter, along with hundreds of others, would dump his cotton and slaves on an already glutted market to get cash. This in turn drove down the prices of cotton and slaves.

Partly because of the lack of a telegraph system or an Atlantic cable, the depression took some time to develop. When at last it hit, it almost completely paralyzed business. So many banks had failed that bank notes were not trusted; those who had gold and silver hoarded them. Consequently, stores closed, crops were unsold, and workers fought over the meager relief which city governments provided.

Independent Treasury System, 1840

Today, faced with such a crisis, the people would demand action by the federal government, and the federal government would take strong measures to try to pull the country out of the depression. In the 1830's, however, a depression was regarded as an act of nature like a drought or a hurricane. According to the prevailing *laissez-faire* philosophy, it was not the function of the federal government to do much about it. Van Buren emphasized this in his inaugural address in which he said that "all communities are apt to look to government for too much." His one great legislative effort was to try to get the federal government entirely out of banking. He shared Jackson's horror of a great central bank like the B.U.S., but depositing federal funds in the "pet banks" had also proved a failure. The money had often been used to promote speculation, and some of the banks had gone bankrupt in the panic.

Now Van Buren proposed the Independent Treasury System. According to this plan, the federal government would collect its taxes in gold and silver and store the specie in vaults throughout the country. Federal expenditures would also be paid in hard cash, this making federal credit literally "as good as gold." Inflation of bank notes would be discouraged because state banks would have to keep a sufficient reserve of specie to allow their depositors and those holding their notes to do business

with the government. The Independent Treasury Act was finally passed in 1840.

"Log Cabin" Campaign of 1840

The Whigs looked forward to the election of 1840 with confidence, even though they were so divided on major issues that they did not even try to write a platform. Their campaign plan was simple: nominate a military hero and attack Van Buren. For their presidential candidate they passed over the real leaders of the party and chose General William Henry Harrison, whose principal attraction was that he had fought Indians at the battle of Tippecanoe. Harrison was not expected to make speeches. "Let him," said Nicholas Biddle, "say not one single word about his principles, or his creed—let him say nothing—promise nothing. Let no committee, no convention, no town meeting ever extract from him a single word about what he thinks nor what he will do hereafter. Let the use of pen and ink be wholly forbidden."

When Democrats jeered that all Harrison was fit for was to sit in front of a log cabin, drink hard cider, and draw a pension, the Whigs found a means of turning the campaign into pure ballyhoo. Against Van Buren they used the very methods the Jacksonians had used against Adams in 1828. Harrison (born to wealth and social position) was pictured as a rude frontiersman, while Van Buren (born in humble circumstances) was portrayed as a champagne-drinking aristocrat with cologne-scented whiskers. There were "log cabin" campaign songs in honor of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," John Tyler being the vice-presidential candidate. Crowds of men and boys rolled a great ball from Kentucky to Baltimore as a symbol of the great majority that the Whigs were rolling up. Blaming Van Buren for the depression, the Whigs promised prosperity. They freely boasted that Van Buren's policy was "fifty cents a day and French soup; our policy two dollars a day

and roast beef." The result of this rollicking campaign was a decisive victory for Harrison, who gained 234 electoral votes to Van Buren's 60, although the popular vote was quite close.

The Effectiveness of Party Organizations

The election of 1840 was the first to illustrate what became one of the commonplaces of American politics: that when there is a depression, the party in power gets blamed and is likely to be punished at the polls. The election returns also revealed the effectiveness of the new organizations run by professional politicians.

Whereas twelve years before, when Jackson was elected President over Adams, only a little more than 50 per cent of the eligible voters went to the polls, now the proportion was nearly 80 per cent and in some states almost reached 90 per cent. Such a high turnout revealed that the party organization had penetrated every county, village, and city precinct and had set up machinery for informing the electorate and seeing that they came to the polling places. Another significant development was the way the parties, by avoiding or compromising dangerous issues and by forming truly national organizations, had managed to damp down sectionalism. There

Robert J. Walker, Politician

Robert J. Walker, governor of Mississippi, faced an unpleasant crisis. His state had issued bonds which were to have provided a network of toll roads. The bonds had been sold widely abroad, especially to English investors. Now, the roads were not built, the company set up to build them was bankrupt, the state treasury was empty, and the payment of the bonds was overdue. Walker's recommendation, which Mississippi followed, was to repudiate the bonds.

Mississippi, although conspicuous, was not alone with her dilemma. The whole country had been ruined by the Panic of 1837. In the South, cotton growers who could not pay their debts took mules, wagons, plows, and slaves west to Texas, then an independent republic into which the debts could not follow them. Court foreclosures on abandoned mortgaged lands were so numerous that sheriffs no longer filed reports on fruitless collection attempts. They just scrawled G.T.T.—"Gone to Texas"—on the records.

Walker's political career was not ruined by the bond fiasco. Elected to the United States Senate, he influenced tariff policies during the early 1840's. When James Polk became President, Walker joined his cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury. A believer in expansionism, Walker strongly supported the Mexican War and devised means for raising the monies necessary to conduct it.

After a period of private law practice, Walker became governor of the territory of Kansas. When the Civil War broke out, Walker sided with the Union, even though much of his adult life had been spent in Mississippi. President Lincoln sent him to England on an assignment, unimportant in itself, which threw him into contact with wealthy Britishers. He constituted Lincoln's reminder to the British of their losses from the Mississippi repudiation, the President's way to cut down English investment in Confederate bonds.

(Theme 1, see p. xi)



was hardly any difference in the way the three major sections regarded the candidates. Harrison gained 56 per cent of the popular vote in the Northwest, 55 per cent in the Northeast, and 54 per cent in the slave states.

The Whig Split:

John Tyler, President, 1841-1845

It was one thing for the Whigs to win an election and another for them to run the country. While they could get into office simply by forgetting differences and attacking Van Buren, once in power they had to answer the demands of some of their followers and deny those of others. Henry Clay, now in the Senate, had worked out a program of legislation designed to appeal to as many different interests as possible. The elderly Harrison was expected to be a figurehead, while Clay and Webster ran the party. But just a month after his inauguration Harrison, worn out by visits from hundreds of office-seekers, died of pneumonia.

So John Tyler of Virginia became the first Vice-President to be elevated to the country's highest office by the death of the elected President. Placed on the Whig ticket simply to

attract southern support, Tyler was opposed to most of what Clay and Webster stood for. While they were nationalists, the new President was a believer in states' rights, almost to the verge of nullification. He did, however, sign the first of several bills which went to make up Clay's program of legislation. The Tariff of 1842 pleased eastern manufacturers by raising the rates to about what they had been ten years earlier. A Pre-emption Act passed in 1841 satisfied the western demand that "squatters" on public lands have the first right to buy the lands they had settled. But when a bill re-establishing a Bank of the United States was presented to him, Tyler vetoed it. A second bill was drawn up to meet his objections, and he vetoed that too. In disgust at the President's actions, all the Whigs except Daniel Webster resigned from the cabinet, and Clay resigned from the Senate. Split wide apart, without a program or leadership, the Whigs lost heavily in the congressional elections of 1842. The Democrats now controlled the House, and the Whigs still controlled the Senate, while President Tyler was a man without a party. The federal government was at dead center.

Activities: Chapter 10

For Mastery and Review

1. Summarize the circumstances that led to a crisis between the North and South in 1820.
2. Explain Clay's American System.
3. How was John Quincy Adams elected President in 1824? What was his program as President? To what extent did it succeed or fail? Why?
4. Describe the campaign of 1828. Why was Jackson's victory important? Compare Jacksonian democracy and Jeffersonian democracy. What were some notable elements in Jackson's character?

5. Trace the development of the nullification controversy. Include: (a) the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions (see p. 185), (b) opposition to the War of 1812 (see p. 213), (c) the South Carolina Exposition, (d) the Webster-Hayne debate, (e) the Jefferson Day dinner, (f) the Maysville Road veto, (g) the South Carolina Ordinance of Nullification, (h) the Force Bill, and (i) the Compromise of 1833.

6. What is the "compact" theory of the Union? What is its ultimate threat? How did Webster

answer these arguments? In what did the effectiveness of Webster's arguments lie?

7. What had been the usefulness of the second Bank of the United States? What part did the Bank play in the election of 1832? Why did Jackson oppose the B.U.S.? Describe the contest between Nicholas Biddle and Jackson. What were the consequences of Jackson's victory over the B.U.S.?

8. Explain how Jackson's nationalism was revealed in the nullification crisis and his strict constructionist views in his veto of the Maysville Road Bill and the recharter of the Bank of the United States.

9. What sorts of people expected benefits from Jacksonian democracy? What sorts of people were left out entirely?

10. Describe the effects of the Panic of 1837. What were some of its causes? How did Van Buren react?

11. Who composed and led the Whig party? What brought about Van Buren's election in 1836? How did the Whigs campaign in 1840? Explain their failure when in control of government.

Unrolling the Map

1. On a map of the eastern half of the United States, show the states that were admitted to the Union between 1790 and 1840. Place within each its date of admission. Draw in the frontier lines of 1790, 1820, and 1840. By appropriate symbols, indicate the major products of each section as of 1840.

2. On an outline map of the United States, draw the lines of the Louisiana Purchase and those of the Missouri Compromise. By colors, indicate (a) the area opened to slavery by the Compromise, (b) the area closed, (c) the slave states, (d) the area closed to slavery by the Northwest Ordinance (1787), and (e) the other free states. Locate the Mason-Dixon Line and the "Great American Desert."

Who, What, and Why Important?

American System	election of 1828
Missouri Compromise	Old Hickory
election of 1824	Jacksonian democracy
John Quincy Adams	spoils system

South Carolina	Whig party
Exposition	election of 1836
Webster-Hayne debate	Panic of 1837
Compromise of 1833	Independent Treasury
B.U.S.	System
Martin Van Buren	election of 1840
Henry Clay	John Tyler
Nicholas Biddle	Tariff of 1842
general incorporation laws	Pre-emption Act

To Pursue the Matter

1. To get the feel of the financial panic that started with the Specie Circular of 1836, read "Flush Times" (pp. 161-164) and "The Panic of 1837" (pp. 167-169) in Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*.

2. Just who were the Jacksonians when Old Hickory was elected in 1828? This difficult question is discussed in a chapter entitled "Democracy and States' Rights" in Brown, *The Hero and the People: The Meaning of Jacksonian Democracy*.

3. Was Jackson more important as a man or as a myth? See Ward, *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age*.

4. How did Martin Van Buren reach the White House? See "The Rise of the Little Magician," *American Heritage*, June 1962, and Remini, *Martin Van Buren*.

5. By what means did John C. Calhoun defend the South and its "peculiar institution"? See Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It*, Chapter 4.

6. Exactly what was new about the way Jackson treated the presidential office? See Rossiter, *The American Presidency*; James, *Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President*; and Van Deusen, *Jacksonian Era*.

7. For discussion and investigation:

a) Does the breakup of the Republican Party in 1824 suggest that a dominant party needs an opposition force to hold it together?

b) Why did Clay throw his support to Adams in 1824? Would it have been wrong if he *had* bargained?

c) Just how democratic was Jacksonian democracy?

Chapter 11

The Spirit of Reform

*What a fertility of projects for
the salvation of the world!*

—RALPH WALDO EMERSON

The great democratic movement of which Jackson became a symbol expressed itself in demands for all sorts of reforms. Democracy implies that men can create a better society by their own efforts. Perhaps never before or since the Jacksonian period have Americans shown such optimistic faith in creating a better world. They thought themselves isolated once and for all from the troubles of Europe. They occupied an immense area, and had as yet hardly scratched its vast wealth. Foreign travelers remarked that while other nations were proud of their past, Americans boasted of their future. Foreigners also noticed that Americans seemed always in a hurry. They never sat still; they bolted their food; and many of them could hardly wait to create a heaven on earth. While there were reform movements with a record of solid achievement, there were others of the type which Theodore Roosevelt later called "the lunatic fringe." Ralph Waldo Emerson, called "the Sage of Concord," suggested the spirit of the age when he wrote:

What a fertility of projects for the salvation of the world! One apostle taught that all men should go to farming, and another that no man should buy or sell, that the use of money was the cardinal evil; another that the mischief was in our diet and that we eat and drink damnation. . . . Others assailed

particular vocations, as that of the lawyer, that of the merchant, of the manufacturer, of the clergyman, of the scholar. . . . With this din of opinion and debate there was a keener scrutiny of institutions and of domestic life than any we have known. . . .

This "keener scrutiny of institutions" largely stemmed from ideas expressed in the Declaration of Independence: that men should have equal rights to pursue happiness, that they have a duty to oppose tyranny and correct abuses. Emerson's neighbor, Henry Thoreau, made a one-man declaration of independence and went

QUESTION • "Know all men by these presents, that I, Henry Thoreau, do not wish to be regarded as a member of any incorporated society that I have not joined." Has one the right to repudiate the government?

off to live by himself on the shore of Walden Pond, where he could be free of the ties of society and seek truth in nature. Generally, though, the Americans in

search of a better world formed organizations to persuade others to their way of thinking.

Once launched, reform movements in the United States owed much of their effectiveness to the fact that Americans understood the techniques of democracy. They knew how to run meetings, select slates of officers, draw up pro-

grams, and get publicity. Reform groups often imitated the political parties and held national conventions.

ADVANCES IN EDUCATION

If our union is still to continue, to cheer the hopes and animate the efforts of the oppressed of every nation; if your fields are to be untrod by the hirelings of despotism; if long days of blessedness are to attend our country in her career of glory; if you would have the sun continue to shed his unclouded rays upon the face of freemen, then
EDUCATE ALL THE CHILDREN OF THE LAND.

This passionate demand for public schools, which appeared in a western magazine in 1836, was characteristic of the period. Although the idea of universal education went back as far as the Massachusetts General School Act of 1647, public schools had grown slowly. As late as 1834, 250,000 of the 400,000 children in Pennsylvania did not attend school. In the 1830's and 1840's, however, there was a tremendous increase in the number of tax-supported schools.

Public Schools

The drive for public education had several causes. (1) Americans fervently believed that the United States should be a land of equal opportunity, a land where "men start from an humble origin and can attain to the most elevated positions." To deny a child education was to close the door of opportunity.

(2) Once all men gained the right to vote, it was obvious that all should be educated. To leave large numbers of voters unable to read or

QUESTION • What is the connection between public education and democracy?

write was to invite trouble, since true democracy demanded an informed electorate. Furthermore, once granted the franchise, the people used their new power to vote themselves schools.

(3) Various able men devoted themselves to the cause of education. In Pennsylvania, for instance, the rising young politician Thaddeus Stevens made his reputation by eloquent speeches on behalf of free schools. In Massachusetts, Horace Mann gave up a promising political career to take a poorly paid job as secretary of the state board of education. From this post Mann successfully campaigned for a number of improvements such as establishing normal schools to train teachers and dividing students into grades, with progress from one to another.

Difficulties in Establishing Public Education

The establishment of public schools was not achieved without a fight. "Why should I be taxed," ran a common opposition argument, "to educate other people's children?" Communities that declared themselves in favor of public schools were nevertheless often unwilling to raise the necessary money through taxation. Yet the arguments in favor of public schools were so convincing that by 1850 most of the free states provided free elementary education. Public schools were far less common in the South, where the plantation owners dominated society and where there were fewer cities and towns.

It was one thing to pass laws establishing schools and another to make them good. Many one-room schoolhouses were so primitive they lacked glass in the windows. Most instruction was given by untrained teachers who were paid no more than unskilled laborers. Teaching was often done by teen-age boys earning money to go to college, by young women waiting for husbands, or by men who had failed in other professions.

Many people, especially on the frontier, saw no reason why children should learn more than the "three R's." Indeed, there was distrust of too much "book learning," which is illustrated

by the following quotation from an Indiana newspaper:

... a dead Indian is much more to the point than a dead language. Preachers are all right: we want them in our pulpits. But a lot of training is by no means essential to good preaching. And anyway we don't have to train them here. When we want trained ones we can send back East for them. ... And as for teachers—can't any young lawyer or preacher teach the boys and girls all they need to know? Give them a little spelling, a little ciphering, and a little handwriting, with a liberal sprinkling of the rod, and they'll have more than their fathers had before them. Did Tippecanoe Harrison graduate from a seminary? Did Old Hickory Jackson know any Latin or Greek when he swung the British agents in Florida higher than Haman?

With such views widespread, it is not surprising that in the early nineteenth century secondary education was supplied not by public schools, but by private academies and seminaries supported by fees and gifts. In 1824, however, Massachusetts required all towns with 500 or more families to establish tax-supported high schools. By 1860 the other free states had generally followed suit and free high schools had displaced the private academies, although only a minority of boys and girls attended them.

Noah Webster and the American Language

Many American leaders saw in public schools a means of promoting national spirit. The man who did the most in this direction was Noah Webster, author of the famous dictionaries that bore his name. Webster, who began his career during the Revolutionary War as a school-teacher, devoted his life to creating a uniform American speech. "A national language," he wrote, "is a band of national union." Even more influential than his dictionary was his *American Spelling Book*. By 1837, sales of this book had

reached the amazing total of 15,000,000 copies. In 1880 the publishers reported:

It has the largest sale of any book in the world except the Bible. We sell a million copies a year, and we have been selling it at that rate for forty years. We sell them in cases of 72 dozen, and they are bought by all the large dry goods and supply houses, and furnished by them to every crossroads store.

So it was that a New England storekeeper boasted that he sold: "Everything: whiskey, molasses, calicoes, spelling books, and patent gridirons."

The American brand of English has remained remarkably uniform. There are far greater differences between dialects spoken today in the British Isles than in the whole United States, which has more than thirty-five times the area. This uniformity of speech is in part a product of public education, but probably results still more from the fact that the American population has been continuously on the move. There has not been time for people to settle down and develop extreme local peculiarities in ways of speaking.

Higher Education

Jefferson devoted his last years to the University of Virginia, opened in 1825, where all students were free to take any course offered, and where the curriculum was broader than in other colleges. Virginia was not widely imitated, but during the Jacksonian period several pioneer institutions that greatly influenced American education were founded. The Troy Female Seminary in Troy, New York, and Mt. Holyoke College in South Hadley, Massachusetts, were the first institutions of higher education established solely for women. Oberlin College, in Ohio, was the first coeducational college, as well as one of the first to admit Negro students. The example of North Carolina in opening a

state university in 1795 was widely imitated. Thus after Michigan was admitted to the Union in 1827, one of the first acts of the legislature was to charter the University of Michigan.

The Jacksonian period saw the first large-scale effort to provide adult education. This was the Lyceum movement which began in Massachusetts. A Lyceum was a voluntary organiza-

tion supported by small membership fees and designed to promote "the improvement of its members in useful knowledge." The various Lyceums formed a loose federation. They provided libraries, small scientific museums, discussion groups, and lectures. To their lecture platforms came the most eminent men of the day.

Elizabeth Peabody, Schoolteacher

The Peabody sisters were at the center of the nineteenth-century educational scene. Mary married Horace Mann; Sophia, Nathaniel Hawthorne; but the third, Elizabeth, remained a spinster and a dedicated champion of every cause that excited intellectual New England during her long adult lifetime. An editor, publisher, bookseller, and confidante of the Concord literary group, she was the first woman lecturer in the United States. But she was, first, a schoolteacher.

A child when she began to teach in her mother's home in Salem, Massachusetts, she started her own school at sixteen. These "schools" for small children specialized in Latin, arithmetic, geography, and other "first things." Uneven in quality, they were necessary in a day when publicly supported education had not yet become almost universal through the United States. Early in the 1830's Miss Peabody could command about one hundred dollars per pupil per year, from which she had to pay schoolroom rent. She and her sister, Mary, could teach only a dozen or so pupils between them, however; and they could not hope to teach older boys, this being a matter for men.

Later, in the mid-1830's in Boston, Elizabeth was an assistant in a school run by Bronson Alcott. The unique Temple School, preserved in her *Record of a School* (1835), was a failure, but it attracted a great deal of attention. Mr. Alcott (Louisa May Alcott's father) tried to teach his pupils by "conversing with them" in his own version of the Socratic method of questioning. He led them in examinations of their souls, their "aspirations," and the discussion of such questions as, "Is it worthwhile to try to bear the cold?" Despite the topics of discussion, the Alcott method foreshadowed the "progressive" school in its attempt to involve the students in learning by gearing the subject matter to their own immediate interests.

Elizabeth Peabody and Mary Mann were primarily responsible for the kindergarten movement in the United States. They started the first such English-speaking school in Boston in 1860, and Miss Peabody—the "grandmother of kindergartens"—continued to champion the movement until her death at ninety in 1894.

(Theme 6, see p. xii)



CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS

In 1820 the Reverend Sydney Smith, writing in a British magazine, sneered at the low cultural level of the Americans and the lack of artistic and scientific achievement in the United States:

The Americans are a brave, industrious, and acute people; but they have hitherto given no indication of genius. During the thirty or forty years of their independence, they have done absolutely nothing for the Sciences, for the Arts, for Literature, or even for the statesman-like studies of Politics and Political Economy. . . . In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? Or goes to an American play? Or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians and surgeons? What new substances have their chemists yet discovered? What old ones have they analysed?

Americans themselves had a sense of inferiority. Men could not write poetry without "a legendary past nor a poetic present," remarked one young scholar. "Large mountains, extensive prairies, tall cataracts, long rivers [and] millions of dirty acres" did not seem suitable subjects for literature. When James Fenimore Cooper wrote his first novel, he set the scene in England and tried to attract readers by promoting the rumor that he was "a prominent Englishman." And yet almost as if in answer to Sydney Smith's taunt, the second quarter of the nineteenth century saw American authors writing books that are still read on both sides of the Atlantic and American scientists making important discoveries. It was during this period that the first American masters of fiction began to write about the American scene. Washington Irving dealt with life and legend in the Hudson River Valley, creating the immortal Rip Van Winkle. Generations of boys, not only in America but in France and England, have pretended to be Indian warriors or wilderness scouts as a result of Cooper's novels about the New York frontier. Nathaniel Hawthorne dealt critically with the Puritan tradition of his

native New England. Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* gave a fascinating account of the business of whaling, while portraying the loneliness and terror of man's struggle with the elements and with himself.

Poets, Essayists, and the American Scene

Like the novelists, American poets began to look at the American scene. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow immortalized the Indian hero Hiawatha; John Greenleaf Whittier in "Snow-bound" described winter on a New England farm; William Cullen Bryant in "To a Water-fowl" gave a haunting picture of sunset over a lonely marsh. The finest verses of all, however, were those of Edgar Allan Poe, about a magical world no man has ever seen. Of equal rank with the novelists and poets were two essayists—Emerson and Thoreau. Ralph Waldo Emerson called on Americans to trust themselves and break the bonds of custom or inherited prejudice. "Whoso would be a man," said Emerson, "must be a nonconformist." His friend Henry Thoreau absented himself from the daily life in the village to put these principles into practice. In *Walden* he described how he declared his independence from society and lived by his own physical and spiritual resources.

Many American writers took active part in reform movements. Whittier, Longfellow, and James Russell Lowell joined the crusade against slavery. Thoreau went to jail rather than pay taxes to support the Mexican War, and Lowell expressed his detestation of the war in dialect verses, "The Biglow Papers." Cooper, Hawthorne, and Bryant were active supporters of Jacksonian democracy.

Scientific Advances

About the same time as this first flowering of American literature, Americans also won fame in the field of science. Asa Gray's study of American plant life was so thorough and systematic that he was ranked as one of the

greatest botanists of the age. Joseph Henry was one of the inventors of the electromagnetic motor. He was also the first director of the Smithsonian Institution, established by Congress in 1846 as a result of the gift of over \$500,000 to the United States by James Smithson, an Englishman. Under Henry's direction, the Smithsonian Institution conducted research in meteorology which helped to lay the basis for the scientific prediction of weather.

Another who worked in a similar field was Matthew Maury, an officer of the United States Navy. After study of thousands of ships' logs, Maury developed tables that predicted winds and ocean tides at different seasons and gave directions as to shortest travel time. The tables were so accurate that the average time from New York to San Francisco by sailing ship was reduced from 180 to 133 days. His findings so aided navigation everywhere that he was honored by thirteen foreign nations. Maury was also one of the first men to make a systematic study of the ocean bottom, and he selected the route for the first transatlantic cable. He is regarded as the founder of the science of oceanography.

One of the most important events in the history of medicine occurred in the United States with the first use of ether as an anesthetic during operations. This discovery was made independently by Dr. Crawford W. Long of Georgia in 1842 and Dr. W. T. G. Morton of Boston in 1846.

The Arts

In the visual arts there was no such achievement as in literature and science, although American artists were eager to produce works which should rival those of Europe. Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, began his career as a painter who wanted to "rival the genius of a Raphael, a Michelangelo, a Titian," in order to refute the charge that America "has produced no men of genius." However, great sculptors and painters did not appear. American artists had little opportunity for the skilled train-

ing available abroad and were still dominated by European styles. For example, American sculptors were so influenced by the past that they clothed Washington and Jackson in Roman togas. Neither the public as a whole nor wealthy patrons demanded works of art. Some good work was done in painting, however, by artists who, like the novelists, turned their attention to the American scene. Such an artist was George C. Bingham, who was at his best when he painted the life he had seen on the Missouri frontier as a boy. A group of landscape painters in the East were known as the "Hudson River School" because of their romantic paintings of the Catskill Mountains at the point where they border the Hudson.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, American architects continued to use classical models developed in the Renaissance. In New England, Charles Bulfinch, influenced by English models, developed a distinctive "Federal" style that can be seen in the Massachusetts State House, the largest building in America at the time it was designed. Bulfinch later worked for fourteen years in Washington and helped to complete the design of the national Capitol. He had wide influence, especially in New England, but the style that most appealed to the American taste was known as "Greek Revival." Inspired in part by the enthusiasm for the Greeks' revolt against their Turkish oppressors, Greek Revival style was based on that of ancient temples, but was freely adapted to modern needs. It was used both in public buildings, of which the most famous is Jefferson's Virginia State Capitol, and in domestic architecture. It was often successful. "A Greek Revival town," remarks a historian of American architecture, "is a fine and handsome assembly of stately colonnades and well-turned building masses."

By the middle of the nineteenth century, American architects unfortunately abandoned the simplicity and clean lines of the Federal and Greek Revival styles and attempted to



The New York Public Library

During the Jacksonian period the "Greek Revival" style, shown above, was at the height of its popularity. More original, and peculiar to the United States, were the "octagon houses," which gave maximum space and light.



imitate the Gothic style of the Middle Ages. Characterized by elaborate detail, pointed windows, and colored glass, this style was originally developed for churches and stone construction. When adapted to other purposes and to wooden buildings, it was often ridiculous. Among the few signs of real originality in American architecture were the "octagon houses," designed to give maximum light and space with a minimum of wall space and supporting rafters.

The finest American artistry did not appear so much in formal works of art as in practical objects. Some of these were, to use a phrase of Emerson's, "beautiful necessities"—especially the great sailing ships with their clean lines, gleaming spars, and carved figureheads.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

By 1850 nearly all adult white men had gained the right to vote, but in no state were women granted any active part in politics. They were second-class citizens in other ways. Ac-

cording to the English common law that America inherited, "the husband and wife are one and that one is the husband." When a woman married, her property passed to her husband, and children were solely under his authority. Except for the ill-paid occupation of teaching, professions were closed to women, as were most institutions of higher learning. Women were also bound by exaggerated standards of propriety, with rigid taboos about dress and behavior. The ill health and fainting spells that plagued the lives of many women were partly brought on by tight, heavy clothes.

Yet foreigners noted the deference paid to women in America and their relative freedom as compared with European women. Particularly in the West, women had a high station. The life of a frontier woman was one of endless toil, but she was a full partner in the work of settlement. In frontier regions there was such a surplus of men that women had a high scarcity value. "Guess my husband's got to look after me, and make himself agreeable to me," said a western girl. "If he don't, there's plenty will." Meanwhile, in the East, the new careers for women as factory hands and schoolteachers helped to free them from restraints and dependence. Many women of wealthy or professional men's families became widely read in spite of lack of opportunity for formal education, and a women's magazine, *Godey's Lady's Book*, achieved a circulation of 150,000. Since American businessmen tended to immerse themselves in work, wealthy women tended to dominate the culture of the large cities. A New York editor remarked:

It is the women who regulate the style of living, dispense hospitalities, exclusively manage society, control clergymen and churches, regulate the schemes of benevolence, patronize and influence the Arts, and pronounce upon Operas, and it is the women . . . who exercise the ultimate control over the Press.

Seneca Falls Convention, 1848

An obvious corollary to the Jacksonian urge to exalt the common man was a movement to raise the status of women. This reached nationwide proportions. In 1848 a women's convention at Seneca Falls, New York, drew up a "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions" echoing the Declaration of Independence. Starting with the "self-evident truth" that "all men and women are created equal," the Seneca Falls declaration went on to list grievances of women against men and to demand full equality in every aspect of life.

The women's rights movement was often received with anger and ridicule. Feminists were denied the right to speak in public and were denounced as shameless or irreligious. Most politicians were indifferent or hostile, one of the exceptions being a young Whig in the frontier state of Illinois—Abraham Lincoln. The immediate results of the feminist movement were slight. Women did not gain the vote or admission to professions; most colleges continued to exclude them. They did, however, gain relief from some of their worst legal handicaps. Many states passed laws, for instance, permitting them to retain and manage their property after marriage.

THE ANTISLAVERY CRUSADE

The most glaring violation of democratic principles in the United States was, of course, Negro slavery. How could America claim to be "the land of the free" when human beings were bought and sold like cattle? The question became increasingly acute by 1840, as most Latin American countries had abolished slavery, and Great Britain had banned it in her West Indian possessions. It is not surprising that the upsurge of democratic feeling in the Jacksonian period was accompanied by an increase in anti-slavery agitation.

The organized movement to abolish slavery began among religious groups. As early as 1776 the Quakers, in the South as well as in the North, had agreed to hold no more slaves. In Virginia in 1789 the Baptists recommended "every legal measure to extirpate this horrid

QUESTION • When an individual sees injustice being done, what should he do?

evil from the land." The abolition movement at first made many converts in the South. Among its early leaders were Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey man who spent most of his active career organizing antislavery societies in southern communities, and James G. Birney, an Alabama lawyer and cotton planter, who freed his own slaves and attempted to get other owners to do the same. As late as 1831 the Virginia legislature seriously debated a bill to abolish slavery in the state. Generally, however, the increasing profitability of cotton growing and the fear of a Negro insurrection if slaves were freed tended to stifle abolitionism in the South.

Garrison and Other Abolitionists

On January 1, 1831, appeared the first edition of *The Liberator*, an antislavery newspaper edited by William Lloyd Garrison and published in Boston. Garrison's views were extreme for the time and his language violent. He denounced both Northerners who refused to be shocked by slavery and Southerners who held slaves. He demanded immediate freedom for the Negroes without compensation for the owners, whom he regarded as "not . . . within the pale of Christianity, of Republicanism, of humanity." He damned the Constitution as "a league with death and a covenant with Hell" because it protected slavery. Garrison and his followers made no attempt to win their way by political action and were willing to

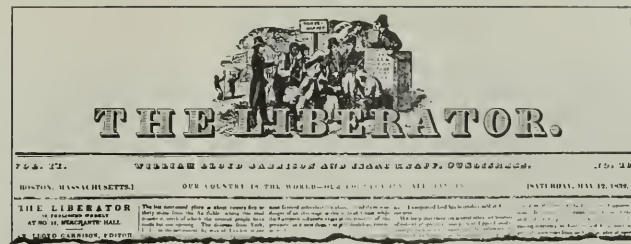
divide the Union to rid the free states of the shame of being tied to the slave states.

Many abolitionists refused to follow Garrison, who had a talent for antagonizing even his own supporters. A group who proposed to abolish slavery by the use of the ballot box founded the Liberty party. It nominated James Q. Birney for the presidency in 1840 and 1844, winning only a few thousand votes. Another leader who favored political activity was Frederick Douglass, a self-educated former slave, who edited an abolitionist newspaper, *The North Star*. The title suggests an important abolitionist activity, the "Underground Railroad." This secret organization, which had stations running through the northern states to Canada, brought slaves out of the South and set them free. Its agents not only took care of slaves after they had come North, but risked their lives to go into the slave states and lead Negroes to freedom. One of the most successful of these was Harriet Tubman, the "Negro Moses," who had herself been born in slavery. After making her own escape, she returned to the South again and again, liberating over three hundred of her people and always escaping arrest, even though eventually a reward of \$40,000 was promised for her capture.

Southern Reaction to the Abolition Movement

It was almost certainly a mere coincidence that the first publication of *The Liberator* coincided with a slave insurrection in Virginia in 1831, led by Nat Turner, a Negro preacher who believed himself divinely inspired to lead his people from bondage. Turner's rebellion was easily quelled after about sixty whites had been killed, but it caused panic in the South. Belief that Turner had been inspired by abolitionist propaganda ended the antislavery movement in the South. From that time on, Southerners who favored abolition of slavery usually re-

Abolitionism



The Library of Congress

Part of the front page of one of the early issues of William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator*, a leading abolitionist paper. Note the slogan in the masthead line: "Our Country is the World — Our Countrymen, All Mankind." Harriet Tubman (left) was a leading Underground Railroad worker, who led more than 300 slaves to freedom, including her own mother in 1857.



John C. Calhoun (right) is here depicted as a modern Joshua commanding the sun (a printing press) to stand still "so that the Nation of Carolina may continue to hold Negroes . . . till the day of Judgment." This refers to Calhoun's efforts to muzzle the abolitionist press and to keep abolitionist literature out of the mails.

mained silent or left home. One of the few who did not flee was Cassius Marcellus Clay, a distant relative of Henry Clay, who edited abolitionist newspapers in Kentucky. A man of fantastic pugnacity who habitually went armed with two pistols and a bowie knife, Clay once fortified his office with two cannon and a keg of gunpowder set to go off. When he was absent one day, however, a mob seized his presses and sent them across the Ohio River to Cincinnati.

The abolitionist attacks helped to drive Southerners toward an elaborate defense of their "peculiar institution" that will be described in a later chapter (see pp. 331-334). The South began to demand the suppression of abolitionist propaganda as a price of remaining in the Union. Southern postmasters refused to deliver abolitionist newspapers, and in 1835 a bill to bar abolitionist literature from the mails passed the Senate, although it finally was abandoned. In 1836, under southern pressure, the House of Representatives passed a "gag rule" providing that all abolitionist petitions should be shelved without debate.

Despite the excitement it aroused, the anti-slavery movement at first affected politics very little. The Missouri Compromise had supposedly averted civil war by fixing for all time the boundary between slave and free territory. No prominent politician and neither major party proposed to endanger the Union by touching slavery where it was already protected by law.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Wherever it appeared, the industrial revolution ultimately raised the standard of living of the mass of the people by creating cheaper and more abundant goods. In several ways, however, an immediate result was to make life more difficult for workingmen:

(1) When machines took over the work of hand tools, many skilled craftsmen lost their

jobs or were reduced to the condition of unskilled labor.

(2) There was enjoyment in skilled work and pride in good handicraft. But tending machines was monotonous, and the worker gained little sense that the product was his own. Furthermore, the handicraftsman worked at his own pace, the factory worker at a speed set by the machine.

(3) While the craftsman worked long hours, he was often at liberty to begin and end the day at the time he himself chose. If he had money in hand, and wanted to take a day off and go fishing, that was his affair. But in factories the hours were rigidly fixed by the employer, with fines or discharge as the penalty for lateness or absence.

(4) In the small-community society before the industrial revolution, the laborer often owned his own cottage, with a garden to supplement his income and help tide him over periods of unemployment. In the big cities created by the industrial revolution, workers were crowded into dingy, rented tenements. Periods of unemployment were more frequent than before; when they came, workers had less to fall back on.

(5) In the small shops of the earlier age, owner and employee labored side by side. They both wore homespun clothes and leather aprons. A laborer might set up in business for himself, or marry the employer's daughter. The industrial revolution broke down this face-to-face relationship between employers and workers. Under the factory system, an employer often knew none of his workmen, and dealt with them entirely through superintendents and foremen. Owners and workers now lived in different sections of town and moved in different social circles.

In brief, workers lost *security*—security of employment, security of life in small communities, and security of personal contact with employers.

Trade Societies

In such circumstances workers everywhere have organized into labor unions. In the United States the most powerful of the early unions, however, were organizations not of factory workers but of skilled craftsmen—carpenters, shoemakers, printers, and so forth. By 1830 most of the major crafts had formed what were known as "trade societies" in all the major northeastern cities. The dues collected by these trade societies paid for the funeral expenses of members and fed them and their families during strikes. The trade societies demanded higher wages, shorter hours, and the "closed shop," which meant that the employer could hire only union members.

The different crafts joined together to form city-wide federations for combined action. In 1835 the Philadelphia trade societies called a city-wide strike to force the employers to grant them a 10-hour day. The slogan of the Philadelphia workers was "6 to 6"—a working day running from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M., with an hour out for breakfast and an hour out for lunch. The trade societies from six cities also formed a National Trades Union, which was designed to promote the organization of all workers and claimed a membership of 300,000.

Factory workers were not so successful in forming unions as craftsmen. Since they were unskilled, strikes among them were not so effective as among craftsmen; the employers could break a strike simply by hiring other men. Many textile workers, especially in New England, were country girls who had no intention of remaining in the factories all their lives and so were less interested in forming permanent organizations. To these young women from rocky farms, where little money and long hours were the rule, \$2 a week was good pay and a 12- or 13-hour day not unreasonable. Many of the early factory owners, furthermore, made a real effort to provide their working girls with edu-

cational and recreational opportunities. In spite of all this, some of the girl workers organized. The first women's strike occurred in 1824 among the weavers of Pawtucket, Rhode Island. In 1833 there appeared a union of factory girls in Lynn, Massachusetts, followed shortly by a "Factory Girls' Association" designed to bring in all women workers. Although these early unions were generally ineffective, they were the first attempts at large-scale women's organizations in American history.

Labor's Demands

Not only did the unions make obvious demands regarding hours and wages, they also threw their weight behind many of the reforms of the Jacksonian period. No people were more interested in the founding of public schools than the trade societies. They were no less insistent than western frontiersmen in demanding cheap public land on easy terms. They were in the forefront of the movement to abolish imprisonment for debt. In 1830 it was estimated that 75,000 people a year were thrown into common jails for unpaid debts, often of trifling amounts. Another labor demand was for "mechanics' lien laws," which would require that the unpaid wages of workmen be the first claim on the assets of a bankrupt employer. Without such protection, workers were often left holding the bag.

In order to obtain their demands, laborers went into politics. In 1829 a Workingmen's party put up candidates for local offices in New York City and polled 6,000 out of 20,000 votes. This party and others like it did not last long. Radical reformers tried to use them to promote a re-division of property ownership or to agitate for more liberal divorce laws, thus making the workmen seem more revolutionary than they really were.

These parties were also torn apart by squabbles between radicals and moderates, and



The work in early factories required little skill. Long hours were the rule; daybreak to nightfall was the usual working day. Children, more nimble and more easily manageable, often replaced adults.

between representatives of different unions. Finally, professional politicians moved in and lured many workers into the major parties by including some of labor's demands in their platforms. The Democrats were especially successful in attracting workingmen to the support of Andrew Jackson. Van Buren revealed his debt to the labor vote when in 1840 he established a 10-hour day on all work done for the federal government, such as the construction of warships and lighthouses.

Collapse of the Labor Movement

The early trade societies faced severe legal handicaps because state courts tended to apply the English common law doctrine that forbade conspiracies in restraint of trade. In a case against shoemakers in Philadelphia, a Pennsylvania court ruled in 1806 that a combination of workingmen to force employers to raise wages was a criminal conspiracy punishable by fines or imprisonment. This became a precedent followed in other states. Thus in 1835, employers successfully prosecuted another group of shoemakers, this time in Geneva, New York. In deciding that the workers were guilty of conspiracy because their trade society demanded

that they be paid at least a dollar to make a pair of shoes, the court said:

Competition is the life of trade. If the defendants cannot make coarse boots for less than one dollar per pair, let them refuse to do so; but let them not directly or indirectly undertake to say that others shall not do the same work for less price.

Repeated efforts by trade union lawyers to persuade judges that trade societies had a legal right to carry on collective action against employers were finally rewarded in 1842 in the case of Commonwealth v. Hunt. Here the highest court of Massachusetts held that a peaceful attempt by a trade society to improve the lot of its members through organized pressure such as a strike or a boycott might be legal if the methods employed were peaceful. But this rather cautious tolerance of trade societies through the principle of "virtuous ends pursued by virtuous means" came too late to help most of the early trade societies. The Panic of 1837 had already caused their collapse. Unemployment was so widespread that in order to avoid starvation workers accepted whatever wages were offered. The closed shop could not be enforced; union treasuries were emptied. It was nearly a generation before labor again tried to organize on a large scale. The labor movement of the Jacksonian period was not, however, wholly unsuccessful in securing permanent gains for workingmen. Labor influence had been a major force in promoting public schools and in making it easier for settlers to acquire public lands. Several states passed rather ineffective laws limiting the workday to 10 hours. Many states passed mechanics' lien laws, and imprisonment for debt was almost universally abandoned.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

In addition to the reform movements designed to uplift the underprivileged groups—

Negroes, women, laborers—there were others designed to rid the country of special abuses. The most powerful of such movements was the temperance crusade which aimed to moderate or abolish the use of liquor. Its early leaders were mostly clergymen interested in doing away with the evils which they felt heavy drinking encouraged. Like other reform groups, temperance groups formed a national organization, the United States Temperance Union, founded in 1833. They started newspapers and published hundreds of thousands of pamphlets. Millions of heavy drinkers were persuaded to “take the pledge,” i.e., promise to give up drinking. Temperance propaganda even included a “Cold Water Army” of children with uniforms and marching songs. The revivalist spirit of the temperance movement is revealed by a stanza from one of its songs, entitled “One More Drink”:

Stay, mortal, stay! nor heedless thus
 Thy sure destruction seal;
 Within that cup there lurks a curse,
 Which all who drink shall feel.
 Disease and death forever nigh,
 Stand ready at the door,
 And eager wait to hear the cry—
 “O give me one glass more!”

In addition to trying to persuade people not to drink, temperance societies demanded laws to put an end to the sale of liquor, and were able to convince many politicians of the justice of their cause. Abraham Lincoln, for instance, favored prohibition by state action. In urging it he argued that just as the American Revolution freed men from the tyranny of Britain, so prohibition would free men from the tyranny of alcohol. In 1851 Maine passed the first state prohibition law—an example followed by about a dozen states. Other states passed “local option” laws, which allowed towns and villages to prohibit the sale of liquor within their boundaries.

CARE FOR THE MENTALLY ILL

A relatively little publicized reform, better treatment of the mentally ill, illustrates the extraordinary influence a single determined person may exert. One of the most cruel abuses of human beings was the treatment of the mentally ill as criminals. The individual most responsible for improving this state of affairs was Dorothea Dix, a Massachusetts schoolteacher. Shocked at conditions she saw when she visited a jail in 1841, Miss Dix proceeded, entirely on her own initiative, to visit nearly all the jails and almshouses in her native state. In 1842 she wrote a report describing the conditions she found, and presented it to the legislature. “I proceed, gentlemen,” she wrote in her introduction, “briefly to call your attention to the present state of insane persons confined within this commonwealth, in cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens! Chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience. . . .”

Miss Dix’s findings were at once so shocking and so accurate that Massachusetts passed a law establishing asylums where the insane were to be treated as sick rather than guilty. After her success at home, Miss Dix traveled throughout the United States visiting over 800 jails and almshouses. Largely as a result of her influence, twenty states followed Massachusetts in founding insane asylums. Later she traveled abroad, helping to promote better treatment of the insane in every major European country. A friendship with a Japanese diplomat resulted in the first insane asylums in Japan.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

While Dorothea Dix devoted herself to the sufferings of the small minority of the population who were insane, other reformers turned their attention to a problem affecting all mankind—the abolition of war. Since the formation

of a federal union had apparently solved the problem of bringing independent states into combination, and since the United States was in no danger from her neighbors, it was natural for Americans to think that universal peace was attainable. In 1828 the American Peace Society was formed to promote international understanding. Its principal founder was William Ladd, who abandoned a successful career, first as ship captain and then as farmer, to devote his entire energy to the cause of peace. Ladd agitated for a Congress of Nations with courts of international justice to settle all disputes.

SOCIALISM

From Europe at this period came a new idea—socialism. This was a revolt against the poverty and inequality which socialists blamed on business competition and individual ownership of property. Socialists proposed to substitute cooperation for competition and common ownership for individual ownership. The early followers of the idea proposed to start small, voluntary communities where their ideas could be put into practice. Most of these experiments took place in the United States because land was so easy to acquire here. A famous English socialist, Robert Owen, started a co-operative venture at New Harmony, Indiana. Even more influential than he were the disciples of the Frenchman, Charles Fourier, who proposed to organize society into "phalanxes" of just 1,620 people, living in villages called "phalansteries." His converts included Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, the most widely read newspaper in the United States.

Since the labor movement of the 1830's had failed to get the workers better wages or more security, a few labor leaders were ready to try socialism. Many intellectuals, repelled by the ugly aspects of the factory system, were also interested. Eventually almost forty Fourierist

communities were started, but most of them quickly collapsed. The "phalanxes" were too often composed of individuals without organizing ability or manual skills. There were quarrels about the division of labor. Without the profit motive, it was found difficult to get people to work hard enough to produce the goods on which life depends. Although socialism had aroused great fear among property owners, its first appearance in the United States turned out to be a failure.

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

The first half of the nineteenth century saw a great variety of religious movements in the United States. In New England the Unitarians revolted against the stern Puritanism of the Congregational Church. Instead of considering man totally depraved, the Unitarians insisted that he was by nature good. Throughout the country, the immense growth of Protestant denominations, especially the Baptists and the Methodists, was marked by great revival meetings, the building of thousands of new churches, and the founding of scores of colleges and universities. In the cities, the coming of thousands of European immigrants brought a corresponding growth of the religions they professed. In Boston and New York, for instance, the Roman Catholic Church provided not only places of worship, but also schools, orphanages, and charitable organizations.

Alexis de Tocqueville, a French political scientist who made a close study of American institutions during the Jacksonian period, observed that American ministers of all faiths did "not attempt to draw or to fix all the thoughts of man upon the life to come." Life on earth was no longer a mere preparation for the hereafter; instead, men had the capacity and the duty to improve the environment in which God had placed them. Thus the new religious spirit was often intimately tied to the spirit of re-

Reformers and Utopians



The New York Public Library

The crusade for temperance that culminated in the passage of the 18th Amendment began with the prohibition parades of the 1830's. Another reform advocated in this early period was more humane treatment of the mentally ill, to which Dorothea Dix (right) devoted all her energies. A utopian community was planned (below) at New Harmony, Ind., to be "capable of producing permanently greater physical, moral, and intellectual advantages to every individual . . ." but the project failed.



Library of Congress

form. Indeed most of the reform movements described in this chapter were promoted by religious groups. Unitarian ministers were leaders in the abolition movement, and temperance became almost a special province of the Baptists and Methodists.

Some religious groups decided to cut themselves off from the world and found utopian communities of their own. Thus the Shakers, an offshoot of the Quakers, established scores of villages where everything was owned in common. The Shakers supported themselves by small industry, and today the furniture they made, with its fine workmanship and clean lines, is much prized by collectors. Another successful community that practiced a variety of Christian socialism was the Oneida Community in central New York, which supported itself by manufacturing efficient game traps. The Mormons, another new sect, were driven by persecution to endure the hardships of pioneering in a trek that started in western New York in 1830 and ended with the founding of Salt Lake City in 1848.

VARIETY OF REFORM; PERMANENT INFLUENCE

There is not space in this chapter to describe all the reforms advocated in the United States during the Jacksonian period. There were organizations to improve prisons, to persuade Congress to do away with flogging in the navy, to abolish meat-eating, to make contact with departed spirits, to promote a "science" called phrenology through which character could supposedly be determined by the shape of the skull. Typical of the period were the "come-outers" who "came out" in favor of every reform. There was even a "come-outer" society called the Friends of Universal Reform.

Although it may be easy to laugh at some of the "come-outers" and their odd notions, the great reform movements of the 1830's and 1840's

left behind them much solid achievement. Their influence was seen especially in state legislation dealing with such problems as prisons, the insane, child labor, liquor, mechanics' lien laws, and public schools. This illustrates one of the virtues of the federal system: it allows for vigorous action at the local level.

Some movements which had relatively little success at first, such as the feminists, formed permanent organizations which continued their agitation even into the twentieth century. The essential demands of the abolitionists, the feminists, the educational reformers, and the labor unions were all eventually fulfilled.

The motto on the front page of Garrison's paper, *The Liberator*, was, "Our Country Is the World—Our Countrymen, All Mankind." The movements here described were by no means limited to the United States. There was constant influence back and forth between Europe and the United States. The antislavery movement, for instance, achieved great strength in Great Britain before it had gone far in America. In 1833, at a time when the United States Congress would not even debate the slavery question, British abolitionists succeeded in persuading Parliament to buy out the slaveowners in the British colonies and free the slaves. The Prussian system of public schools provided Horace Mann with several of the ideas which he put into effect in Massachusetts. One of the greatest temperance lecturers was Father Theobald Matthew, an Irish priest who had persuaded over two million of his countrymen to "take the pledge." Father Matthew came to New York in 1849 and was received with a great ovation. In the next two years he traveled through twenty-five states and persuaded 600,000 people to agree to give up liquor. In the other direction, the pressure of American reform on Europe, an outstanding example was Dorothea Dix. She was only one of many American reformers who had wide contacts and wide influence on both sides of the Atlantic.

Activities: Chapter 11

For Mastery and Review

1. What common purposes did Emerson see in the various reforms he described? Why were reform movements effective?

2. Summarize the reasons for starting public schools. What arguments were used against them? Describe the extent and quality of public education in 1850. What developments in colleges and in adult education came in this period? What influences in America discouraged the arts and artists? In what art form did Americans achieve the most at this time?

3. Why did the movement for women's rights start? What were the arguments for and against it? What were the immediate results?

4. Outline the development of the Abolition movement. Why did abolitionists anger people in both North and South?

5. In what ways did the industrial revolution tend to increase workers' insecurity? Why were the first labor unions in America formed? How did women workers affect the union movement? What reforms did organized labor sponsor? Account for their successes and failures.

6. Outline the reforms sought by (a) the Temperance Union, (b) Dorothea Dix, and (c) the American Peace Society. What did each achieve?

7. Why were religious and socialistic communities established? Account for the failure of some of the socialist communities. What was the connection between religious groups and reform?

8. Give instances of European reform influence on America, and vice versa.

Who, What, and Why Important?

Ralph Waldo Emerson	the Abolition movement
Horace Mann	trade societies
James Fenimore Cooper	National Trades Union
Herman Melville	Factory Girls' Association
Henry Thoreau	tion
Noah Webster	Samuel F. B. Morse
higher education	Charles Bulfinch
American literature	Greek Revival style
Matthew Maury	<i>Commonwealth v. Hunt</i>
George C. Bingham	Temperance Union
American architecture	Dorothea Dix
Seneca Falls Convention	American Peace Society

socialism
religious revivals

Father Theobald Mathew

To Pursue the Matter

1. How did Godey's *Lady's Book* gain such a large circulation? See "Mr. Godey's Lady," *American Heritage*, October 1959.

2. What were the political activities of organized labor during the Jacksonian period and how effective were they? See Rayback, *A History of American Labor*, Chapter 7.

3. After he was President, John Quincy Adams went to Congress as a representative from Massachusetts, where he pursued an utterly independent and most dramatic course. It's worth a class report. See "Mad Old Man from Massachusetts," *American Heritage*, April 1961.

4. The Abolitionists were branded as "extremist," "impractical," "trouble-making," and "not free of racial prejudice themselves." They have been praised and defended as "men of conscience," "courageous," and "Christian." Examine the evidence. Possible sources: Filler, *The Crusade against Slavery*; Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*; Donald, *Lincoln Reconsidered*; Litwack, *North of Slavery: the Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*; and Bartlett, *Wendell Phillips: Brahmin Radical*.

5. For a description of the "lunatic fringe" of reformers in the "burned over" district of upstate New York, see Carner, *Listen for a Lonesome Drum*.

6. Questions to investigate and discuss:

a) "The industrial revolution . . . ultimately raised the standard of living . . . (but) an immediate result was to make life harder for workingmen." (p. 286.) How do you explain this apparently contradictory statement?

b) Why were Abolitionist leaders such as Lovejoy and Garrison the objects of violence in the North?

7. Intimately connected with the reform movements of the Jacksonian period, especially in the Northeast, was an intellectual movement known as "transcendentalism." For an explanation of the philosophy of transcendentalism see Brown, *The Hero and the People: The Meaning of Jacksonian Democracy*.

Recurring ideas, concepts, or "themes" run through most of American history and help to give it its unique character. Most of these are either explicit or implicit in each of the nine Parts into which this text is divided. It is useful, however, to select particular themes for illustration, emphasis, and study at the end of each Part.

Themes 4, 5, and 6—"a mobile population," "a high position and freedom for women," and "belief in education and widespread educational opportunity"—are all very much involved with the period of American history covered in Part III, as is brought out by questions such as:

1. Read the women's declaration of independence in Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 179-182. How many of the grievances of women there detailed have been righted in the United States since 1848? Which, if any, continue to exist?

2. What special forces shaped American public schools in the second decade of the twentieth century? See Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in the United States*.

3. How do you account for the incredibly rapid settlement of the "Lake Plains" of the Northwest Territory and the "Gulf Plains" north of the Gulf of Mexico in the generation after 1815? See Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*, Chapters 14 and 15.

READINGS

PART 3

Special Supplements

ARNOF, "A Sense of the Past, Part Three.

BRADGON, MCCUTCHEM, and BROWN, "Frame of Government," *McCulloch v. Maryland, Gibbons v. Ogden*, pp. 176-199.

BROWN, R. H., "The Hero and the People: The Meaning of Jacksonian Democracy. (New Perspectives.) A depth study of the extension of democratic tendencies, with conflicting interpretations.

Specialized References

NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM

G. DANGERFIELD, "The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815-1828, is an admirable survey. On foreign affairs, see D. PERKINS, "The Monroe Doctrine. R. BURLINGAME, *The March of the Iron Men*, is a good survey of technology before the Civil War. On ocean trade, S. E. MORISON, "Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860, is splendidly written. Transportation is treated in D. VAN EVERY, *Men of the Western Waters*, and M. S. WAGGONER, *Long Haul West: The Great Canal Era, 1817-1850*.

On the sections and sectionalism, see W. S. TRYON (ed.), *A Mirror for Americans*, the three

volumes of which are entitled *Life in the East, The Cotton Kingdom, and The Frontier Moves West*. C. EATON, "The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860, is a fine portrayal of the antebellum South. F. J. TURNER, "The Rise of the New West, is a comprehensive analysis by our greatest historian of the frontier.

K. M. STAMPP, "The Peculiar Institution, is a readable and authoritative survey of slavery. F. DOUGLASS's autobiography, "The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, by a man who escaped from slavery and became a leading abolitionist, contains excellent material on slavery in its early chapters. The difficult position of the free Negro in the North is treated in L. LITWACK, "North of Slavery. See also C. M. WILTSE (ed.), "David Walker's Appeal, written by a northern Negro abolitionist in 1830.

THE AGE OF JACKSON

G. G. VAN DEUSEN, "Jacksonian Era, 1830-1850, is a balanced survey. R. V. REMINI, "The Election of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party, deal mainly with politics, as does R. H. BROWN, "The Hero and the People: The Meaning of Jacksonian Democracy. In *American Heritage*, see "Now Defend Yourself, You Damned Rascals!" (the duel between Jackson and Benton), February 1958; and

"Jackson's Fight with the 'Money Power,'" June 1956.

Jacksonian democracy attracted a host of inquisitive European visitors, many of whom wrote books when they returned home. One of these, ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, a young French nobleman, wrote *"Democracy in America*, one of the most penetrating and prophetic books ever written about this country. HARRIET MARTINEAU, an English liberal and reformer, wrote the perceptive *"Society in America*.

D. J. BOORSTIN, *The Americans: The National Experience*, is a cogent interpretive essay on American society from the Revolution to the Civil War; see also R. B. NYE, *"The Cultural Life of the New Nation*. G. E. PROBST, *Happy Republic: A Reader in De Tocqueville's America*, reveals the tone of life through documents.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

A. F. TYLER, *"Freedom's Ferment*, is a useful treatment of all of the major reforms. A. M. SCHLESINGER, *The American as Reformer*, analyzes both the reform impulse and the opposition to it. C. CARMER, *Listen for a Lonesome Drum*, is a wonderfully readable account of the lunatic fringe of the Jacksonian reform movements in upstate New York. A chapter in J. G. RAYBACK, *"History of American Labor*, deals with organized labor in this period. C. MADISON, *Critics and Crusaders: A Century of American Protest*, examines a number of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century reformers. R. F. BUTTS and L. CREMIN, *A History of American Education*, considers the forces behind the public school movement. On abolitionism, see L. FILLER, *"The Crusade against Slavery, 1830-1860*, and R. B. NYE, *William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers*. H. D. THOREAU's classic essay, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience," is contained in most collections of his writings.

Biographies

On President Monroe, see W. P. CRESSON, *James Monroe*. M. JAMES, *"Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President*, is an excellent biography. J. W. WARD, *"Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age*, helps to explain why people responded to Jackson so enthusiastically and what Jackson meant to people. On leading senators, see: C. EATON, *"Henry Clay and the Art of Politics*; R. N. CURRENT, *"Daniel*

Webster and the Rise of National Conservatism; M. L. COIT, *"John C. Calhoun*; and W. N. CHAMBERS, *Old Bullion Benton*. G. C. VAN DEUSEN, *"Horace Greeley*, is a biography of the extraordinary and erratic newspaper publisher. In J. F. KENNEDY's *"Profiles in Courage*, there are sketches of Webster, Benton, and Houston.

Historical Fiction

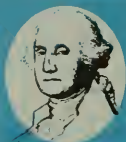
MARK TWAIN's immortal *"Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* pictures life along the Mississippi in this period; A. B. GUTHRIE, *"The Big Sky*, gives a vivid account of frontier life, as does J. and M. HARRIS, *Chant of the Hawk*, with its characters drawn from mountain men and fur traders. H. MELVILLE, *"Moby Dick*, in addition to being one of the great American novels, contains the best descriptions of whaling. One of the outstanding books of American humor, J. C. BALDWIN, *"The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi*, portrays the frontier life of the Old Southwest.

Basic Books for Part Three

1. DANGERFIELD, G., *"The Awakening of American Nationalism*. New York, Harper, 1965 (Torchbooks).
2. VAN DEUSEN, G. G., *"Jacksonian Era, 1828-1848*. New York, Harper, 1959 (Torchbooks).
3. JAMES, M., *"Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President*. New York, Grosset and Dunlap, 1959 (Universal Library).
4. NYE, R. B., *"The Cultural Life of the New Nation*. New York, Harper, 1960 (Torchbooks).
5. PROBST, G. E., *Happy Republic: A Reader in De Tocqueville's America*. Magnolia, Mass., Smith.
6. BOORSTIN, D. J., *The Americans: The National Experience*. New York, Random House, 1965.
7. DOUGLASS, F., *"The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. New York, Collier, 1962.
8. TYLER, A. F., *"Freedom's Ferment*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1944 (Torchbooks).
9. FILLER, L., *"The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860*. New York, Harper, 1960 (Torchbooks).
10. RAYBACK, J. G., *"History of American Labor*. New York, Macmillan, 1959 (Free Press).

AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT 1800—1850

FEDERALISTS



Washington



John Adams

REPUBLICANS



Jefferson



Madison

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Presidents and Parties

(Appendix pp. 792–795)

1790 1793 1797 1801 1805 1809 1813 1817

TRANSPORTATION TO TRAVEL 100 MILES TOOK...



... 25 hours by canalboat



... 20 hours by covered wagon



... 10 hours by steamboat

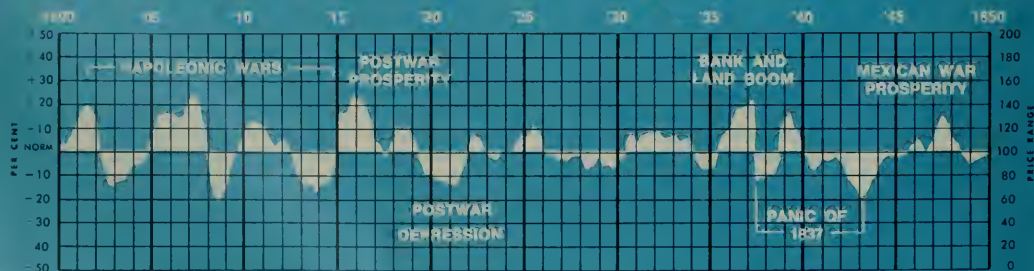


... 5 hours by early railroad

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

Change in voting requirements
Westward movement
Education
Slavery controversy
New farms from wilderness
Manifest destiny

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY



(During Monroe's administration the Federalists disappeared, and there was no opposition party. See p. 224.)

REPUBLICAN



Monroe

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN



John Quincy
Adams

DEMOCRATS

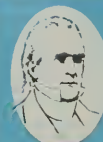


Jackson



Van Buren

DEMOCRAT



Polk

WHIG



William H.
Harrison



Taylor

(At the close of Monroe's administration, the Republicans split into the National Republicans and Democratic Republicans, or Democrats. See pp. 256-257.)
(During Jackson's administration the National Republicans assumed the name of Whigs.)

1821 1825 1829 1833 1837 1841 1845 1849

Farmers Outnumber

Town Dwellers

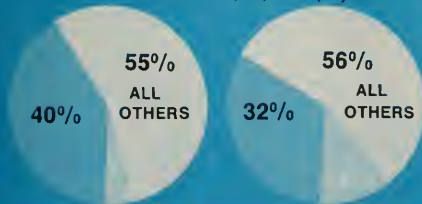
(in millions)



1800

1850

Circles represent all people employed



MANUFACTURING

AGRICULTURE

Growing Tide of Immigration*

Each symbol = 150,000 immigrants

1820-30 151,824

1831-40 599,125

1841-50 1,713,251

* No figures available before 1820.



Library of Congress

Part 4

DIVISION AND REUNION



AFTER GETTYSBURG, 1863

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY

In 1961 the nation began a four-year "celebration" of the Civil War. Whole battles were re-enacted, with men in antique uniforms banging away at each other with blank cartridges, like some huge game of cops and robbers. It seems strange, this celebration, because that long, hard-fought war was a terrible tragedy. The losses were much higher relative to the population of the country than in any war the United States ever fought with a foreign foe. Hundreds of thousands of young men were killed or maimed or allowed to rot in prison camps. To be sure, the Negroes of the South received the priceless gift of freedom, but one must wonder if it could not have been achieved at less cost in blood, treasure, and bitter feeling.

Compromises and temporary truces for a time prevented the slavery issue from exploding. But in the end the flames of controversy between North and South were rekindled by the movement known as "manifest destiny," and in 1861 the country plunged into war.

On the eve of the Civil War, the parties ceased to serve the important function of damping down controversies before they endangered the Union. Both parties, Whigs and Democrats, broke apart. You can see the result in the map of the presidential election of 1860, on p. 341. Essentially, Southerners were demanding the right to take slaves into areas totally unsuited to slavery, and Republicans were insisting that slavery be forbidden in areas where climate and soil made its existence impossible.

Some historians say that the Civil War was brought on by a "blundering generation" of politicians too shortsighted or unskillful to arrange a compromise that would have saved the Union without bloodshed. Others suggest that the war was an "irrepressible conflict," or even a divine punishment for the terrible wrong of slavery. Or was it perhaps an inevitable consequence of rivalry between the industrial interests of the North and the planter interests of the South? Was it caused by northern invasion of southern rights, as the Confederate leaders claimed? Would it have been better to allow the seceding states to "depart in peace"?

We do not know how the tragedy could have been averted, but we can at least be thankful that there were elements that relieved the gloom: the songs, such as "Dixie" and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic"; the cheerful heroism of the defenders of Vicksburg; the magnanimity of Grant and the dignity of Lee in the surrender at Appomattox Court House; the greatness of Abraham Lincoln, who hated slavery and disunion, but who never hated his fellow Americans fighting for the "lost cause" of the Confederacy.



Chapter 12

Manifest Destiny

*The cowards never started and the weak died on the road.
And all across the continent the endless campfires glowed.
We'd taken land and settled—but a traveler passed by—
And we're going West to-morrow—Lordy, never ask us why!*

—STEPHEN VINCENT BENET

At the time the United States acquired Florida by the Transcontinental Treaty in 1819, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams remarked at a cabinet meeting that the world should be “familiarized with the idea of considering our proper dominion to be the continent of North America.” This idea that the United States was bound to extend its boundaries to the Pacific Ocean, perhaps also northward to the Arctic Ocean and southward to the Isthmus of Panama, became known as “manifest destiny.” It found its greatest expression in the decade of the 1840’s, when the United States acquired territories even more vast than the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.

WESTWARD TO THE PACIFIC

Various elements went into the manifest destiny movement. One of them was the habitual ambition of American frontiersmen to move on to virgin land. This push westward was one of the great migrations of history. Historian James Truslow Adams described it as “a movement involving tens of millions of

individuals, unthinking, collective, unmoral, akin, in all save its incredible swiftness, to the inevitable advance of a glacier.” Yet, why should Americans move beyond the existing borders of the United States when most of their land was still thinly settled and most of the area between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains was still completely unoccupied?

The settlement of Texas was a natural westward expansion of cotton culture, which was prevented by climate from moving north. The trek to Oregon, however, was partly a result of the mistaken idea that the treeless plains from the 98th meridian to the Rockies (see map, p. 175) were unsuited to farming and would be forever the haunt of the Indian and the buffalo. It was, in fact, the policy of the federal government to set apart portions of this “Great American Desert” for Indian tribes expelled from their homes in the East. In 1825 the federal government declared that there was to be no further white settlement beyond a line drawn along the western boundaries of existing states and territories (see map p. 168). This was reinforced by an Indian Intercourse Act

passed by Congress in 1834; it not only forbade settlement in Indian territories, but limited trade with Indians to those with special licenses. Thus if frontiersmen wanted available land, especially the forested and well-watered land they were used to, they had to cross the Rockies.

Manifest destiny was promoted by commercial as well as agrarian interests. Excited by the recent opening of China, eastern traders and shipowners saw the harbors of San Diego and San Francisco as necessary way stations on the route to the Far East. They also wanted the Oregon question settled in such a way that the United States would acquire Puget Sound (see map, pp. 320-321).

Patriotism as Stimulus to Expansion

A large component of manifest destiny was patriotism, flavored with the boastfulness of the frontiersman who said that he could "wade the brown Mississippi, jump the Ohio, step across the Nolachucky, ride a streak of lightning, slip without a scratch down a honey locust tree, whip my weight in wildcats, and strike a blow like a falling tree." The frontier attitude found its political reflection in "spread-eagle oratory," of which the following is a sample:

Land enough—land enough? Make way, I say, for the young American buffalo—he has not yet got land enough. . . . I tell you, we will give him Oregon for his summer shade, and the region of Texas as his winter pasture. Like all of his race he wants salt, too. Well, he shall have the use of two oceans—the mighty Pacific and the turbulent Atlantic shall be his. . . . He shall not stop his career until he slakes his throat in the frozen ocean.

Acting as a stimulus to American expansionism was the not unjustified fear that the British, who were also interested in acquiring good harbors, might seize California before the United

States. But the strongest aspect of the patriotic impulse toward expansion was expressed by old Andrew Jackson, who argued that the United States had a mission to "extend the area of freedom." It was this pride in American institutions and the desire to spread them that were stressed by the New York editor who gave a name to the expansionist movement when he wrote:

Away, away with all those cobweb issues of rights of discovery, exploration, settlement, continuity, etc. Our claims are based on the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment in liberty and federative self-government entrusted to us.

A "Power Vacuum"

Since the expansion of the United States to the Pacific involved friction with the Indians, the threat of hostilities with Great Britain, and a war with Mexico, it had to be backed up by military power. Yet the United States had a weak navy and a small regular army that had to be supplemented in war by undisciplined militia. Fortunately for the United States, the vast region it set out to acquire was a "power vacuum": the inhabitants had little ability to defend themselves and no strong nation to protect them. The Plains Indians of the Missouri Valley and the Apaches of the Southwest were brave and skillful warriors, but they were divided into small bands and fought each other as readily as they did the whites. They did not know, until it was too late to act, that their entire way of life was in danger. No Pontiac or Tecumseh appeared to unite them in defense of their lands.

Although Great Britain's superior naval power would probably have enabled her to keep Oregon and take California, British political leaders had little desire to add to an



empire that they thought to be already over-extended. Mexico, where a revolution occurred about once every three years, was unable to carry on war effectively. So there was little to prevent the advance of the United States to the Rio Grande and to the Pacific.

A VICTORY FOR PEACE

The first area where the advance of American settlement caused serious international friction was not in the West, as might be expected, but in the extreme Northeast. Ever since the Revolution, the northern and eastern boundaries of Maine had been uncertain, because of confusing language in the Treaty of Paris. As long as the region was unoccupied this was not a serious matter. In 1838, however, settlers from Maine, pushing into the fertile Aroostook Valley, met and clashed with lumbermen from New Brunswick. Their struggle, fought mostly with fists, is known as the Aroostook War. It nearly led to something more serious when Maine and New Brunswick called out their militias, and Congress authorized President Van Buren to call for 50,000 men in case a war with Great Britain should develop.

A general atmosphere of ill will made it seem likely that sooner or later some petty dispute would plunge the United States and Great Britain into war. Britain was considered the national enemy; orators and school textbooks kept alive the bitter memories of the Revolution and the War of 1812. On the other side of the Atlantic, American dislike was often returned with interest. The British upper class feared and scorned American democracy. British authors hurt our pride by writing books that jeered at every unpleasant feature of American life from tobacco-chewing to slavery. Many British investors were angry because they had been swindled by the frauds of American land speculators or when several states and terri-

ties repudiated the debts they had incurred before the Panic of 1837. Sydney Smith, a British clergyman, wrote that a citizen from one of these states had "no more right to eat with honest men than a leper has to eat with clean men."

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 1842

In spite of friction and ill feeling, there were very good reasons why the United States and Great Britain should not fight, the most important being that each was the other's best customer. Great Britain was the largest foreign purchaser of American wheat, tobacco, and cotton, and the United States was Britain's biggest market for manufactured goods. Fortunately, both the British and American governments were aware of the advantages of peace. In 1842 a special British envoy, Lord Ashburton, arrived in Washington, D.C., by invitation of the United States, to attempt to settle outstanding disputes. Ashburton carried on his negotiations with Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State. Each diplomat was free of prejudice against the country of the other, Webster having traveled in England and Ashburton having married an American.

Eager to reach an agreement, the men carried on their discussions informally. They decided that it was impossible, on the basis of available evidence, to fix the correct boundary of Maine; they therefore divided the disputed territory as fairly as they could. The British got what they wanted most—enough of the northern section to make possible a direct land route from the St. Lawrence River to New Brunswick. The United States received what it wanted—the Aroostook Valley, along with other concessions on the northern boundaries of New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York. Webster and Ashburton failed to reach agreements on several other disputes, involving such matters as American ships illegally carrying

slaves from Africa, the debts owed British investors, and the ownership of Oregon. Both men agreed, however, that the important thing was just to settle something. (See map, U.S. in 1850, pp. 320-321.) While the Webster-Ashburton Treaty did not remove all points of Anglo-American friction, it did clear the air and put an end to the danger of war.

THE OPENING OF OREGON

While Webster and Ashburton were settling the Maine boundary, the rivalry between Great Britain and the United States over Oregon grew acute. Ever since 1818, the two countries had agreed to disagree about possession of the region, and had carried on the curious arrangement known as "joint occupation" (see p. 235).

The interest of the United States in Oregon had started when in 1787 a Boston ship, the *Columbia*, made one of the greatest pioneer trading voyages in history. The ship left home with a supply of ginseng, the root of a common New England weed that happened to be highly prized by the Chinese as a medicine. Rounding the Horn, it sailed to the coast of Oregon to get sea otter furs, also in demand in China. After a voyage across the Pacific, the ginseng and otter furs were exchanged for Chinese tea and silk. These brought high prices when the vessel, having circumnavigated the globe, returned to the United States in 1790. The *Columbia*, which on a later voyage gave its name to Oregon's greatest river, inaugurated a regular trade. The profits were sometimes enormous: one trader got otter pelts worth \$22,000 from the Indians in return for trinkets costing less than \$2; another exchanged a rusty chisel for furs worth \$8,000. Small wonder that in 1800, five years before the arrival of Lewis and Clark, no less than 15 New England ships cruised the coast of Oregon to get furs for the China trade.

Fur Companies and "Mountain Men"

Even more of a magnet drawing men to Oregon than the sea otter of the coast was the beaver of the inland waterways. Beaver pelts had been the chief export of French Canada before 1763, and of the British fur traders after that. By 1800, the eastern supply had been so much reduced that the discovery of beaver in the streams draining the Rockies was like a strike of gold. Fierce competition developed between three great fur companies: the British Hudson's Bay Company, the American Fur Company, headed by John Jacob Astor of New York, and the Missouri Company, owned by men in St. Louis. The Hudson's Bay Company dominated the Oregon region itself, while the other two operated mostly at the headwaters of the streams running out of the Rockies into the Missouri River.

The struggle between the fur companies was bitter to the verge of actual warfare. They played politics in the rivalries among the Indian tribes, bribed away each other's agents, and sometimes stole each other's furs. As accessible regions were trapped out, the "mountain men," who carried on the dangerous business of trapping and trading in Indian country, penetrated farther and farther into the Rocky Mountain wilderness. It took the utmost in bravery, skill, and self-reliance to survive as a mountain man. As Bernard DeVoto wrote in *The Year of Decision, 1846*:

Woodcraft, forest craft, and river craft were his skill. To read the weather, the streams, the woods; to know the ways of animals and birds; to find food and shelter; to find the Indians when they were his customers or to battle them from stump to stump when they were on the warpath and to know which caprice was on them; to take comfort in flood or blizzard; to move safely through the wilderness, to make the wilderness his bed, his table and his tool—this was his vocation.

Narcissa Whitman, Pioneer



Many are the ornaments and statues "in front of the courthouse" throughout America. Most commemorate war. But some of them show long-skirted women, with sunbonnets pushed back, children clinging to their hands. This is the "pioneer woman" or the "pioneer mother," the carrier of civilization and domesticator of the wilderness (see History as Fable, p. 222).

One such pioneer was Narcissa Whitman. She set out for Oregon country with her husband, Marcus, in 1836. The Whitmans had a higher motive than the restlessness and land hunger that sent so many Americans west—they were missionaries, intent on bringing Christianity to the Indians. Unlike many other women, whose farm life gave them endurance for the long, hard journey, Narcissa had been reared in an upper-class Boston home. She went courageously, nonetheless. The Whitmans traveled with a band of mountain men to Fort Vancouver, spent the winter there, and in the spring of 1837 built a log home near present-day Walla Walla among the Cayuse Indians.

Here their daughter was born. Alice Clarissa Whitman was the first white child born in Oregon, and this established a bond of friendliness with the Cayuse. The Whitmans' days were busy, filled with teaching. Seeking to bring the Indians not only religion, but a whole new civilization, they taught their charges to hoe, to handle chickens, and to raise pigs and cows.

They were interrupted by tragedy. First, Alice was drowned in the river. Then, in 1847, an epidemic of measles broke out. Whitman, who had had medical training, treated whites and Indians alike. The whites, who followed his instructions, recovered; the Indians, who did not, died. The Cayuse, thinking he had planned this deliberately, struck back and murdered Marcus, Narcissa, and twelve others, a massacre long remembered.

But their enthusiasm for Oregon had had its effect, for their letters home had already started the white settlement of that country.

(Theme 5, see p. xii)

The heyday of the mountain men lasted only about ten years, and they did not number more than a few hundred at any one time, but they played an important part in opening overland routes to Oregon and California. They discovered the best passes through the mountains and places where rivers could be forded. They served as guides to parties of settlers crossing the mountains by wagon train. Their whiskey, as well as the white man's diseases they carried with them, corrupted and weakened the Indian

tribes so that they became less formidable enemies of the whites who crossed their hunting lands.

On to Oregon

Until shortly before 1840 the joint occupation of Oregon was almost entirely a British affair, with the Hudson's Bay Company acting as the government of the region. In the mid-1830's, however, American missionaries arrived to Christianize the Indians. They also began to

farm and sent back glowing reports of the fertility of the country. The most famous and influential of these men was Reverend Marcus Whitman, the accounts of whose adventures were widely read. On a journey to Oregon in 1836, Whitman and another missionary took their wives—the first white women to cross the continent. If women could brave the perils of such a trip, the Oregon country could be settled. In 1838 a party of American pioneers arrived there by ship; most newcomers, however, came by covered wagon over the famous Oregon Trail (see map, pp. 320–321). By 1842 there were perhaps 500 Americans in Oregon, and in the next year a single party of immigrants numbered 900.

The long, slow journey from the Missouri River to Oregon demanded courage and endurance. The heavy Conestoga wagons were usually drawn by teams of six or eight oxen which, when the going was good, moved at a pace of about two miles an hour. The necessity of fording rivers involved the chance of tipping over the wagons or drowning the oxen. Through much of the journey there was ever-present danger from Indians. To meet such difficulties, parties of immigrants had to be thoroughly organized. The members of a wagon train often chose their officers by election. One man would have charge of the cattle, another of posting sentries, another of leading the advance party which chose the way. Major decisions were reached by vote of the group as a whole.

By 1843 so many Americans had arrived in Oregon that they set up a government of their own. Following a procedure going back to the Mayflower Compact, they drew up a constitution for themselves. Its preamble, which reveals its authors' familiarity with the United States Constitution, went as follows:

We the people of Oregon territory, for the purpose of mutual protection and to secure peace and

prosperity among ourselves, agree to adopt the following laws and regulations until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us.

The last phrase shows that the Oregon settlers were determined that the United States and not Britain should rule them. A decision as to which country was to control the region could not be put off much longer.

The Mormon Migration, 1847–1849

Experience gained by the Oregon settlers was put to good use by the Mormons, who in the years 1847–1849 carried out an amazingly successful migration to the shores of Salt Lake. The Mormons, a religious group who had suffered persecution in the United States, sought a haven where they could worship as they pleased. Their leader, Brigham Young, had a genius for organization, and the migration was carried out in well-planned stages. First, scouts sought out the best routes and found sites for sawmills, flour mills, and towns. Then came small parties who built houses and fortresses and planted crops which ripened in time for the main body of immigrants. Many of the latter had no draft animals, but carried their few possessions in handcarts, singing, as they trudged the long miles, a marching song with the chorus:

Some must push and some must pull
As we go marching up the hill,
So merrily on our way we go
Until we reach the Valley, O!

In spite of hardship and disease, the Mormons soon established several flourishing settlements. They were far ahead of their time in learning the proper control of the water supply in the semi-arid regions of the far West. Around Salt Lake City, planned on a magnificent scale, irrigation transformed a desert into a garden spot.

A Mountain Man, equipped with muzzle-loading rifle, surveys his western domain. Of this hardy breed of fur-trappers an English visitor wrote in 1847: "Of laws, human or divine, they neither know nor care to know." But, "all this vast country, but for the daring enterprise of these men, would be even now a *terra incognita* to geographers..."



Yale University Art Gallery Mabel Brady Garcan Collection

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

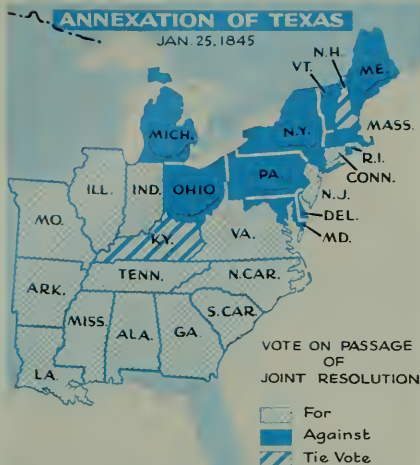
By 1844 the question as to whether the United States would annex Texas became even more pressing than the problem of Oregon. Texas was a vast, ill-defined area extending southwest from Louisiana to the Rio Grande and west to the foothills of the Rockies. It was a natural cotton-growing region, much of it being part of the fertile coastal plain that extends across Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. It had been on the northern fringe of the Spanish Empire, but Spain's hold had been limited to a few hundred settlers and a dozen Indian missions.

Texan Independence

Mexico inherited Texas after breaking away from Spain in 1821. At first the government of Mexico welcomed settlers from the United

States. They were given land, provided they were of "honest, industrious" character and would join the Roman Catholic Church. By 1830 the population had mounted to 20,000. In that year, Mexico passed a law forbidding further immigration. But it was now too late to stop the flood of American settlers, and there was constant friction between the Texans and the Mexican government. This reached a climax in 1835 when the Mexican dictator General Antonio Santa Anna led an army across the Rio Grande to strengthen his rule over Texas. In February 1836, with over 2,000 troops, Santa Anna besieged 188 Texans in the Alamo, a mission station at San Antonio. After a heroic fortnight of resistance, the defenders of the Alamo were wiped out.

Meanwhile the Texans found an able general in Sam Houston, who had served under Jackson in Tennessee. In April 1836, Houston surprised



Many people opposed adventures in the West. The vote in Congress on the joint resolution to permit the annexation of Texas shows a clear sectional division on manifest destiny, which was also an issue of the election of 1844.

and defeated Santa Anna's army, capturing the dictator himself. After the battle, the Mexican leader agreed to accept the independence of Texas, with the Rio Grande as the boundary line. But as soon as he was free, Santa Anna refused to be bound by terms dictated at the point of the sword. Until 1845 Mexico considered Texas a rebellious province, but was unable to reduce it to submission.

The Texans had scarcely gained their independence when, in 1836, they voted overwhelmingly to join the United States. Although there was strong southern opinion in favor of annexing Texas because of its rich cotton lands into which slavery could expand, President Jackson opposed the move. He did not want to run the risk of passing on to his successor, Van Buren, a war with Mexico. Jackson went no further than to recognize Texan independence from

Mexico. Since Van Buren favored annexation even less than Jackson, the whole question was deferred.

The question was brought up again in 1843 by President John Tyler, who feared that the Republic of Texas would form too close ties with Great Britain. The British were interested in Texas as a new source of cotton and as a market for their manufactured goods. British antislavery societies hoped that the new country might be persuaded to free its slaves. The threat of Texas as a competing source of cotton and a possible haven for runaway slaves greatly alarmed Southerners, among them Calhoun, who became Secretary of State in 1844. Under his management, an annexation treaty was presented to the Senate. Calhoun was rebuffed when the Senate refused to ratify the treaty by a vote of 35 to 16. This overwhelming rejection sprang from northern opposition to adding more slave territory to the Union. Many Northerners feared that the admission of Texas was part of a great southern plot to increase the power of the slave states. In 1843 John Quincy Adams, who served eighteen years in Congress after retiring from the presidency, was one of the signers of an "Address to the People of the Free States" that said that if Texas were annexed, the free states would be justified in leaving the Union.

The Election of 1844

As the presidential election of 1844 approached, it was expected that the rival candidates would be ex-President Van Buren for the Democrats and Henry Clay for the Whigs. Texas annexation, with its threat of disunion over slavery, alarmed both men so much that they agreed to oppose it, in letters to the press published on the same day. But then the unexpected happened. While Clay was duly chosen Whig candidate for the presidency, Van Buren failed to receive the Democratic nomination. Instead, a coalition of Westerners who

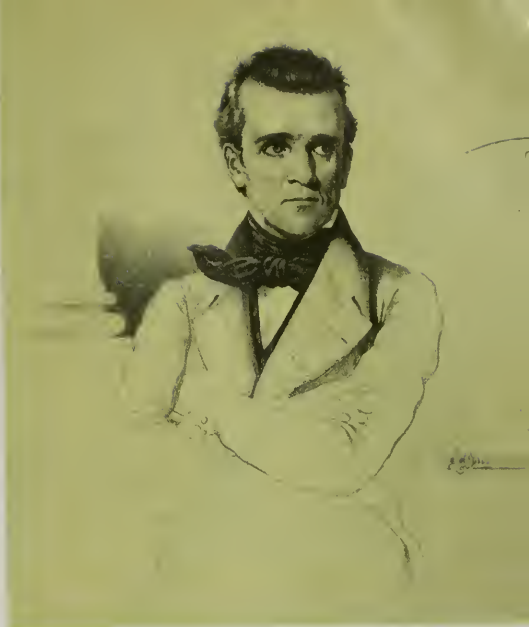
wanted Oregon and Southerners who wanted Texas nominated the first "dark horse" in the history of the presidency, James K. Polk of Tennessee.

The Democrats dodged the slavery aspects of the Texas problem by hitching together the demands for Texas and Oregon. Their platform called for "the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas." Further to minimize slavery, the Democrats put their main emphasis on taking all of Oregon, where slavery would certainly never be established, dramatizing this by the famous slogan, "Fifty-four forty or fight!" (The parallel 54°40' was the southern boundary of Alaska.) Thus manifest destiny became the principal issue of the campaign.

To counter this unexpected challenge, the Whigs could offer only Henry Clay's great personal popularity and the slogan, "Who is James K. Polk?" calling attention to the obscurity of the Democratic candidate. Clay backed down from his earlier opposition to admitting Texas by issuing a cautious statement that he would be glad to see the region annexed, if the American people so desired and if war with Mexico could be avoided. This hedging did not save the Whig leader. Polk won the election by a slim margin. The abolitionist Liberty party candidate, James M. Birney, polled 62,000 votes and held the balance of power in Indiana, Ohio, and New York. If the Liberty party votes had been cast for Clay in New York, he would have carried the state and been elected President.

Texas Annexed, 1845

Even though the expansionist program of the Democrats had not gained support from the majority of the voters, President Tyler asserted that Polk's victory in the election of 1844 was a demand for the admission of Texas to the Union. Tyler's point of view was supported by some powerful newspaper editors and a well-organized lobby. In February, 1845, both houses



The Library of Congress

"Young Hickory," James K. Polk of Tennessee, was the first "dark horse" candidate for the presidency. He was also a most successful President, in that he accomplished the four great objectives that he intended when he entered the White House.

of Congress, by very narrow majorities, passed a resolution asking Texas to join the Union. On July 4, the Republic of Texas voted to give up its independence and become one of the United States. The Mexico-Texas boundary was still undetermined, and the Mexican government threatened war. (See U.S. in 1850, pp. 320-321.)

THE MEXICAN WAR

In 1949 many people were surprised when a poll of 55 prominent American historians listed Polk as one of the "near-great" Presidents of the United States. Although he was uncommunicative, narrow-minded, and so intensely



The campaigns of the Mexican War were remarkable for the vast distances covered by United States forces and for the relatively small number of troops engaged. The Mexican armies were badly led and ill supplied, but Mexico did not surrender until forces under General Winfield Scott moved in from Vera Cruz and occupied Mexico City.

partisan that it was difficult for him to admit that a Whig could be a gentleman, few Presidents have been more successful than he. He had a strong will; he knew what he wanted; and he was a hard worker. He was a friend and disciple of his fellow Tennessean Andrew Jackson, and his followers liked to call him

"Young Hickory." Polk shared both Jackson's political outlook and his belief in a strong presidency. On his first day in office he told a member of his cabinet that he had four great purposes: to lower the tariff, to re-establish the Independent Treasury System abolished by the Whigs in 1842, to annex California, and to settle

the Oregon question. In 1846, under the President's urging, Congress duly voted in the Independent Treasury System and passed the Walker Tariff, which reduced duties without entirely abandoning protection. The acquisition of California and an Oregon settlement were much more difficult to achieve, but Polk was successful in these purposes too.

The Question of California

New Englanders had traded with California for fifty years and had described the region as "the richest, most beautiful, the healthiest country in the world." In the 1840's, it became apparent that the ultimate fate of the region might soon be decided. The native population had staged four rebellions against the Mexican government, which was too disorganized to govern the region effectively. As we have seen, there was fear that Great Britain, or possibly France, might annex California because of the great harbor of San Francisco, large enough to accommodate all the navies of the world.

Polk hoped to purchase California from Mexico. Meanwhile, he took measures to promote annexation. In his annual message to Congress in December 1845, he warned off Great Britain and France by repeating the "no colonization" principle of the Monroe Doctrine. He also urged the United States consul in Monterey to "arouse in the bosoms of the Californians that love of liberty so natural to the American continent"—in other words, stir up a revolution. Late in 1845 he sent John Slidell of Louisiana as envoy to Mexico to discuss the Texas question and to offer almost any amount of money for California. Slidell's mission was completely fruitless. So great was Mexican anger at the loss of Texas that any official who dared to talk with the American diplomat could have lost his position and possibly his life as well. Without having been allowed to present his case, Slidell returned to Washington.

Outbreak of War

The immediate occasion for war between Mexico and the United States was the southern boundary of Texas, where the land between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande was in dispute. Both sides sent troops to the region, but for a time they both kept out of the area. On hearing of the failure of Slidell's mission to Mexico City, Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor, commanding an American force guarding the border, to move south to the Rio Grande. Late in April 1846, Mexican soldiers crossed the river and attacked a small detachment of United States cavalry. When the news of this attack on Taylor's force reached Washington, the President asked Congress to declare war. Pointing out that his effort to negotiate peaceably with Mexico had failed, Polk argued that war had been begun "by the act of Mexico herself." On May 13, 1846, Congress declared war by overwhelming majorities in both houses.

In spite of the vote in Congress, the Mexican War was widely and bitterly attacked as a war of aggression against a weaker neighbor. It was, wrote the New England author James Russell Lowell, simply a southern scheme to steal "bigger pens to cram in slaves." Whig members of Congress, including Abraham Lincoln, then a representative from Illinois, challenged Polk's statement that he had tried to avoid war, asking why he had insisted on sending Taylor to the Rio Grande. A northern senator said that if he were a Mexican he would tell the United States: "Have you not room in your country to bury your dead men? If you come into mine, we will greet you with bloody hands and welcome you to hospitable graves."

Although attacking Polk for starting the war, the Whigs nevertheless supported it by voting supplies and men. This was not as illogical as it may seem, because it is not certain that war could have been prevented. Several months before Polk's message to Congress, the



Chicago Historical Society

General Winfield Scott rides a bay horse at a review of U.S. troops in Mexico City. In the difficult campaign to reach the city, Scott was greatly aided by subordinate officers trained at West Point. Among these were Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant and Captain Robert E. Lee, both of whom were mentioned in dispatches. Many of the officers later fought in the Civil War.

Mexican government had declared itself in favor of "a necessary and glorious war." Aware of the dismal failure of American efforts to invade Canada in the War of 1812, the Mexicans did not shrink from war, but instead expected victory.

The military campaigns of the Mexican War were remarkable both for the immense distances traversed and the small size of the forces engaged. One unit, the First Missouri Regiment under Colonel A. W. Doniphan, marched and fought its way 3,500 miles in a wide crescent starting at Ft. Leavenworth on the Missouri River and eventually reaching the Gulf of Mexico by way of Santa Fe and northern Mexico. General Stephen Kearny led troops 2,500 miles from the Missouri to the Pacific. Yet no Amer-

ican commander had many more than 10,000 men under his command at any one time. Congress took no step to enlarge or improve the army and navy until after war had been declared, and the United States paid a price for unpreparedness. The volunteer regiments composing most of the American army were undisciplined and their officers often incompetent, owing their positions to political pull. But the United States Military Academy at West Point, founded in 1802 and reorganized in 1817, furnished well-trained and resourceful young officers who proved themselves invaluable in the crucial campaigns.

Second Lieutenant George Meade, a young West Pointer who later won fame in the Civil War as the victor at Gettysburg, remarked of

the Mexican War, "Well may we be grateful that we are at war with Mexico! Were it any other power, our gross follies would be punished severely." Disorganized as was the war effort of the United States, it was nevertheless more efficient than that of the foe. One group after another seized power in Mexico, so that sometimes it was difficult to know who composed the government; once three different men claimed to be president! Alfonso Torro, a Mexican historian, wrote of his country's hapless condition:

Although Mexico had an enormous war budget, she really lacked an army; for hardly worthy of the name was the assemblage of drafted men, badly armed, and . . . without confidence in their leaders.

The soldiers, who were almost never paid but were maltreated and exploited by their chiefs, deserted whenever they could and even rebelled with arms in their hands when they were ordered to march. . . .

There were places where the cavalry remained dismounted because they had nothing with which to buy fodder and where the troops were almost destitute, without arms or shelter. In San Juan de Ulúa, with the American squadron already in sight, Colonel Cano was obliged to sell five cannon to a foreign vessel in order to feed the garrison.

With such a weak and demoralized enemy, it is not surprising that during the opening year of hostilities the United States easily gained control of all of California, New Mexico, and Texas. California was won as the result of a local revolt, assisted by a handful of American troops and a small fleet. Santa Fe, the principal city of New Mexico, fell to Stephen Kearny's force with hardly a shot fired in its defense. On the Texas border General Zachary Taylor penetrated nearly 300 miles into Mexico and became a national hero by winning the battle of Buena Vista against apparently overwhelming odds.

Mexico still refused to make peace, so in the spring of 1847 an expedition under General Winfield Scott was sent against Mexico City. With a force of only 10,000 men, Scott landed at Vera Cruz, and after six months of difficult campaigning occupied the capital in September 1847.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848

After the capture of Mexico City, it was some months before a Mexican government could be found to sign the peace. In the meantime ardent advocates of manifest destiny, including two members of Polk's cabinet, were urging that the United States annex all of Mexico. Before this total-annexation movement proceeded very far, a peace treaty was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, outside of Mexico City, in February 1848. By the treaty, the United States gained full title to Texas with the Rio Grande as a boundary, California, and all of what was then called New Mexico except the so-called Gadsden Purchase, which was acquired in 1853 (see map, pp. 320-321). The United States paid \$15,000,000 outright for New Mexico and California, and agreed to pay debts of the Mexican government amounting to \$3,250,000.

Although the Mexican War might have been prevented had Polk shown more patience, the map of the United States might be little different today had it not occurred. The region we acquired had never been effectively governed by Mexico, and by 1850 at least 300,000 Americans had settled there. It is probable that these people would sooner or later have insisted on joining the United States, as did Texas, and that Mexico would have been unable to prevent it.

QUESTION • If the United States had not gone to war with Mexico in 1846, do you think that California would ever have become part of the United States?

ent today had it not occurred. The region we acquired had never been effectively governed by Mexico, and by 1850

at least 300,000 Americans had settled there. It is probable that these people would sooner or later have insisted on joining the United States, as did Texas, and that Mexico would have been unable to prevent it.



The Westward Movement



Santa Barbara Museum

FOR
CALIFORNIA
 AND THE
GOLD REGION DIRECT!

The Magazine: New sailing and fastest market ship.

JOSEPHINE.
 BURTHEN 400 TONS. CAPT.

THREE DAYS
10th November Next.
RODIER FRENCH.
 At 103 North Water Street, Rodman's Wharf.

One reason that men braved the difficult voyage around Cape Horn to reach California was that those coming overland had to face those formidable warriors, the Plains Indians. The few troops at scattered posts such as Fort Laramie (right) offered no guarantee that "forty-niners" would not get scalped.

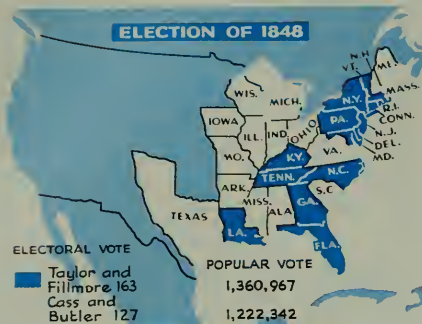


San Francisco Maritime Museum

One of the principal uses of fast-sailing clipper ships was to take men to the California gold fields. But, as this remarkable photograph of abandoned ships moored in San Francisco harbor in 1850 shows, so anxious were people from all over the world to join the great gold rush that any sort of ship would do.



Walters Art Gallery



In 1848 the slavery issue was played down, as the country tried to ease the strains of sectionalism. The Democrats, strong in the South, nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan; the Whigs, strong in the North, nominated Zachary Taylor, a Louisiana military hero and owner of 300 slaves.

Division of Oregon, 1846

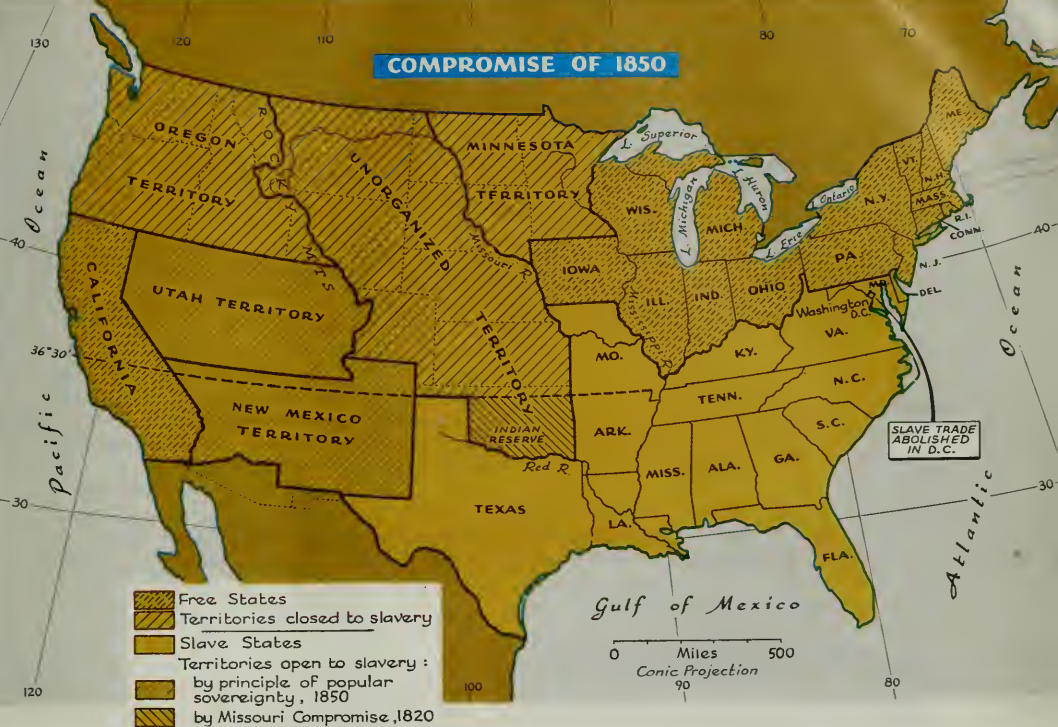
The Mexican War was indirectly responsible for settlement of the Oregon boundary. It was one thing to shout, "Fifty-four forty or fight!" in an election campaign, and another to take on war with the greatest sea power in the world at the same time we were fighting Mexico. Fortunately a fair compromise was possible. While by 1846 the number of American settlers in Oregon had risen to 10,000, most of them were in the fertile Willamette Valley south of the Columbia River. Neither by discovery nor by occupation had the United States a valid claim to the entire region. The British government in turn was willing to relinquish the southern half of Oregon because the Hudson's Bay Company had trapped out the beaver there and had moved its principal base from the Columbia River to Vancouver Island. In 1846, therefore, the United States and Great Britain agreed to divide Oregon along the 49th parallel (see map, pp. 320-321).

THE UNION IN DANGER

The Mexican War and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo brought into the open the slavery issue that politicians had been trying to avoid ever since the bitter debates over the admission of Missouri to the Union. Once the United States acquired New Mexico and California, some decision had to be made regarding the status of the Negroes in the areas. Even before the war ended, the growth of antislavery sentiment in the North was revealed when the House of Representatives passed the Wilmot Proviso, an amendment to an army appropriation bill which said that all territory acquired from Mexico should be closed to slavery. This aroused an outcry from the South, and southern senators attempted to prevent the organization of Oregon as a territory because, as the people of Oregon desired, slavery was to be forbidden there. Southerners now argued that Congress had no constitutional power to forbid slavery in the territories, on the ground that to deny owners of Negroes the right to take their human property into land that belonged to the nation as a whole was to deny them their equal rights as citizens. There seemed to be no way of reconciling these two points of view. When the Polk administration left office in 1849, no steps had been taken to provide for civil government in the new territories.

The Election of 1848

In the presidential election of 1848, both sides took elaborate precautions to soft-pedal discussion of slavery. The Democrats, although controlled by their southern wing, nominated a northern senator, Lewis Cass of Michigan. Cass supported a compromise solution for the territories known as "popular sovereignty," whereby the people of the territories would decide for themselves whether or not they wanted slavery. The Whigs, whose principal strength lay in the North and the border states of Ken-



The Compromise of 1850 was only a temporary solution. Its Fugitive Slave Law and the doctrine of popular sovereignty excited conflicts — initially in Kansas — that exploded into the Civil War eleven years later.

tucky and Maryland, nominated the hero of Buena Vista, Zachary Taylor, who came from Louisiana and owned 300 Negroes. This was a return to their tactics of the "hard cider" election of 1840: nominate a military hero and avoid issues. The ingenious effort to keep slavery out of the campaign failed when a group of northern Democrats united with the former Liberty party to form the Free Soil party, with former President Van Buren as its nominee. The Free Soilers gained no electoral votes, but they polled a heavier popular vote than the Democrats in New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts. They drew enough Democratic votes from Cass in

New York, again as in 1844 the pivotal state, so that Taylor was elected President by an electoral vote of 163 to 127.

Discovery of Gold in California

The question of slavery in the new territories became acute after gold was discovered in California in 1848. From all over the world the "Forty-niners" crowded their way to the diggings. Ray Allen Billington described them:

In those ramshackle mining camps—appropriately labeled Poker Flat, Hangtown, Whisky Bar, Placerville, Hell's Delight, Git-up-and-git, Skunk Gulch, Dry Diggings, Red Dog, Grub Gulch, and

the like—where rooms rented for \$1,000 a month and eggs cost \$10 a dozen, were assembled the most colorful desperadoes ever gathered in one spot. Mingling together were Missouri farmers, Yankee sailors, Georgia crackers, English shopkeepers, French peasants, Australian shepherders, Mexican peons, "heathen Chinee," and a liberal sprinkling of "assassins manufactured in Hell."

Most of the population of California, however, were law-abiding and wanted to set up a regular government; in December 1849, the Californians applied for admission as a free state.

California's application for statehood touched off one of the longest and bitterest debates in the history of Congress. Some congressmen attended sessions armed with pistols and bowie knives. The feeling in the national legislature was a reflection of public opinion. The danger of disunion had never seemed so great. Already two of the four largest Protestant churches had split apart over the slavery issue. Every northern legislature except one had passed resolutions supporting the Wilmot Proviso that slavery should be excluded from the territories acquired from Mexico. Southerners threatened secession if such action were taken.

The Compromise of 1850

To deal with this alarming situation, Henry Clay, who had been in retirement since his defeat in the presidential election of 1844, returned to the Senate. Clay, an artist at discovering just where people would stand firm and where they would give in, was at first the dominant figure in Congress as he tried to arrange his last great intersectional compromise. This was embodied in a series of measures nicely calculated to balance northern and southern demands. The principal provisions favoring the North were that California be admitted as a free state and that the slave trade, but not slavery, be forbidden in the District of Columbia. The South in turn gained a stronger Fugitive Slave Law, designed to suppress the

Underground Railroad. The New Mexico Cession was divided into two territories, Utah and New Mexico, the question of slavery to be decided by popular sovereignty when the territories were organized with territorial legislatures, the formula Cass proposed in the 1848 campaign. The original size of the Republic of Texas was decreased by more than 100,000 square miles, for which Texas was paid by the federal government (see map, p. 320).

Clay's measures, lumped together in an "omnibus bill," at first failed to receive sufficient support to pass, and President Taylor was known to be cool to them. Taylor died, however, in the summer of 1850 and was succeeded by Millard Fillmore, who favored the compromise. Then, while Clay was on a vacation, legislative management of the compromise proposals passed to young Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. By a skillful series of parliamentary maneuvers, Douglas put through the compromise as six separate bills, and they were duly signed by Fillmore. Shortly afterward Daniel

QUESTION • If the slave states had seceded in 1850, would the Union have been permanently broken?

Webster, who had played an important part in getting the Compromise of 1850

accepted, wrote a friend, "I can now sleep of nights. We have gone through the most important crisis that has occurred since the founding of the government, and whatever party may prevail, hereafter the Union stands firm."

By bringing the slavery issue into the open, manifest destiny had almost broken the nation apart, but the Compromise of 1850 averted immediate disaster. Unhappily, it turned out to be a truce rather than a permanent peace. Eleven years later the South seceded and the Civil War broke out. By then, however, the North was more populous than in 1850, more powerful economically, and more ready to fight to save the Union.

Activities: Chapter 12

For Mastery and Review

1. Explain the rapid expansion of the boundaries of the United States between 1840 and 1850.
2. What were causes of friction between the United States and Great Britain? What made compromise desirable to both sides? What agreements were made in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, and what matters were left unsettled?
3. What interests competed for the fur trade in the West? Who were the mountain men? What was their importance?
4. Why was Marcus Whitman called "the Father of Oregon"? Describe travel on the Oregon Trail. How was the Oregon question finally settled?
5. How and why did Texas gain its independence from Mexico? Why was the treaty of annexation defeated in the Senate in 1844?
6. What were the four major objectives of the Polk administration? How was each accomplished?
7. What were the causes of the Mexican War? Why was it opposed within the United States? Explain the defeat of Mexico. What were the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo?
8. Describe the gold rush of 1849 and the varied population it brought to California.
9. Why did the Mexican War reopen the controversy over slavery? Why did matters reach such a crisis in 1850? What were the terms of the Compromise of 1850, and why were they important?

Unrolling the Map

1. On a map of the western part of the United States, show the march of manifest destiny. Draw the boundaries of the United States in 1844; indicate the Rocky Mountains, the "Great American Desert," San Francisco Bay, and Puget Sound. Show the Oregon country under joint occupation and trace the boundary agreed on in 1846. Trace the Oregon, Mormon, and California trails. Locate Salt Lake City. Draw the boundaries of Texas, indicating both the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. Show the territory acquired from Mexico.
2. Study the maps showing the vote on the annexation of Texas (p. 308) and the election of 1848 (p. 316). How do you account for the sectional vote in the one and the lack of sectionalism in the other?

Who, What, and Why Important?

manifest destiny	James K. Polk
Webster-Ashburton Treaty	"54° 40' or fight!"
Marcus and Clarissa Whitman	Mexican War election of 1848
Oregon Territory	Free Soil party
Mormons	forty-niners
Republic of Texas election of 1844	Compromise of 1850
Liberty party	Stephen A. Douglas
	Millard Fillmore

To Pursue the Matter

1. For the human aspects of manifest destiny—life on the Oregon Trail, the Mormons' trekking to Utah, the mountain men, the forty-niners—see Arnoff, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 196–210.
2. Why did the Mormons make the long trek to Utah, and why were they successful when they got there? See Billington, *Westward Expansion*, Chapter 26, and/or Clark, *Frontier America*, Chapter 22.
3. Why did Zachary Taylor become a hero? See Singletery, *The Mexican War*.
4. For what reasons did men seriously predict that the Union was about to break apart in 1850? See Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, vol. 1, Chapter 7.
5. Why was it difficult to stop the Mexican War even after both sides were tired of fighting? See Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, pp. 261–265.
6. For episodes in the fascinating story of the Texas Republic, see Tinkle, *The Alamo*; "The Storming of the Alamo," *American Heritage*, February 1961; Horgan, *The Great River*, vol. II.
7. Life on the Oregon Trail is described with close attention to detail in Cuthrie's novel, *The Way West*.
8. Consider these assertions:
 - a) Polk was justified in the efforts he made to acquire California.
 - b) "'Manifest destiny' is a fancy term meaning 'theft.'"
 - c) An unjust fugitive slave law was too high a price to pay for intersectional compromise in 1850.





Chapter 13

From Compromise to Conflict

I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1858

The apparent settlement of the slavery issue by the Compromise of 1850 took place during a period of remarkable prosperity. Every great interest—cotton planting, wheat farming, manufacturing, transportation—was booming. Between 1849 and 1860, California produced over two thousand times as much gold as had been mined in the United States in the previous sixty years. This flood of precious metal paid for imports and served as a circulating medium within the country. The rapid growth of the United States astonished the world: in the three decades from 1830 to 1860 the population more than doubled, climbing from 12,866,000 to 31,443,000.

"TAKE-OFF" IN THE NORTH

According to economist W. W. Rostow, the twenty years from 1840 to 1860 saw the northern United States enter a stage of economic development that he calls the "take-off." A nation enters the take-off, says Rostow, when a number of causes combine to create a situation where wealth grows relatively faster than population. Rapid and apparently self-sustaining growth becomes a dominant characteristic of the

economy. In the United States, the take-off was the result of a combination of factors: new inventions, sufficient capital to build new factories, a class of businessmen able and willing to start new enterprises, a mobile labor supply, an increase in agricultural productivity, and a transportation system to connect farms and factories.

Although in 1850 two-thirds of the American people were engaged in agriculture, industry was catching up, partly because of a flood of new inventions. Whereas in the early years of the Republic patents had been granted at a rate of less than 100 per year, by the turn of the nineteenth century 2,500 patents were issued annually. "Would any but an American," asked an English newspaper, "have ever invented a milking machine, or a machine to beat eggs, or machines to black boots, scour knives, pare apples, and do a hundred things that all other peoples have done with their ten fingers from time immemorial?" The sewing machine, invented by Elias Howe in 1846, reduced the time for making a shirt from over fourteen hours to little more than an hour. When adapted for the purpose of sewing uppers to soles, it made possible the mass production of shoes.



Maritime Museum of San Diego

The American clipper ships that slid down the ways of builders from Maine to Maryland were perhaps the finest sailing vessels ever built. They were designed to move small cargoes such as tea and passengers at great speed. Carrying as much as an acre of sail, they required large crews. Their hey-day was short because they were beaten out by steamships, which did not depend on wind and weather and so could keep more regular schedules. In what other ways were steamships more economical?

Courtesy of Essex Institute



FLOW OF COMMERCE, 1820-1860



Before canals and railroads, when all midwestern produce went down the Mississippi, the West and the South were political allies. By the 1840's, the direction of commerce had begun to shift, and with it political alliances. By 1860, the West and the North had become political allies. (See the pictures and map on pages 228-229.)

The rotary press, introduced in the 1840's, allowed newspapers to publish far larger editions than ever before, so that such a paper as Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune*, with a circulation of 200,000, could exert national influence. Charles Goodyear's invention of vulcanized rubber in 1839 found innumerable uses in industry and gave the world the first cheap waterproof garments. The telegraph as a practical proposition dates from 1844, when Samuel F. B. Morse used a grant of \$30,000 from Congress to build a line between Baltimore and Washington. By 1861 a telegraph line was extended across the continent, and a cable was laid across the Atlantic to Great Britain. Soon the whole world was to be linked by instantaneous communication.

Along with new inventions and new industries came further development of old industries. Thus textile factories increased in size as several operations were combined under a single roof and more efficient steam engines produced more power. The techniques invented by Eli Whitney and Simeon North of making interchangeable parts and breaking down manufacture into simple operations were now applied to the mass production of clocks, watches, farm machinery, and sewing machines. In western Pennsylvania, Brady's Bend Iron Company combined all the operations from mining to shaping the finished product and produced 15,000 tons of rails a year.

For the first time, American manufactured goods invaded world markets. At the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London in 1851, crowds were fascinated by the ingenuity of American gadgets such as mechanical churns, revolvers, and alarm clocks. Although Great Britain was still the leading manufacturing nation, the United States was in second place and had started on a period of rapid growth that would make it the industrial leader of the world by the end of the nineteenth century.

Growth of Agriculture

Agricultural productivity grew as fast as that of industry. During the 1850's, the frontier line did not advance as rapidly as in previous decades because settlers held back from the Great Plains. But in the Middle West there was ample fertile land, "as flat as a barn floor," and it attracted farmers from barren hill-sides in the Northeast and immigrants from Europe. Public lands could be purchased for as little as 25 cents an acre, and the Pre-emption Act of 1841 allowed "squatters" first chance to buy. The new railroads supplemented sailing ships on the Great Lakes and the canal system in moving western grain and meat to eastern markets.

New markets at home and abroad stimulated more efficient means of food production. In Chicago and Cincinnati, meat packers began to use assembly-line methods to convey thousands of carcasses through their plants. But the most striking new development was the first large-scale use of farm machinery. There were special conditions in America that made for this. As Jefferson had pointed out, "In Europe the object is to make the most of their land, labor being abundant; here it is to make the most of our labor, land being abundant."

The first great need was for plows that could cut through the roots of recently cleared forest land or turn the tough sod of the prairies. In 1825 Jethro Wood of Scipio, New York, started to manufacture an iron plow with replaceable parts that was more efficient than any before. A much improved version, made of steel instead of iron, was developed by John Deere of Moline, Illinois; by 1850 the Deere works were turning out 10,000 plows per year.

The new plows enabled farmers to plant more land than they could later reap. Many men tried to invent a mechanical reaper to deal with the situation; the most successful was Cyrus McCormick, a Virginia blacksmith. Tak-

ing out his first patent in 1834, McCormick continually improved his machine. By 1860 over 100,000 mechanical reapers were in use. They were accompanied by still other inventions: mechanical drills to plant grain, threshing machines, and horse-drawn hay rakes.

TRANSPORTATION

With rapidly expanding domestic and foreign markets came great advances in transportation. In the decade of the 1850's the United States built the largest merchant marine in the world; inland navigation on canals and rivers reached its highest point; and the new-fangled railroads more than tripled their mileage.

Expansion of the Merchant Marine

In 1849 Great Britain repealed the Navigation Laws that had given special protection to British ships trading within her empire. The United States, however, continued to allow only its own ships to carry cargoes between American ports. Competing on even terms with British ships in British ports while enjoying an advantage in their own, American ships increased in total tonnage from 943,000 tons in 1846 to 2,226,000 tons in 1857. For a few years, vessels flying the Stars and Stripes carried more goods than those flying the Union Jack.

The greatest American triumph at sea was the clipper ship, which enjoyed its brief heyday between about 1845 and 1860. The clippers were specialized ships, built to carry cargoes of high value and small volume. Characterized by very sharp bows, an immense spread of sail, masts

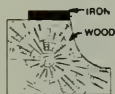
QUESTION • What accounted for the speed of the clipper ships?

200 feet high, and great length in relation to the beam, they were

the fastest ocean-going sailing vessels ever built. The clipper *Lightning* once logged over 500 miles in a 24-hour period. During the 1850's,



The scene of the river at Baltimore in 1840 (above) depicts how great the traffic was along the east coast. Compare this scene with the scene of Baltimore on page 1. One of the difficulties of early railroading was the development of rails (below) that would neither sag, spread, nor break. This problem was not solved until the development of steel rails after the Civil War.



1830
STRAP RAIL LAID ON
WOODER STRINGERS



1832
ENGLISH FISH-BELLY RAIL



1832
STEVENS RAIL
36 POUNDS PER YARD



1837
STEVENS RAIL
SUPPORTED BY CAST IRON
CHAIR 45 1/4 POUNDS PER YARD



1848
56 POUNDS PER YARD



1870
56 POUNDS PER YARD



1867
85 POUNDS PER YARD



1902
100 POUNDS PER YARD



1924
112 POUNDS PER YARD

there was continuous excitement among seamen throughout the world as the American clippers broke all records for long ocean voyages. The great clippers were among the wonders of their day. Their names reflect their beauty and the pride of their builders—*Sovereign of the Seas*, *Sea Witch*, *Flying Cloud*, *Shooting Star*, *Westward Ho*, *Morning Light*, *Queen of the Pacific*, *Young America*, and *Great Republic*.

Alarmed by the superiority of American sailing ships, the British concentrated on the development of steamships. Between 1850 and 1860, the proportion of ocean freight carried in steam vessels went from 14 to 28 per cent, and most of this increase was British. By 1860 American shipyards were closing down for want of orders.

Inland Navigation

During this decade inland navigation reached its peak. The Erie Canal had so much traffic that it had to be widened and deepened. The Great Lakes gained such importance as a water route that 6,000 ships sailed from Chicago in a single year. Above all, this was the great period of the Mississippi River traffic. Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* and *Huckleberry Finn* bear witness to the romance of the great river at this time. Remembering his boyhood in Illinois, Francis Grierson wrote as follows:

There were days when I sat for hours on this bluff [above the river]; the supreme moments came with the passing of boats, such as the *War Eagle*, the *City of Louisiana*, or the *Post Boy*. . . . When a boat made the return journey down stream it put the last touch of enchantment to the face of the waters. It filled me with visions of distant worlds as it skimmed the smooth surface, the smoke from the chimneys leaving a long, scattered trail, the white steam puffing out of the 'scape-pipes in rhythmic movements, the paddle wheels throwing out thick showers as the beautiful apparition sped like a dream southward.



Metropolitan Museum of Art

The "9:45 Accommodation" by E.L. Henry (above) depicts a scene that was becoming commonplace in pre-Civil War America—the meeting of the horse and buggy and the iron horse. The water traffic on the Great Lakes in 1836 (below) moved east from Detroit to the Erie Canal, then to New York, and finally to Europe.

Some of the passenger boats were 350 feet long, although drawing only 5 feet of water; they were described as "magnificent floating palaces," with 60 or 70 staterooms and dining rooms lined with mirrors and hung with crystal chandeliers. But the great days of the river traffic were numbered. By 1860 the railroad, like the ocean-going steamship, was coming into its own and would soon make canal and river traffic obsolete.

Detroit Institute of Arts



Railroads: Early Difficulties, Later Expansion

The first successful use of the steam locomotive in the United States was on the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad in South Carolina in 1831, and other lines began operation almost simultaneously. Railroads did not, however, be-



A big advantage of railroads over canals was, of course, that railroads operated in winter, when canal traffic, except in the South, was tied up by ice. By the middle of the nineteenth century passenger and freight cars had assumed something like their modern forms.

come an important means of transportation immediately, partly because they aroused opposition. A typical canal man's speech contained this passage:

Canals, sir, are God's own highway, operating on the soft bosom of the fluid that comes straight from nature. The railroad... is the Devil's own invention, compounded of fire, smoke, and dirt, spreading its infernal poison throughout the fair countryside. It will set fire to houses along its slimy tracks. . . . It will leave the land despoiled, ruined, a desert where only sable buzzards shall wing their loathsome way.

Railroads were opposed on the ground that such frightful speeds as fifteen, twenty, and even thirty miles an hour were against nature and contrary to the will of God.

Early railroads were handicapped by numerous practical problems. It was difficult, for instance, to devise suitable rails—rails which

would neither spread under the weight of a train nor bend and come up through the floor of the car. A train was hard to stop: if the brake worked on the engine, the cars piled into it; if the cars were braked first, they dragged back so hard as to break the couplings. Almost everything one takes for granted on railroads today—brakes, couplings, headlights, effective lubrication of the wheels, and safe bridges—had to be worked out by painful trial and error. Furthermore, railroads were extremely expensive to build and maintain. The Panic of 1837, caused partly by overexpansion in canal and turnpike building, made both state governments and private investors wary of sinking money into a new form of transportation.

By 1850 many of the technical problems of railroading had been met, and an era of great expansion began. Before 1853 it was impossible to make a continuous journey of as much as 500 miles on any American railroad. By 1860 the Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi River system were connected by a number of through routes. The railroad network had increased in mileage from 9,000 in 1850 to over 30,000 in 1860. The new railroads cost what then seemed colossal sums. The Erie Railroad cost about \$23,000,000 to build, half again as much as the United States paid for New Mexico and California. The railroad corporations thus became the first outstanding examples of "big business."

Linking the Middle West and the Northeast

The through lines from the East to the Middle West completed a development which the Erie Canal had begun: the conquest of the Appalachian Mountain barrier. Because of the Mississippi River system, the natural economic ties of the Middle West had at first been with the South. Now, due to the railroads, the two sections drew together economically and politically. "This fact," says the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, "far more than abolitionist agita-

tion, was to account for northern unity when southern guns boomed out against Fort Sumter in 1861."

IMMIGRATION

One of the necessities for the take-off into sustained industrial growth is a mobile labor supply, free of attachments to long traditions of social organization or of craftsmanship, and willing to move from place to place. Many Americans had these qualities, and their numbers were supplemented by an increasing flood of immigrants. Until about 1800, immigrants

to the United States were not numerous, averaging about 8,000 persons per year. But during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a great migration began from Europe to America. Between 1840 and 1860 an average of over 200,000 immigrants reached our shores yearly; by the latter date, one out of every eight Americans was foreign-born.

Reasons for Flood of Immigration

Most of the immigrants fled poverty or oppression. In England and Germany the industrial revolution put thousands of skilled workers out of jobs. Rather than go into factories,

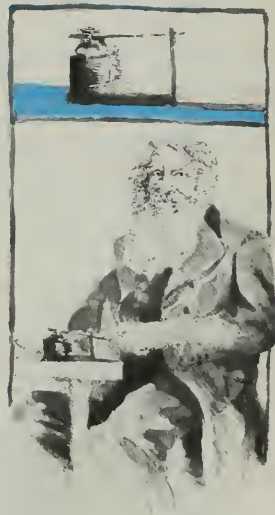
On May 24, 1844, Samuel Finley Breese Morse sent a message over wires stretching 40 miles from Washington, D.C., to Baltimore. His words, "What hath God wrought!" proved to all that the telegraph was workable.

The speed of communication leaped forward. One of the first important uses of electricity, the telegraph introduced the electronic age. Morse, its inventor, was immensely honored in his day and earned a lasting place in history. Yet, untrained in science, often ignorant of the principles and theories of his field, he drew heavily on the work of others, sometimes without fitting acknowledgment. One of his biographers notes: "Morse was almost blissfully unaware of his own ignorance. . . . He lacked the mechanical skill to make his own materials with any professional finesse."

It is not hard to understand. Morse was trained in the fine arts. Born in 1791 in a Massachusetts parsonage, he early persuaded his father to send him to Europe to study painting. He wrote home that his ambition was "to rival the genius of a Raphael, a Michelangelo, or a Titian." He did, in fact, become a highly skilled artist, but the American public would buy only his portraits. They earned him some respect and a fair income, but Morse considered them mere "copying."

Spectacularly improvident, he reluctantly took a job teaching sculpture and painting at New York University. There he abandoned brush and palette for batteries and magnets, turning his rooms into a maze of wires. From his experiments came the telegraph, and, with his life more than half over, he won success—in a field he never fully understood.

Samuel Morse, Artist and Inventor



(Theme 9, see p. xii)

many of these preferred to leave home. In 1848-1849 there were unsuccessful revolutions in Europe, especially in the German states, followed by persecution of those believing in democracy. Many German liberals fled to this country. In Scandinavia and the Netherlands there was too little soil to support rapidly growing populations. In Ireland, the greatest source of immigrants, the native population was denied home rule, and a wretched system of landholding kept them in poverty. The staple diet of Irish peasants was ~~potatoes~~. When the potato crop was blighted in 1845, there was appalling suffering. It has been estimated that one million out of eight million died of starvation; in the next ten years, another million came to America.

Some immigrants actually came to this country against their will. The German city of Hamburg, for instance, found it cheaper to ship its paupers to the United States than to keep them in poorhouses or in jails. Public and private relief agencies in Britain provided money for the unemployed to take passage to America rather than go into the dreaded "workhouses," where poverty was treated as though it were a crime. Most immigrants came here, however, in high hopes of a better life. European agents of railroad companies and steamship lines described America as a land where riches could be had almost for the asking. Several states established immigration agencies to attract foreigners by such inducements as offering the right to vote to newcomers even before they became naturalized. But perhaps the most persuasive inducements to come to this country were the "America letters" written by recent immigrants to the folks back in their old homes. "The poorest families," wrote one correspondent, "adorn the tables three times a day like a wedding dinner—tea, coffee, beef, fowls, pies, eggs, pickles, good bread . . . Say, is it so in England?" The letters praised not only the prosperity of America, but its freedom

and equality. Here, they said, there were no class distinctions. No farmer had to tip his hat to the local squire, and workmen could leave jobs if they did not like the boss. Women were not expected to do heavy work in the fields. "If you wish to be happy and independent, then come here," wrote a German farmer from his new home in Missouri.

Difficulties Faced by Immigrants

The move to America was often difficult and dangerous. On the voyage over, immigrants were packed into the steerage under conditions little better than those on board the ships that brought slaves from Africa. It is estimated that nearly 10 per cent of the steerage passengers died on the way over from malnutrition and disease. Once off the boat, their troubles were not over. They might become the prey of swindlers selling bogus railroad tickets or "farms" that later turned out to be under water. So many people made a business of cheating recent arrivals that a Swedish minister remarked, "the American competes with the mosquitoes to bleed the emigrant." Even after they had found jobs and places to live, immigrants had to deal with the settled prejudices of native Americans. Some pious folk disapproved of the way German-Americans spent Sunday afternoons listening to band concerts. American laborers resented the Irish who were often so used to poverty that they could be hired for low wages. Employers were sometimes forced to put signs at factory gates, "No Irish need apply." Irishmen also faced religious prejudice so strong that it frequently broke out in mob violence.

Immigrants met organized opposition from a nation-wide secret society, the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, founded in 1849. The members of this organization were called "Know Nothings," because when asked about it they replied, "I know nothing." The Know Nothings

tried to keep recent immigrants from political office. They demanded that immigration be restricted and that the naturalization period be extended to twenty-one years.

The natural tendency of immigrants facing prejudice and grappling with the insecurity of a new environment was to draw together and keep to their old culture. This was reflected in the appearance of foreign-language newspapers. In New York City alone in 1851 there were seven such papers—four German, one French, one Italian, and one Spanish.

In spite of hardships, prejudice, and attempts to cling to their old ways, most immigrants adapted themselves rapidly to America. Jobs were abundant and land was cheap. Familiar with tyranny and want, the recent arrivals often appreciated American freedom and well-being more than did those whose ancestors had come over here generations earlier. Immigrants made many valuable contributions to the arts in America, to journalism, to education, and to invention. The children of foreign-born parents were quickly Americanized in the public schools, where they were taught English and learned to get along with children of different backgrounds and upbringing from their own.

Negroes in the North

There was one group of people in the North whose status resembled the immigrants in that they faced prejudice and dislike, even though their ancestors had been here for several generations—the Negroes. Although they had long since been freed, northern Negroes were generally denied the right to vote and hold public office, to enter the professions and skilled crafts, and to send their children to any but segregated schools. They had to stand on the outside platform on streetcars and use only certain cars on railroad trains. Some states even forbade Negroes to enter their borders. Although the abolitionists fought these restrictions and won

a few local successes, especially in New England, northern Negroes on the eve of the Civil War were second-class citizens.

THE SOUTH: "KING COTTON" AND SLAVERY

By the 1850's, British textile machinery had become so efficient that it produced cloth cheap enough to be sold profitably to the poverty-stricken millions of Asia and Africa. The resulting demand for raw cotton brought prosperity to the deep South. In the decade of the 1850's cotton production broke all previous records. As new plantations were cleared in Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, the yield rose from less than 2,000,000 bales in 1849 to 4,540,000 bales in 1859. Seven-eighths of the world's supply came from the United States, and raw cotton comprised three-fifths of the nation's exports.

The 1850's also witnessed a revival of tobacco growing. This resulted from the discovery by Stephen, a Negro overseer in North Carolina, of a new method of curing that greatly improved the product. This "bright yellow" tobacco could be grown on lighter soils than had been worked formerly, and it was so much better that it sold for four times the former price. The result was a great increase in tobacco acreage.

Because it devoted most of its capital and labor force to the growing of staples, the South did not experience the industrial take-off of the North. It was also out of step with the North in other ways. On three important issues—a protective tariff, internal improvements at federal expense, and the grant of free land to homesteaders—southern opinion was opposed to the dominant sentiment among Northerners. But what most set the South apart from the North—indeed, from most of the civilized world—was its "peculiar institution," Negro slavery.



"The Peculiar Institution"

The feature of slavery that even its defenders condemned was the slave trade. Its very worst aspect, the voyage from Africa with slaves packed in like cattle and chained as well, was outlawed by international agreement in the nineteenth century. Even the Confederate Constitution, which defended slavery, forbade the importation of slaves. The domestic slave trade was less cruel, but there was nothing to prevent break-up of families.

CATALOGUE OF H. R. W. HILL'S "RETRIEVE" PLANTATION SLAVES. BY J. A. BEARD & MAY.

WILL BE SOLD AT AUCTION, AT RANE'S ARCADE.

ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 26, 1855, AT 12 O'CLOCK.

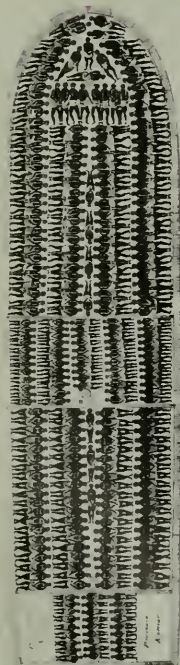
THE FOLLOWING CATALOGUE OF SLAVES, REMOVED FROM THE RETRIEVE PLANTATION, TO-WIT
ONE HUNDRED AND SEVEN CHOICE SLAVES,
Comprising Field Hands, Carpenters and other Mechanics, Housewives, &c.

CATALOGUE:

No.	Sex	Age	Description	No.	Sex	Age	Description
1	Male	22	good field hand	51	Male	22	good field hand
2	Male	22	good field hand	52	Male	22	good field hand
3	Male	22	good field hand	53	Male	22	good field hand
4	Male	22	good field hand	54	Male	22	good field hand
5	Male	22	good field hand	55	Male	22	good field hand
6	Male	22	good field hand	56	Male	22	good field hand
7	Male	22	good field hand	57	Male	22	good field hand
8	Male	22	good field hand	58	Male	22	good field hand
9	Male	22	good field hand	59	Male	22	good field hand
10	Male	22	good field hand	60	Male	22	good field hand
11	Male	22	good field hand	61	Male	22	good field hand
12	Male	22	good field hand	62	Male	22	good field hand
13	Male	22	good field hand	63	Male	22	good field hand
14	Male	22	good field hand	64	Male	22	good field hand
15	Male	22	good field hand	65	Male	22	good field hand
16	Male	22	good field hand	66	Male	22	good field hand
17	Male	22	good field hand	67	Male	22	good field hand
18	Male	22	good field hand	68	Male	22	good field hand
19	Male	22	good field hand	69	Male	22	good field hand
20	Male	22	good field hand	70	Male	22	good field hand
21	Male	22	good field hand	71	Male	22	good field hand
22	Male	22	good field hand	72	Male	22	good field hand
23	Male	22	good field hand	73	Male	22	good field hand
24	Male	22	good field hand	74	Male	22	good field hand
25	Male	22	good field hand	75	Male	22	good field hand
26	Male	22	good field hand	76	Male	22	good field hand
27	Male	22	good field hand	77	Male	22	good field hand
28	Male	22	good field hand	78	Male	22	good field hand
29	Male	22	good field hand	79	Male	22	good field hand
30	Male	22	good field hand	80	Male	22	good field hand
31	Male	22	good field hand	81	Male	22	good field hand
32	Male	22	good field hand	82	Male	22	good field hand
33	Male	22	good field hand	83	Male	22	good field hand
34	Male	22	good field hand	84	Male	22	good field hand
35	Male	22	good field hand	85	Male	22	good field hand
36	Male	22	good field hand	86	Male	22	good field hand
37	Male	22	good field hand	87	Male	22	good field hand
38	Male	22	good field hand	88	Male	22	good field hand
39	Male	22	good field hand	89	Male	22	good field hand
40	Male	22	good field hand	90	Male	22	good field hand
41	Male	22	good field hand	91	Male	22	good field hand
42	Male	22	good field hand	92	Male	22	good field hand
43	Male	22	good field hand	93	Male	22	good field hand
44	Male	22	good field hand	94	Male	22	good field hand
45	Male	22	good field hand	95	Male	22	good field hand
46	Male	22	good field hand	96	Male	22	good field hand
47	Male	22	good field hand	97	Male	22	good field hand
48	Male	22	good field hand	98	Male	22	good field hand
49	Male	22	good field hand	99	Male	22	good field hand
50	Male	22	good field hand	100	Male	22	good field hand

TERMS—Five per cent. for approved city notes, or cash, to be paid to the auctioneer before the sale. The balance to be paid in cash, or by draft on the place of sale, on the day following the sale.

For further particulars apply to the undersigned, or to the agents, Messrs. J. A. BEARD & MAY, 1855.



The New York Public Library

The "Peculiar Institution"

The slave system as it had developed by the 1850's was based on the assumption that slavery was the natural and best condition for Negroes. Criticism of the system had been silenced in the South. State legislatures made it increasingly difficult for an owner to emancipate his slaves, and the lot of free Negroes became worse. Some states went so far as to decree that free Negroes must either go somewhere else or be sold back into slavery.

Negro bondage assumed many forms. Between house servants and their masters and mistresses there was generally a good deal of intimacy and mutual affection. Some slaves, especially in the cities, were skilled craftsmen who were hired out by their masters, and the working force of one of the most successful iron enterprises in the country, the Tredegar Works in Richmond, was entirely Negro. In Savannah, the crack teams of firemen were Negroes, and their efficiency was a matter of local pride. The overseer of John C. Calhoun's plantation, Fort Hill, was a trusted slave. But most Negroes worked on plantations, and their life was marked by monotony, isolation, hard labor, and discipline. Everything in the plantation system was contrived to make the Negroes dependent and ignorant. They were not allowed to contract valid marriages, and families could be broken up by sale. They could not leave home without permission or stay out at night after dark. It was forbidden by law to teach a Negro to read.

Although the case might seem hopeless, the Negroes themselves never lost the idea of freedom. As Abraham Lincoln once remarked, "the most dumb and stupid slave that ever toiled for a master does constantly *know* that he is wronged." A favorite Biblical hero was Moses, who led his people from bondage, as can be seen in the chorus of the noble spiritual, "Go Down, Moses":

Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egypt's land.
Tell old Pharaoh,
"Let my people go!"

The few men who owned Negroes in quantity apparently made money out of the slave system. The rise in the price of "prime field hands" from \$300 in 1790 to \$1,800 in 1860 was evidence that slave labor was a valuable commodity. But the system was costly for the South as a whole. It lowered the dignity of work and drove down the wages of white workingmen. Europeans were so repelled by slavery that immigrants tended to shun the South. So great was the constant fear of insurrection that a good deal of energy was devoted simply to keeping slaves under observation. All Negroes, bond and free, had to be supplied with passes when away from their homes. At night there were patrols, equipped with dogs and guns, to see that Negroes were under cover.

Southern Defense of Slavery

More and more the South became isolated from world opinion, as slaves were emancipated in the British Empire and most of Latin America, and as abolitionist sentiment grew in the North. Instead of backing down or apologizing, some of the best minds in the South developed an elaborate defense of slavery designed to prove the assertion of Calhoun that the institution was "instead of an evil, a good—a positive good." They invented a pseudo-anthropology that asserted the Negro to be innately inferior, even a different species of man, and peculiarly adapted to bondage. They insisted that the plantation Negro was "as happy as a human being can be."

The master's interest prevents his reducing the slave's allowance or wages in infancy or sickness, for he might lose the slave by so doing. His feeling for his slave never permits him to stint him in old

age. The slaves are all well fed, well clad, have plenty of fuel and are happy. They have no dread of the future—no fear of want.

Contrast this idyllic picture, said apologists for slavery, with unemployment, want, pauperism, and crime in industrial cities in the Northeast and in England. They also found warrant for slavery in the Bible: the Hebrews had been told to make slaves of the heathen in Palestine, and in the New Testament servants were exhorted to obey their masters.

The defenders of slavery were careful to appeal to the three-quarters of southern whites who owned no Negroes. In the South, according to Calhoun, "the two great divisions of society are not the rich and poor, but white and black; and all the former, the poor as well as the rich, belong to the upper classes, and are respected and treated as such." And in fact the "peculiar institution" gave every white man a certain status in that no matter how lowly he might be, he was above every Negro.

NEW INTEREST IN THE CARIBBEAN AND THE FAR EAST

After the Mexican War the spirit of manifest destiny subsided in the North, but continued in the South. The portion of the United States suitable for or legally open to slave labor was far smaller than the areas where it was banned either by law or by geography. Many Southerners thought that the only way to keep the sectional balance even was to expand southward. In 1848 *De Bow's Review*, a New Orleans financial journal, declared, "We have New Mexico and California. We will have old Mexico and Cuba!"

Some prominent northern Democrats sympathized with this point of view. President Franklin Pierce, a New Hampshire man, declared in his inaugural address in 1853 that he would not be restrained "by any timid fore-

bodings of evil from expansion." He offered Spain \$130,000,000 for Cuba. When this was refused, three United States diplomats drew up a statement known as the Ostend Manifesto, which declared that if Spain would not sell the island, the United States should take it by force. Published in 1854, this disgraceful document caused such protest that the Secretary of State repudiated it, and the effort to buy Cuba was abandoned.

Other efforts to gain territory that might later be annexed to the United States were made by armed adventurers known as "filibusters." Prominent Southerners aided Narcisco Lopez, who three times attempted a landing in Cuba, and William Walker, who made himself for a brief time dictator of Nicaragua. But all attempts to expand slave territory were doomed to failure because of northern opposition. The only new addition to the territory of the United States was the Gadsden Purchase. This tract of desert was acquired from Mexico in 1853 for \$10,000,000 in order to give the United States control over the least steep part of the Rockies, as a possible route for a subcontinental railroad (see map, pp. 320-321).

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 1850

The acquisition of California and Oregon stirred up interest in a project that had been discussed ever since the establishment of the Spanish colonies in the sixteenth century: the construction of an isthmian canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. In 1846 the United States made a treaty with New Granada (later Colombia) by which it gained the right to preserve "free transit" across the Isthmus of Panama. Meanwhile the British, also interested in controlling canal routes, were trying to extend their influence along the entire Atlantic coast of Central America. Rival ambitions caused such tension that in 1850 Great Britain sent



Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem

The Chinese wanted to have as little as possible to do with the big-nosed barbarians who came from across the sea to seek their tea, silks, and chinaware. Until their defeat in the Opium War of 1839-1842 the Chinese insisted that the only place in all China where European traders were allowed to set foot was this compound outside the city of Canton. It was about the size of two football fields laid side by side.

a special agent, Sir Henry Bulwer, to Washington to confer with Secretary of State John M. Clayton. The result was the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, whereby the United States and Britain agreed to support jointly the building of an interoceanic canal that should not be fortified and should be open to the ships of all nations on equal terms.

The Opening of China

For centuries the prospect of trade with China had stirred men's imaginations. China produced valuable commodities, and its "300,000,000 customers" were the largest untapped market in the world. United States trade with China had increased ever since the late eighteenth century, and by 1850 American clippers carried most of the Chinese tea exported to Europe. American missionaries had followed our

traders; 88 of the 150 Protestant missionaries in China in 1851 were from this country.

From 1839 to 1842, the British fought the First Opium War with China. When they won, they secured the cession of the port of Hong Kong and the grant of various privileges to British merchants and missionaries, such as "extraterritoriality" (the right to be free of the operation of Chinese law). Later the British, aided by other European nations, forced China to grant special privileges to Christian missionaries, to set aside sixteen "treaty ports" administered by Westerners, and to allow Chinese rivers to be patrolled by European gunboats.

The United States participated in these privileges. In 1844 we sent to China an able diplomat, Caleb Cushing, with four warships. Without firing a shot, Cushing persuaded the Chinese to grant generous trading arrange-

ments. Since the United States was not interested, as were some nations, in annexing outlying provinces of China, the Chinese were rather less unfriendly to this country than to others. The first Chinese diplomatic mission to Europe included an American, Anson Burlingame, who had won Chinese admiration for fair dealing.

Perry's Expeditions to Japan, 1853-1854

Japan, the island kingdom, was even harder to penetrate than China. It was said to be as difficult to get inside the country as to send a balloon to Mars. In 1853, however, a small United States fleet under Commodore Matthew C. Perry appeared in Tokyo harbor. Perry stayed only ten days, but left a message for the Japanese government, urging it to open its ports to trade. Next year he appeared with more warships, and all guns were stripped for action. Perry used no actual violence. Instead, he brought elaborate presents for the ruler of Japan, including a miniature telegraph and steam railroad. By this mixture of courtesy with the threat of force, the Japanese were at last persuaded to open relations with the rest of the world.

SLAVERY DISPUTE REOPENED

For a few years the Compromise of 1850 seemed to justify the hope that it would provide a permanent solution of the slavery controversy. In the presidential election of 1852 both major parties stood by its provisions. Democrat Franklin Pierce was elected over the Whig candidate, General Winfield Scott, partly because some northern Whigs were suspected of abolitionist tendencies. Leading businessmen, plantation owners, and congressmen joined in condemning any attempt to "rock the boat" by discussion of slavery.

But the issue would not stay down. Throughout the North, there was opposition to the more stringent Fugitive Slave Law that was included in the Compromise of 1850. Under this law, the word of a supposed owner of a runaway slave, or of his agent, was taken as conclusive proof of identity, while a suspected runaway (who might in fact be a free Negro) had no right to testify in his own behalf. Any citizen might be required to join in pursuit of a runaway slave. "This filthy enactment," wrote Emerson, "was made in the nineteenth century, by people who could read and write. I will not obey it." In northern cities, abolitionist mobs freed runaway Negroes from jail. Most of the free state legislatures passed personal liberty laws that nullified the Fugitive Slave Law by forbidding state officials to assist in catching runaways.

Antislavery feeling in the North was stimulated by the publication in 1852 of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a novel portraying slavery at its worst. The book sold 300,000 copies in its first year of publication; a stage version was seen by millions.

Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854

In 1854 the political truce over slavery ended with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This legislation originated with Senator Stephen A. Douglas, the hero of the Compromise of 1850. Douglas did not intend to reopen inter-sectional controversy, but simply to provide for rapid settlement of the trans-Missouri region as an encouragement to building a transcontinental railroad with terminals at St. Louis and Chicago. The law provided that the region west of Iowa and Missouri should be divided into two new territories, Nebraska and Kansas (see map, p. 342). The question of whether or not slavery should exist in the new territories was left to the future decision of the inhabitants, on the principle of popular sovereignty applied to New Mexico in the Compromise of 1850. Pushed by

Did the Slave System Pay?

By 1850 all public opposition to the slave system in the South had ceased. Southern abolitionists had either been cowed into silence or had fled the region. Southerners defended their “peculiar institution” as being beneficial for both whites and Negroes. The only question about which there was still debate was whether the slave system was economically profitable. This discussion has continued to the present.

Here is some information relevant to the question: *Was the slave system economically profitable?* Examine the items given below, decide whether each supports the affirmative or negative of this question, and explain your opinion:

1. Average price of “prime field hands” (young, vigorous male workers):
1790—\$300; 1820—\$600; 1850—\$1100; 1860—\$1800.
2. Total southern white population, 1850 6,222,000
Total southern Negro population, 1850 3,443,000
Total slave owners 300,000
Total owners of 50 or more slaves 8,000
3. Total value of United States exports, 1850 \$144,376,000
Total value of cotton exports, 1850 \$ 71,885,000
(The South supplied 85 per cent of England’s cotton; the rest came from the West Indies, Egypt, and India.)

For further data on the economics of slavery, see text, pp. 243-245, 333, and graphs, p. 246 and p. 356.

Now, using all the data at your command, give a considered answer to the question—leaving aside all other considerations—Did the slave system pay?

Finally, in assessing the slave system, what other considerations *aside from economic profitability* should you bring in?

Economics represents the insight of only one social science on the slave system. Using all the information at your disposal, consider *the total impact of this system on American history*. Include such aspects as its morality and humaneness, and its role in creating the present situation of the Negro. Why must an historian’s perspective be broader than the scope afforded by only one of the specialized social sciences?

southern senators, Douglas included in the law a clause that specifically repealed the Missouri Compromise ban on slavery north of the 36° 30' line. By inference this accorded with the southern contention that Congress had no right to legislate slavery out of the territories.

The results of the Kansas-Nebraska Act were disastrous. Repeal of the Missouri Compromise was denounced in the North as the violation of a solemn compact and an attempt to extend "legalized oppression and systematic injustice over a vast territory yet exempt from these terrible evils." The South continued to demand that the North recognize the rights of slaveholders in the territories of the United States.

Settlers started at once to move into the Kansas Territory. It became a race to see whether the majority would come from the slave or free states. Northern settlers were assisted by an abolitionist organization, the Emigrant Aid Society, which supplied wagons, tools, livestock, farm machinery—and rifles. Meanwhile a proslavery secret society, the Blue Lodge, sent armed men from Missouri into Kansas. The struggle between the proslavery and antislavery factions began to assume the proportions of a civil war.

The Election of 1856

The violence in "bleeding Kansas" reached its height on the eve of the presidential election of 1856. In the two years since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Whig party had broken up because of friction between proslavery "Cotton" Whigs of the South and antislavery "Conscience" Whigs of the North. To fill the void, two new parties appeared—the American and the Republican. The American party, composed of Know Nothings plus some ex-Whigs, attempted to divert men's minds from the slavery issue by whipping up feeling against immigrants. Its candidate in 1856 was former President Fillmore. The basic principle of the

Republicans (who took their name from the party of Thomas Jefferson) was "free soil"—keep slavery out of the territories. Free soil appealed both to abolitionists, who did not like slavery, and to many white farmers and laborers who feared that slavery would lower their standard of living. Strongly organized in every free state, the Republicans nominated a popular hero, General John C. Frémont.

Meanwhile, the Democrats followed the practice of dodging the slavery issue. To balance the fact that Southerners dominated the party, the nomination went to a Northerner, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. Though polling a minority of the popular vote, the Democrats won the election with 174 electoral votes for Buchanan against 114 for Frémont and 8 for Fillmore. The result of the election of 1856 was ominous in that the voting was clearly sectional. The Democrats swept the South and gained enough votes to win. Frémont won two-thirds of the electoral votes of the free states.

The Dred Scott Decision, 1857

In his inaugural address in March 1857, President Buchanan suggested that the question of the status of slavery in the territories be settled by the Supreme Court. Buchanan had foreknowledge that the Court was soon to deliver an opinion on this question in the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. Dred Scott was a slave taken by a former master from the state of Missouri into territory closed to slavery by the Missouri Compromise and then brought back. For over ten years, Scott, with the financial support of abolitionists, sued for freedom on the ground that residence in free territory released him from slavery. Seven of the nine justices were Democrats; five were Southerners. On March 6, 1857, Chief Justice Roger Taney, supported by the Democratic justices, delivered an opinion completely upholding the southern point of



A Lincoln-Douglas debate shows all the trappings of American politics at the time: two speakers, two bands, two sets of banners and placards, and an attentive, enraptured audience. -

view. Dred Scott had no right to sue in a federal court, Taney claimed, because the founders of the United States did not intend Negroes to be citizens. The Missouri Compromise ban on slavery north of the 36° 30' line was unconstitutional since Congress had no right to prohibit slavery in the territories. Such a prohibition, argued Taney, denied slaveholders their equal rights in the public domain.

Instead of settling the slavery dispute, the Dred Scott decision made it more bitter. If the decision stood, the Republican party might as well go out of existence, since its basic principle—free soil—had been declared unconstitutional. Republicans therefore claimed that the decision

QUESTION • In 1857 Northerners opposed the Supreme Court decision in the Dred Scott case. Is there, as Republicans then claimed, a higher law than the Constitution?

was not binding, but was an *obiter dictum* (an incidental opinion not called for by the circumstances of the case). Taney's decision, said a

Republican newspaper, carried no more weight than "the judgment of the majority of those congregated in

any Washington bar-room." Southerners, on the other hand, called on the North to obey the decision as the price of their remaining in the Union.

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

The question of slavery in the territories was now in almost hopeless confusion. The Dred Scott decision, supported in the South, was flatly opposed by the Republicans, dominant in the North. But what about the principle of popular sovereignty? Did the Dred Scott decision forbid the people of a territory to decide whether they wanted slavery? This was the most important issue in the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858.

Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln were rival candidates for senator from Illinois, Douglas having served in the Senate for twelve years. Known to his followers as "the Little Giant" because of his small stature and great force of character, Douglas had made a national reputation by his devotion to the principle of popular sovereignty. The most prominent Democrat in Congress, he hoped to be elected President in 1860. Abraham Lincoln, his Republican opponent, was a comparative unknown. The height of his political career had been a single undistinguished term in the House of Representatives. A former Whig who had defended the Compromise of 1850, even to enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law, Lincoln was late in joining the Republican party. Yet he had a large local following and a reputation as a clever lawyer and keen debater.

The personal contrast between the two men was striking. Douglas, "a short, thick-set burly man, with a large round head, heavy hair, dark complexion, and a fierce bulldog look," radiated success. He dressed in southern plantation style, wearing a fine broadcloth suit, clean linen, and a broad-brimmed felt hat. Lincoln, "ludicrously tall, angular, and awkward in gait and gesture,"

looked like something from the backwoods. The sleeves of his coat barely reached his bony wrists; his trousers bagged at the knees, and his stovepipe hat (inside which he kept valuable papers) emphasized his gawkiness. Yet Lincoln was a formidable opponent for Douglas. He could tell a good story and clarify his points with picturesque illustrations. Above all, he had a genius for clear, logical thinking.

Lincoln was devoted to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and opposed to slavery, but he was not an abolitionist. By the Constitution, the federal government had no right to interfere with slavery in the South. Federal interference with slavery where it already existed would give the slave states legitimate grounds for secession. Lincoln simply insisted that the institution be kept out of the territories. He thought that if the "peculiar institution" were confined to its existing area, Southerners themselves might eventually abolish it. He believed that the territories should be areas where "Hans, and Baptiste, and Patrick, and all other men from all the world, may find new homes and better themselves." To allow slave labor in the territories would make it harder for poor people to get ahead.

The Freeport Doctrine

Challenged by Lincoln to meet him face to face, Douglas debated the issues of the day with his opponent in seven Illinois towns. The two men attracted large crowds and their speeches received national publicity. Douglas attempted to show that Republicans in general and Lincoln in particular were abolitionists in disguise, bent on destroying the Union. Lincoln in turn embarrassed Douglas by asking, "Can the people of a territory in any lawful way . . . exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?" If Douglas answered "Yes," he would support the principle of popular sovereignty but would go against the Dred

Scott decision. He would improve his chances for getting re-elected senator from Illinois, but would lose southern support for the presidency in 1860. If he answered "No," he would deny popular sovereignty, the principle on which he had based his political career, and might lose the senatorial election.

To wriggle out of this predicament, Douglas formulated the so-called Freeport Doctrine. According to this formula, Douglas said he accepted the Dred Scott decision that forbade Congress to bar slavery from the territories.

QUESTION • In the Illinois senatorial election in 1858 Lincoln received more popular votes than Douglas. How, then, did it turn out that Douglas won the election?

On the other hand, he pointed out, a territorial legislature could effectively discourage slavery by failing to pass the special "police regulations" necessary

to keep slaves under control. By admitting that a territorial legislature could practically nullify the Dred Scott decision, Douglas won a narrow victory in the senatorial election at the price of losing southern support for the presidency in 1860.

DRIFTING TOWARD WAR

John Brown was a fanatic who regarded himself as a heaven-sent agent to liberate Negroes and punish slaveholders. In October 1859, with only eighteen followers, he seized the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, intending to free and arm Negroes of the surrounding countryside. The slaves refused to follow him, and Brown was captured after ten of his men had been killed. Tried in a Virginia court for treason and murder, he was found guilty and hanged. At the trial and execution, he showed no sense of guilt nor fear of death. Southerners regarded Brown's deed with pure

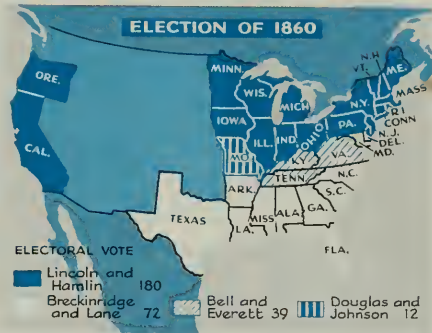
horror, since they feared nothing so much as a slave revolt. They were shocked to learn that Brown had been financed by some northern abolitionists. But many Northerners regarded Brown as a martyr to human freedom; Thoreau said that he had "made the gallows glorious like the cross."

Southern fears were increased by the publication, in 1857, of *The Impending Crisis of the South*, by Hinton R. Helper, the son of a North Carolina blacksmith. Helper attacked slavery above all because it enriched a few "slaveocrats" at the price of dooming non-slaveholding whites to "galling poverty and ignorance." He called on small farmers to revolt against "the lords of the lash," to tax slavery out of existence, and to send all the Negroes back to Africa. By its threat of internal disunion, *The Impending Crisis* alarmed leaders of the South even more than *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Southern states banned the book from the mails, while the Republican party distributed 100,000 copies as a campaign document.

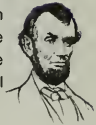
The Election of 1860

As the election of 1860 approached, the Democrats split over the issue of slavery in the territories. A northern wing of the party nominated Douglas for the presidency and backed popular sovereignty; a southern wing nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and supported the Dred Scott decision. A third group, the Constitutional Union party, especially strong in the border states, nominated John Bell of Tennessee and attempted to avoid the slavery issue. This party was composed mostly of former southern Whigs.

With such division among their opponents, the way was wide open for the Republicans. They made good use of their opportunity. Their platform was designed to attract votes from many quarters. Although continuing to demand exclusion of slavery from the territories, it an-



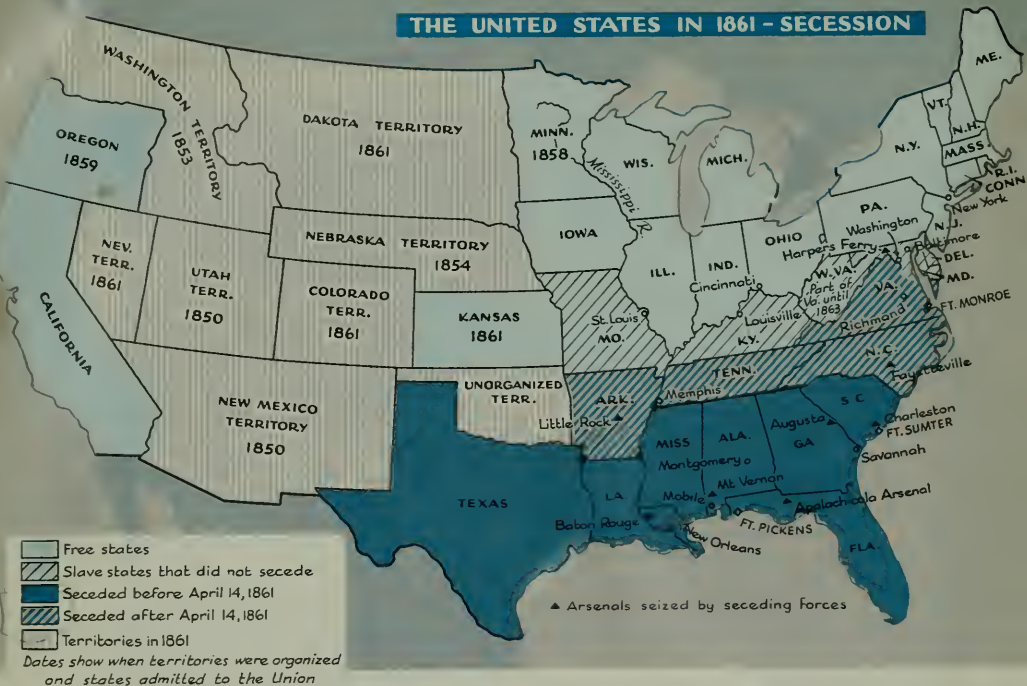
This is the momentous election over which the Union was divided. Note the severe sectional division: the North for Lincoln, the South for Breckinridge, the border states, hoping to avoid trouble, voting for Bell or for Douglas.



gled for conservative support by denying any intention to disturb slavery in the southern states and by denouncing John Brown's raid as "among the gravest of crimes." The degree to which former Whigs had moved into positions of leadership in the Republican party was shown by the way the platform emphasized an updated version of Henry Clay's American System, including a protective tariff, free homesteads for actual settlers, and federal funds for internal improvements, including a railroad to the Pacific. It sought to attract recent immigrants by denouncing Know-Nothing attempts to make naturalization more difficult.

In choosing a candidate the Republicans passed over the more prominent William H. Seward, senator from New York, and nominated Lincoln. They tried to play down the slavery issue by imitating the "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" campaign of 1840. There were torchlight parades with boys carrying rails and singing about "Honest Abe the Railsplitter," who was born in a log cabin. On his part, Lincoln was

THE UNITED STATES IN 1861 - SECESSION



Missouri's fears that, once free, "Kansas would infect" nearby slave states proved well-founded. Although safely within the slavery fold at the time of the Compromise of 1850 (see map page 317), Missouri and Kentucky did not secede in 1860-1861.

the only one of the candidates to make no speeches; he carried on a "front porch campaign," staying quietly at his home in Springfield, Illinois. Although the campaign was one of the most important in our history, public attention, at least in the North, was diverted from politics by events that now seem of minor importance: the launching of the "colossal" steamship *Great Eastern* (would it break in two?); the visit of the Prince of Wales (would he marry an American girl?); a delegation from Japan (would they learn American ways?).

The election turned out to be a Republican victory. Although receiving a minority of the

popular vote, Lincoln gained a clear majority in the electoral college over the combined votes of all three of his opponents by carrying every free state except New Jersey, where the electoral vote was divided between him and Douglas. Breckinridge carried the deep South, while Bell and Douglas divided the border states.

Secession of the Deep South

The Republican victory caused great alarm in the deep South, the realm of "King Cotton." Leadership there passed to extremists, the so-called "fire-eaters," some of whom had long been threatening secession. They looked on Lincoln

as "a baboon, a wild man from nowhere," and "a daring and reckless leader of the abolitionists." They predicted that his election meant abolition and slave insurrections. Albert Gallatin Brown, a Mississippi senator, told a southern audience:

The North is accumulating power, and it means to use that power to emancipate your slaves. When that is done, no pen can describe, no tongue depict, no pencil paint the horrors that will overspread this country. . . . Disunion is a fearful thing, but emancipation is worse. Better leave the Union in the open face of day, than be lighted from it at midnight by the incendiary's torch.

During the four-month interval between Lincoln's election in November 1860 and his inauguration in March 1861, the seven states of the deep South seceded. Their secession was based on the theory of states' rights: the Constitution was a contract between sovereign states; the free states had broken the contract by refusing to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law and by denying the southern states their equal rights in the territories; therefore the southern states were justified in resuming their "separate and equal place among nations." They did not long remain separate, but formed a new union, the Confederate States of America, calling on the other slave states to join them.

Uneasy Truce

The seceding states were able to leave the Union and to form a new federation without interference. President Buchanan was an elderly man, and his party had been repudiated at the polls. In any case he was ill-equipped to deal with the crisis; hitherto he had always deferred to the southern point of view on national issues. He denied that the southern states had a right to secede, but saw no way in which the government could force a state back into the Union.

Meanwhile there were last-minute attempts at compromise, of which the most promising

was a proposal by Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. The keystone of the Crittenden Compromise was the re-establishment of the 36° 30' line in the territories, with slavery permitted south of it. Lincoln, perhaps mistakenly, refused to go along with this on the ground that he would be repudiating the most fundamental principle of the Republican party, free soil, before he had even taken office.

When Lincoln reached Washington in late February 1861, everything hung fire. While seven slave states had seceded, eight still remained in the Union (see map, p. 391). Although the North generally denied the right to leave the Union, there was apparently little desire to fight to force them back in. General Winfield Scott expressed widespread sentiment when he said, "Wayward sisters, depart in peace." Few men had confidence in Lincoln's ability to deal with the secession crisis. Even his own followers regarded him as a "crude, small-time politician." Seward, whom he appointed Secretary of State, offered to write the inaugural address for him and apparently expected to act as a sort of prime minister.

Lincoln's First Inaugural Address set forth a policy which differed little from that of Buchanan. Secession, he said, was wrong; it was a blow at the basic democratic principle that the will of the majority should prevail. Yet Lincoln suggested no active measures to force the Confederate States back into the Union. He proposed only to hold military posts not yet taken by the Confederates, to enforce federal laws where federal agents were not "obnoxious" to the local population, and to deliver the mail "unless repelled." Although refusing any concessions regarding slavery in the territories, Lincoln had no objection to a constitutional amendment forbidding federal interference with slavery in the southern states. He finally pleaded that North and South be "not enemies, but friends."

Outbreak of War

The first problem that Lincoln faced was what to do about the two southern fortresses still in federal control—Fort Pickens, in Florida, and Fort Sumter, on an island in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. Fort Sumter was running short of supplies, and a relief ship sent by Buchanan in January had been turned back by gunfire from shore batteries. After agonizing discussions with his cabinet, Lincoln decided to send provisions to the Fort Sumter garrison, this being in line with the policies laid down in his inaugural address. He let the Confederate authorities know in advance what he was going to do. Thus he put Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, over a barrel. If Davis allowed the fort to be provisioned, he would appear to be giving in to Lincoln. If he ordered that Fort Sumter or the relieving ships be fired on, he would be judged guilty of starting war. Davis chose the latter course, and authorized the military forces in Charleston to attack before the relief ships arrived. On April 12, 1861, shore batteries opened fire; after forty hours of bombardment Fort Sumter surrendered.

When the news of the attack reached the North, there was little more talk of letting the wayward sisters depart in peace. Instead, there was a spontaneous outbreak of patriotism such as the country had never before seen. "I never knew what popular excitement could be," wrote a Bostonian to a friend in England. "The whole population, men, women, and children, seem to be in the streets with Union flags and favors. . . . Nobody holds back." When Lincoln called for 75,000 men to suppress rebellion, many more volunteered than could be organized or equipped.

There was a similar wave of feeling in the South. Faced with the prospect of obeying Lincoln's order and fighting their neighbors, many Southerners who disapproved of secession and disliked slavery nevertheless joined the Confed-

eracy. On April 4, a Virginia convention called to consider secession had voted strongly against it, but now it reversed its decision. Virginia left the Union and joined the Confederacy, along with North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas (see map, p. 342).

Why a Civil War?

Ever since the Civil War broke out, men have debated why the South left the Union and embarked on the perilous experiment of war. The basic cause of the separation was probably that stated by Lincoln in his First Inaugural: "One section of our country believes that slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes that it is wrong, and ought not to be extended." But if one looks closer, one wonders about this. The actual dispute was not over slavery as such, but over slavery in the territories, where geography made the slave system unprofitable. For the Republican party to insist that slavery be banned there was (as Daniel Webster said in 1850) to "needlessly reenact an ordinance of nature." For Southerners to demand that slavery be permitted there was to insist on a meaningless right: by secession they would probably lose all rights in the territories in any case. The fact is that both sides had come to the point where rational discussion was no longer possible. Agencies of communication had broken down with the separation of the major Protestant churches into northern and southern branches and, above all, with the disappearance of the Whig party and the split among the Democrats. Heretofore, political parties had been the principal agency in compromising sectional disputes.

Although slavery was probably the principal cause of secession, it was not the only one. The South was falling behind the North in wealth and population, and there was a tendency to blame this, as South Carolina had done at the time of the nullification crisis thirty years

before, on the protective tariff. Once outside the Union, the South would no longer have to pay "tribute" to northern industrialists and bankers.

The alleged basis for secession was states' rights, as can be seen by the South's favorite name for the ensuing struggle, "the War Between the States." But the Confederacy had many aspects of a nation. Its national flag, the "Stars and Bars," and its songs, "Dixie" and "The Bonnie Blue Flag," inspired national patriotism. The "lost cause" was only officially based on the legal abstraction of state sovereignty; in fact, it was the cause of a nation struggling to be free, and the war has been called with some justice "the War for Southern Independence."

In risking war against a much stronger foe, Southerners labored under a series of misconceptions. Many of them thought that the North would not fight, and the first Confederate Secretary of War predicted that he would be able to wipe up with his pocket handkerchief every drop of blood spilled as a result of secession. Even if war came, Southerners expected to win. They believed that their men were superior to those of the North in martial virtues;

they were defending their homes and everything that they held most dear; and they expected foreign aid. In 1855 a South Carolina senator had explained why "King Cotton" would rescue the South:

Should they make war on us, we could bring the whole world to our feet. What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? . . . England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her. No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares make war on it. Cotton is king.

Finally, as Lincoln's call for three-month volunteers indicates, no one foresaw the length and the bitterness of the war. If the North had realized that it was going to cost the lives of 360,000 of their young men to subdue the Confederacy, there might have been more ardent search for compromise or even acceptance of peaceable secession. If the leaders of the Confederacy had foreseen that the war would bring utter defeat, devastation, and destruction of their entire social system, they would certainly have thought twice before firing the first shot.

Activities: Chapter 13

For Mastery and Review

1. What circumstances made the 1850's a "take-off" period? What inventions and inventions of the 1840's stimulated American industry? For what reasons did the production of farm commodities increase so sensationally in the 1840's and 1850's?

2. For what reasons did American ocean commerce flourish in the 1850's? What was a clipper ship? What was the importance of the steamboat in American life?

3. Describe the handicaps faced by the early railroads. What success did "big business" meet in improving them and in linking East and West?

4. How large was the stream of immigrants reaching America between 1840 and 1860? Where did most of them come from? Why? What reception did they get?

5. By what means did the South maintain and stabilize slavery? Why did nonslaveholding whites defend the institution? What was the status of the free Negro in the South? In the North?

6. Why was the South, in the 1850's, so anxious to expand southward? What were filibusters? What was the Ostend Manifesto? Why was the United States interested in the Isthmus of Panama?

7. What part did the United States play in opening China and Japan to Western commerce?

Leaving
Mar.

8. For what reasons did disputes over slavery develop between 1850 and 1860 in spite of the Compromise of 1850?

9. How did the Lincoln-Douglas debates point up the slavery controversy? What was the position of each man on the question of extending slavery into the territories? What was the Freeport Doctrine? What effects did the debates have on the careers of Lincoln and Douglas?

10. How did the Democratic party split in 1860? How did the Republican platform appeal to different groups? What other party was in the field? What were the results of the election?

11. What was the situation when Lincoln was inaugurated? What policy did he propose? Why did the southern states secede?

Unrolling the Map

1. Study carefully the map on p. 229. Note how the National Road, the canals, and the railroads sought to establish communications between East and West. What was the economic and political importance of this? How do you account for the tremendous mileage of railroads built in the 1850's? Why was so much of the mileage in the East and West and so little in the South?

2. On an outline map of the world draw the lines of immigration from the European countries of origin to America. On each line (or in a key) list the main reason for immigration from each country.

Who, What, and Why Important?

"take-off"

farm machinery

industrial inventions

clipper ship

"American letters"

Know Nothings

"peculiar institution"

Ostend Manifesto

Gadsden Purchase

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty

Caleb Cushing

Commodore Perry

Fugitive Slave Law

Uncle Tom's Cabin

Kansas-Nebraska Act

Emigrant Aid Society

election of 1856

Dred Scott decision

Lincoln-Douglas debates

The Impending Crisis

election of 1860

Crittenden Compromise

Confederate States of

America

Fort Sumter

To Pursue the Matter

1. Why and how are the historians still fighting the Civil War? See the last chapter of Bedford, *The Union Divides: Politics and Slavery, 1850-1861*.

2. Conduct a class poll to find out when the ancestors of each member came to America and from what countries they came. Tabulate the results. Did any come between 1840 and 1860?

3. Some towns in the 1850's refused to permit railroads to enter; others offered financial inducements. Assign roles to class members and debate the attitude of your town toward a proposed railroad through it. The following might be included: banker, stagecoach driver, canalboat skipper, steamboat pilot, merchants, manufacturers, farmers, real estate owners.

4. Why did Southerners deliberately try to keep slaves in the country rather than in the city? See Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*.

5. Compare the way the Irish and Germans adapted to the United States in the years before the Civil War. See Wittke, *We Who Built America*, Chapters 8 and 9, and Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger*.

6. What was it like to be a river pilot? See Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*.

7. Prepare an account of the extraordinary career of Harriet Tubman, guide for the Underground Railroad. See Buckmaster, *Let My People Go: The Story of the Underground Railroad*.

8. What did Lincoln think about slavery and Negroes before 1860? See the chapter on him in Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It*.

9. John Brown—hero? martyr? incendiary? madman? See Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, vol. II, Chapter 3, and Benét, *John Brown's Body*.

10. According to the Confucian scheme of values, a good society gives the greatest honor to the scholar, then to the peasant, then to the craftsman. Merchants are regarded as inferior people, and soldiers as the scum of the earth. Prepare a similar scale of American values and compare it with the Chinese one. Can you see how the Chinese regarded Westerners?

Chapter 14

The Civil War and Reconstruction

This is essentially a people's contest. . . . It is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men . . . to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1861

The great struggle that began after the fall of Fort Sumter has been termed “the last of the old wars and the first of the new.” It was the last great war in which infantry was equipped with muzzle loaders and cavalry played a major role. It was the last great war in which chivalrous respect for the enemy was a commonplace. Many officers on both sides had been personally acquainted, often as West Point cadets, and they treated each other with courtesy even after hostilities began. This attitude often extended to the enlisted men. It proved almost impossible to prevent pickets from fraternizing. When Union and Confederate armies were in contact for any length of time, there was constant exchange of “Yankee” coffee and sugar for “Rebel” tobacco.

In other aspects the Civil War was the first modern war. It was the first in which railroad lines were vital, the first in which telegraph lines, ironclad ships, and observation balloons were used as a matter of course. It foreshadowed

the First World War, since the armies often dug in, and sometimes fought from elaborate trenches. It also represented a step toward the modern concept of “total war,” with less and less distinction between civilians and soldiers. This was especially true of the South. The Confederacy became a “nation in arms,” with men from seventeen to fifty conscripted into the army, farmers told what to plant, and women bearing a large part of the burden of keeping the troops supplied with clothing and medical supplies. In the latter years of the war, southern civilians suffered terribly as Union armies pursued a “scorched earth” policy and deliberately devastated areas through which they marched.

Before the war, the United States Army numbered only 11,000 men, mostly stationed on the western frontier. Yet North and South eventually fielded armies numbering hundreds of thousands. Although these troops often lacked discipline, no soldiers ever fought more stubbornly on the field of battle. In battles such



St. George's Historical Society, Bermuda

as Gettysburg and Chickamauga, 30 per cent of the soldiers were killed or wounded, yet the beaten army kept its organization.

COMPARISON WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

In the Civil War the position of the Confederacy was somewhat similar to that of the United States in the Revolution. The Southerners, fighting for independence on home soil, could win simply by holding out against northern attacks. As an agricultural region with poor communications and few big cities, the South, like the United States in 1776, could not be paralyzed by a blow at a vital center. The North enjoyed certain advantages similar to those Britain enjoyed in the Revolution. It was superior in resources of every sort—men, money, transportation facilities, food, and manufacturing (study the chart, p. 356). The federal government, like the British, was a going concern, while the government of the Confederacy had to be created overnight.

This parallel between the Revolutionary War and the Civil War is by no means complete. The Americans won the Revolutionary War partly because of aid from France, but the Confederacy had to fight alone. In the Revolution, American civil and military leadership was superior to that of Great Britain. In the Civil War, the South had better generals, especially at first, but as time passed the North found able commanders too. As to nonmilitary leadership, Lincoln proved himself more able than Jefferson Davis. Finally, the northern chances of victory

This is one of a fleet of blockade runners that were built in England and sailed between Bermuda and ports of the South. These highly specialized ships were built low on the water so that they could hide behind low spits of land, and with light draft so that they could navigate little used channels.

in 1861 were better than those of Britain in 1776 because in the earlier struggle America had been protected by the Atlantic Ocean. The Confederacy was open to attack by land, and its long coastline made it vulnerable by sea.

STRATEGY: NAVAL OPERATIONS

Hostilities in the Civil War extended from southern Pennsylvania to New Mexico. In scores of battles the forces engaged were more numerous than those that fought at Saratoga or Yorktown. In spite of its size, however, the basic strategy of the war was relatively simple. The Union forces set out to accomplish three great objectives: (1) blockade Confederate ports; (2) cut the South apart—first by way of the Mississippi, and then again through Tennessee and Georgia; and (3) take Richmond, the Confederate capital.

The Union Blockade

When Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of southern ports five days after Fort Sumter fell, he seemed guilty of ridiculous optimism. To patrol a coast 3,500 miles long, the United States had 40 wooden ships, manned by fewer than 1,500 men. But the North was the seafaring section of the country; the American merchant marine was near its height; and Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, was one of the most energetic men in Lincoln's cabinet. Eventually the federal navy numbered over 700 ships, manned by 50,000 men. By the end of 1862, every major southern port was captured or blockaded. This reduced imports and exports

to what could be carried in "blockade runners"—small, fast vessels, designed to sneak through openings in the sandbars that provide much of the South with a double coastline. Although some blockade runners were amazingly successful, they could not begin to replace the regular commerce of the South. Southern trade shrank to a fraction of what it had been before the war, and Confederate armies were deprived of adequate supplies of boots, clothing, and medicine. Furthermore, the great Union blockading fleet forced the Confederacy to keep thousands of men away from major battlefields to guard the coast. Even so, Union forces carried on successful amphibious operations against southern ports; the most notable were David Farragut's bold expeditions against New Orleans in 1862 and Mobile in 1864.

To break the blockade became a major aim of the small Confederate navy. In March 1862,

a strange craft emerged from the naval station at Norfolk, Virginia. On the hull of the *Merri-mac*, a former federal steam frigate now renamed the *Virginia*, the Confederates built an iron superstructure and affixed a ram. The *Virginia* easily sank two wooden ships of a Union naval squadron. While Lincoln and his cabinet were debating whether it might be necessary to evacuate Washington, Southerners predicted that the *Virginia* would "sweep the Federal fleet from off the seas" and "levy toll on every northern seaport."

When the Confederate ship reappeared, however, she was met by a new federal ironclad, the *Monitor*. The *Monitor* was easier to handle than the *Virginia*, and her guns were mounted in a revolving turret. The two ships pounded each other for four hours without inflicting serious damage, but this first battle between ironclads may be regarded as a victory

The *Monitor* was an uncomfortable ship since its hold was hot and airless. Here its crew takes advantage of pleasant weather to relax on the deck. Note the dent in the turret just to the left of the gunport. This reveals how little damage the *Virginia* inflicted on the Union ironclad.



for the North. The *Virginia* retired, never to appear again, while northern shipyards started to turn out dozens of *Monitors*.

Attempts to Break the Blockade

With few shipyards of its own, the Confederacy tried to obtain warships abroad. Efforts to buy powerful rams, designed to destroy the blockading fleet, were unsuccessful, but the Confederacy secretly purchased in England several cruisers that preyed on northern shipping. One of them, the *Alabama*, captured or destroyed 63 vessels. To avoid Confederate cruisers, hundreds of American ships were sold to foreign owners or registered under other flags. Thus the United States merchant marine suffered a blow from which it did not recover for over half a century.

THE WAR IN THE WEST

There were two major areas of land warfare: the territory west of the Appalachians, centering at first on the Mississippi, and the eastern front, centering on the area between the two capitals, Washington and Richmond. Although Union armies lost battles in the West, they won every major campaign. In little more than two years they cut the Confederacy in two, and by the end of the war had cut through it again.

In 1861 the war in the West was devoted to a struggle for control of the border states. In spite of strong pro-Confederate minorities, both Kentucky and Missouri were cleared of Confederate troops. The western counties of Virginia, soon to become the state of West Virginia, were also detached from the Confederacy. Thus the South was deprived of a strong line of defense along the Ohio River.

In the following year the Confederacy was squeezed from both north and south. The Union advance began when forces under General Ulysses S. Grant attacked Fort Henry on the

Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. (For the campaigns of the Civil War, study the maps on p. 352.) First taking Fort Henry, Grant surrounded Fort Donelson in February 1862. When asked on what terms he would accept surrender, Grant sent the famous answer: "No terms except unconditional surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." When the fortress fell, with 12,000 Confederates and 40 cannon captured, it opened the way for a Union advance southward toward Corinth, Mississippi, and Memphis, Tennessee. This advance was marked by the bloody, two-day battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing, in April 1862. Grant's army was surprised by a Confederate force under General Albert Sidney Johnston, but escaped disaster when the Confederate general was killed, and Grant managed to bring up reinforcements. By the end of 1862, Union armies had occupied all of western Tennessee and were probing southward into the state of Mississippi. Meanwhile Admiral David Farragut had taken New Orleans, and Union armies prepared to advance northward from there.

Fall of Vicksburg and Battle of Chattanooga, 1863

As the year 1863 commenced, the Union success on the Mississippi River front depended on taking the city of Vicksburg. This town was a natural fortress, protected by high bluffs toward the river and by a maze of watercourses and swamps to the north. In late 1862 and early 1863, forces under Grant made five unsuccessful attempts to approach it.

Finally, in May 1863, Grant embarked on one of the most daring campaigns in military history. After transporting his forces down the Mississippi River to just below Vicksburg, he started inland. Against the established rules of military science and the unanimous advice of his staff, Grant cut loose from his base of supplies.



The Library of Congress

Union soldiers wait in the trenches. The war began as a war of movement, but dwindling southern forces eventually dug in to hold their lines. Nine months in the trenches ensued when Lee's forces met the Union army outside Richmond. Such extensive trench warfare anticipated that of World War I.

The Union soldiers were allowed only such food as they could carry or get along the way. Grant's personal baggage consisted of a toothbrush.

The Confederate commander of Vicksburg at first stayed behind his fortifications, thinking Grant was trying to trick him into taking to the open field; he then struck vainly at Grant's nonexistent line of communication. The Union forces reached Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, almost without opposition. Finally, Grant turned back and fought his way to the outskirts of Vicksburg. In 18 days his troops marched 200 miles, fought five major battles, and defeated forces larger than their own. Late in May, he laid siege to Vicksburg, and on July 4, the town fell. Five days later Port Hudson, the last Confederate post on the Mississippi River, also surrendered.

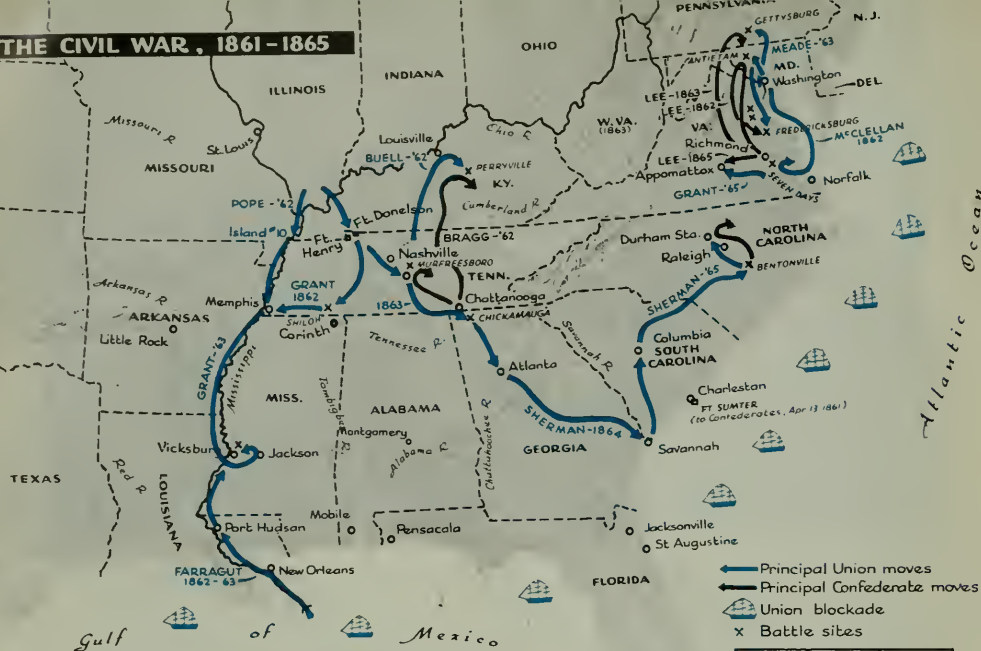
Union forces attempted now to cut through the Confederacy again by way of eastern Ten-

nessee and Georgia. Here the first key position was Chattanooga, where the Tennessee River runs near a gap southward toward Atlanta. In September 1863, General William S. Rosecrans, commanding a large Union force, maneuvered the Confederates out of the city. After Rosecrans suffered a severe defeat at the bloody battle of Chickamauga, Confederate troops besieged the Union army in Chattanooga and cut off its supplies. The Union cause was saved when Grant arrived in October. New supply routes were opened and the Confederate forces were driven from the heights around Chattanooga. By the end of 1863, the way was open for an advance into Georgia.

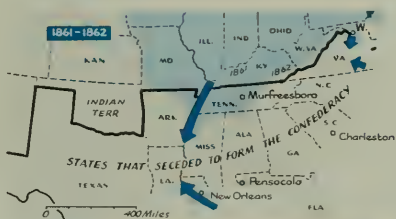
Sherman's March to the Sea, 1864

Early in 1864, General William T. Sherman, now in command in the West, started toward Atlanta and took the city in September. When the opposing commander struck northward to

THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865



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Limit of Union gains
 W. = Washington, D.C.

frighten him into retreat, Sherman decided to do what Grant had done before laying siege to Vicksburg—strike into enemy territory and live off the land. In November his army started southward and for nearly a month was cut off from communication with the North. It cut a path of destruction sixty miles wide through one of the richest agricultural regions of the South. Sherman's report of the campaign said, "I estimate the damage done to Georgia and its military resources at \$100,000,000, at least \$20,000,000 of which has inured to our advantage and the remainder is simply waste and destruction."

On December 20, 1864, Union troops marched into Savannah. In February 1865, they started northward, treating South Carolina, the state which had led the secession movement, as harshly as Georgia. When southern resistance finally collapsed in April, Sherman's force was less than a hundred miles from the Union army that had driven Lee out of Richmond.

THE WAR IN THE EAST

When Virginia joined the Confederacy, the capital was moved to Richmond. From a military point of view this may have been a blunder. The city was close to the northern border of the Confederacy and vulnerable to attack, yet it was a matter of pride to defend it at all costs. The South poured out more blood in the defense of Richmond than may have been justified. On the other hand, the success of Confederate armies in this eastern theater of war was extraordinary. Repelling one Union advance after another, they prevented the fall of the Confederate capital until the very end of the war.

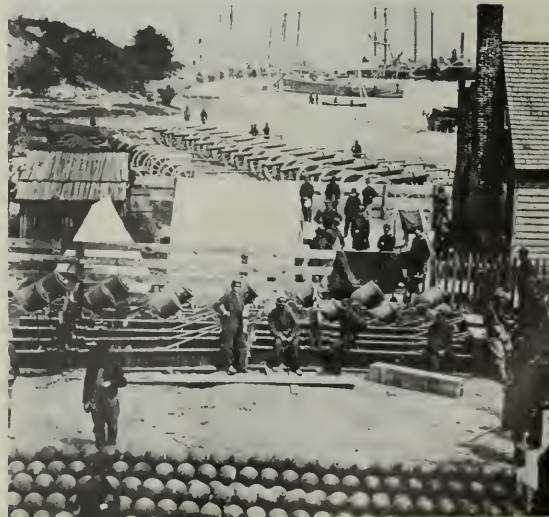
Southern victories in the East were largely the result of the genius of General Robert E. Lee and his "right arm," General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. Through knowledge of the terrain, rapidity of movement, and the ability to

inspire troops to feats of endurance and heroism, these two inflicted defeats on Union forces sometimes twice as numerous as their own. Their tactics in such encounters as the second battle of Bull Run and Chancellorsville have become classic examples of brilliant generalship. In the North African campaigns of World War II, both German General Erwin Rommel and his British opponent General Harold Alexander revealed that they had profitably studied the campaigns of Lee and Jackson.

Confederate Failures: Antietam, 1862, and Gettysburg, 1863

Southern good fortune in the East did not include victories outside the Confederacy. Lee's two attempts to invade the North were both repulsed. In September 1862, his army was turned back in a campaign ending at the bloody

In the battle of production, victory from the first belonged to the North, which possessed 92 per cent of the nation's industries and the transportation facilities necessary to use them to good advantage.





The Library of Congress



Grant's terms at Fort Donelson earned him the nickname of "Unconditional Surrender" Grant. "Marse Robert" E. Lee (right), followed devotedly by his soldiers, emerged from the war as the hero of the South. Lee's many victories failed to overbalance northern superiority in numbers and supplies.

battle of Antietam. Caught with the Potomac at his back and facing much larger forces than his own, Lee did well to save his army.

In June 1863, he again crossed the Potomac. As he moved into southern Pennsylvania, panic seized the North. As far away as Massachusetts, governors declared a state of emergency and asked for the protection of federal troops. Lee was shadowed, however, by a Union army under General George G. Meade. An accidental clash

between small units at Gettysburg developed into a great three-day battle. As it happened, Union soldiers occupied a position of great strength, the crest of a low ridge. Desperate Confederate attacks, reaching a peak in General George E. Pickett's disastrous charge, were all repulsed. On July 4, the same day that Vicksburg surrendered, Lee retreated into Virginia. From now on, many men in the Confederacy knew their cause was lost.

Grant vs. Lee, 1864–1865

In 1864 Grant assumed command in the East. Four previous generals—George McClellan, John Pope, Ambrose Burnside, and Joseph Hooker—had been put in command after victories elsewhere, only to meet defeat at the hands of Lee. In May 1864, Grant, moving southward toward Richmond, was intercepted by the Confederate army, fighting from prepared positions. But Grant kept advancing, even though in a single month of fighting he lost as many men as there were in Lee's entire force. Eventually, he laid siege to Richmond from the south, and the two armies fought nine months of trench warfare. With superior numbers Grant gradually lengthened his lines, while Union armies cut off supplies to Richmond.

Finally, Lee was forced to evacuate the Confederate capital. Union troops barred his escape westward; his men were starving. Grant urged Lee to surrender in order to prevent "further effusion of blood." The two men met at the village of Appomattox Court House in April 1865. Grant offered Lee generous terms: his soldiers might go home on giving their word not to fight again; the officers might keep their side arms and the cavalry their horses.

When Lee's army came to lay down their arms, Union troops saluted each division as it appeared. The general who ordered this mark of respect later wrote:

Before us in proud humiliation stood the embodiment of manhood: men whom neither toils and suffering, nor the fact of death, nor disaster, nor hopelessness could bend from their resolve; standing before us now, thin, worn, and famished, but erect, and with eyes looking level into ours . . . was not such manhood to be welcomed back into a Union so tested and so assured?

Within a month after Appomattox, General Joseph Johnston and the other Confederate armies surrendered. The long, bitter struggle was over.

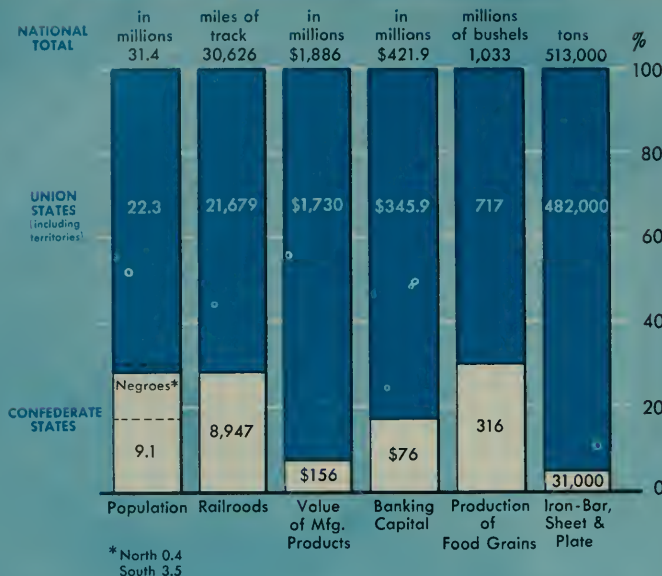
BEHIND THE LINES

At first both North and South relied on volunteers to fill the ranks of their armies, but before long both resorted to conscription. The Confederacy, with less than a third the manpower of the North, started drafting men in April 1862. In March 1863, the United States Congress passed a Conscription Act that provided for an incomplete and unfair use of the draft. A draftee was permitted to avoid military service by paying \$300 or by hiring a substitute. Naturally, those without money to buy their way out resented this arrangement, which made it "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight." Opposition to conscription caused the terrible draft riots in New York City in July 1863. For four days, mobs of men and boys terrorized the city, killing and plundering.

Besides the draft, the North also used a system whereby enlistees were paid a lump sum when they joined the army. Bounties offered by federal, state, and municipal governments sometimes totaled \$1,500 for a single three-year enlistment. This led to the practice of "bounty-jumping," whereby a man would enlist, collect his bounty, and then desert only to re-enlist elsewhere. Nevertheless, bounties proved an effective means of luring volunteers from northern farms and factories and even from Europe.

President Lincoln at first resisted appeals to open the ranks of the Union armies to Negroes, on the grounds that such a move would be resented in the border states and might promote a slave insurrection in the South. Later the policy was changed, and nearly 200,000 Negroes, both freemen from the North and former slaves from the South, enlisted for military service. In addition, 150,000 Negroes served in the quartermaster and engineering corps. Some regiments of the "United States Colored Troops" distinguished themselves in combat, and 22 Negroes won the Congressional Medal of Honor.

RESOURCES OF THE UNION AND CONFEDERACY



The South was greatly inferior to the North in things that comprise the sinews of war: manpower and economic resources. Do these comparisons explain the southern defeat? What other statistics might help?

The Battle of Production

In a prolonged war on a vast scale, campaigns are decided as much behind the lines as on the battlefield. The Confederacy was defeated largely by its weakness in production. Through extraordinary efforts the South managed to supply its armies with sufficient arms and ammunition, but lacked the means to provide other necessities. "The great majority of desertions," says a southern historian, "...were caused by the hardships of military service—inferior food and clothing, a shocking lack of sanitation in the camps, the almost worthless wages the soldiers received."

The efforts of the federal government to supply the Union armies were too often marked by shocking profiteering and swindling. Army contractors sometimes supplied "clothing that would dissolve in a heavy rainstorm, sugar that would not dissolve in boiling coffee, meat that had to be swallowed in lumps, and shoes not quite so tough." But the productivity of northern factories was so great that in spite of the graft, the Union armies were usually as well equipped as any in the world. Northern farmers, using the newest farm machinery to make up for loss of manpower, not only supplied the wants of civilians and soldiers, but produced

surpluses that were sold abroad. "King Wheat," it was said, defeated "King Cotton."

Finances and Taxation

The Confederacy was less able to finance a war than the North. It had intended to get money by selling cotton in Europe; when the Union blockade prevented this, bankruptcy was inevitable. The Confederate and southern state governments, like the United States in the Revolution, simply ran the printing presses. They issued billions of dollars in paper money that eventually became worthless. The Confederate government was able to keep going only by forcing civilians to accept its worthless currency in exchange for goods, and by collecting taxes in produce instead of money.

The North, with far greater resources of every kind—western mines, foreign markets, more capital to begin with—was far more successful in financing the war. About a quarter of the four billion dollars needed came from taxation, the rest from borrowing and issuing paper money. For the first time, Congress levied an income tax, which eventually amounted to 5 per cent on incomes from \$600 to \$5,000 and 10 per cent on incomes over that. In addition, excise taxes were levied on almost every conceivable article, such as food, tobacco, clothing, alcoholic beverages, and railroad tickets. Finally, there was a great increase in the protective tariff. The Republican platform of 1860 had promised higher duties; even before the war started, the tariff was raised by the Morrill Act of 1861. Other acts pushed duties still higher until by 1864 they averaged 47 per cent, the highest level yet. Although the wartime tariffs brought in revenue, their principal purpose was to encourage American manufacturers to greater production, so that the army would not be dependent on imports from other countries.

During the war the federal government issued over two and a half billion dollars' worth

of bonds. Like the Confederacy, it also inflated the currency, but not to the same degree. This was done by issuing about four hundred million dollars' worth of "greenbacks"—paper money not backed by gold and silver. These fluctuated in value according to the success or failure of the Union armies; at their lowest point they were worth about 35 cents in gold. Such inflation was in effect a forced loan from all people who used greenbacks as currency. To encourage the sale of bonds and provide a better currency, Congress in 1863 passed the National Banking Act. This law did not get into full operation during the war and will therefore be treated later.

New Fields for Women

The importance of activity behind the lines was shown by the entrance of women into new fields. In the South they often ran plantations after the owners and overseers left for the front. They produced goods for the army, especially clothing. "Every household," wrote a southern girl, "now became a miniature factory in itself, with its cotton, cards, spinning wheels, warping-frames, looms, and so on." In the North the mechanical reaper and the "sulky" plow (in which the plowman rode the plow itself) enabled women to take the place of sons and husbands in the service.

On both sides, women took over much of the nursing, a task formerly reserved for men. Dorothea Dix turned from her work with the insane to offer her services to the federal government. As superintendent of female nurses, she fought red tape, corruption, and prejudice against her sex. Even more effective than Miss Dix in widening the sphere of women in hospital work was Clara Barton, later first president of the American Red Cross. Women also played a large part in our first great private relief organization—the United States Sanitary Commission. This organization collected millions of dollars for projects to improve the living

Clara Barton and the American Red Cross



When Clara Barton was a girl growing up in Massachusetts, her mother was so worried about her extreme shyness that she went for advice to a man who practised the new-fangled "science" of phrenology. After duly feeling the bumps and depressions on Clara Barton's head, he gave this advice: "Throw responsibility on her. As soon as her age will permit, give her a school to teach." So at the age of fifteen Clara was put to teaching school. The cure worked, and she was an immediate success.

After teaching for twenty years, Clara Barton started working for the Patent Office in Washington. Shortly after the Civil War broke out, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment had to fight its way through Baltimore (where Confederate sympathies were strong) on the way to the capital. They arrived without most of their baggage. Clara Barton saw to it that they were supplied, and this launched her on a new career. By advertising in the newspapers, by badgering officials, and by not taking no for an answer, this little woman with slight build, prominent nose, and flashing brown eyes saw to it that medical supplies and nursing were available to the wounded. She often nursed the men herself.

Miss Barton's services to the suffering continued long after the Civil War. She alleviated the suffering of civilians in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. She persuaded a reluctant United States Senate, fearful of "foreign entanglements," to ratify a treaty whereby the United States joined the International Red Cross. As president of the American branch, she saw that the organization helped not only victims of war, but also those of natural disasters, such as floods, epidemics, and famines. In all these activities she showed what a determined and selfless person could do, even in fields not considered "ladylike" at the time.

(Themes 5 & 7, see p. xii)

conditions of Union soldiers. Much of the money came from big sales, known as "sanitary fairs," organized almost entirely by women. It is no wonder that after the war there was a renewed demand that women, along with Negroes, be given the right to vote.

GOVERNMENT IN WARTIME

During the Civil War the authority of the central governments in both North and South was beyond anything the country had yet seen. The two Presidents, Lincoln and Davis, exerted so much power that both were accused by their own people of acting as dictators. Although founded on the principle of states' rights, the Confederate government assumed immense authority, not only in drafting men for military service, but in forcing citizens to give up mules,

slaves, wagons, and foodstuffs for the armies. The Union government controlled its people less than the Confederacy, but nevertheless exerted several new powers. Telegraph lines and railroads near the war zones, for instance, were sometimes taken over from private owners and run by the government.

Lincoln's Use of Presidential Power

Although devoted to the Constitution, Lincoln extended the power of the presidency beyond anything ever dreamed of by "King Andrew" Jackson. During the three-month interval between the fall of Fort Sumter and the opening of a special session of Congress in July 1861, he performed actions normally reserved to Congress. He called out volunteers, expanded the regular army, and spent money that had not yet been appropriated.

In 1861 there appeared to be a real danger that Maryland would secede from the Union and Washington would thereby be isolated in the midst of Confederate territory. Even in New York City there was talk of secession, led by

Mayor Fernando

QUESTION • During the war, Georgia threatened to secede from the Confederacy. What might have been the ultimate effects of "states' rights" on the Confederacy had it survived the war?

Wood. The Lincoln administration quelled the opposition by means that clearly violated constitutional guarantees of freedom. Hundreds of sus-

spected Confederate sympathizers were jailed without trial and without the right of *habeas corpus*; opposition newspapers were denied the use of the mails or shut down by troops; the Maryland legislature was prevented from sitting. From 1862 on, such repression was less severe, but so-called "Copperheads" were subject to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. Forming a secret society, the Knights of the Golden Circle, the Copperheads hindered the war effort by discouraging enlistments and helping Union soldiers to desert. In dealing with alleged Copperheads, Lincoln authorized the trial of civilians by military courts and suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* in areas where pro-Confederate sympathies were strong.

Ex Parte Milligan, 1866

In deciding the case *ex parte Milligan* in 1866, the Supreme Court condemned Lincoln's use of military courts to try civilians. Milligan was a Copperhead condemned to death by a military court in Indiana. The Supreme Court pointed out that Milligan had been living in a peaceful area where regular courts were operating and had been denied trial by jury. It denied that war justified the ignoring of rights guaranteed to the individual by the Constitution:

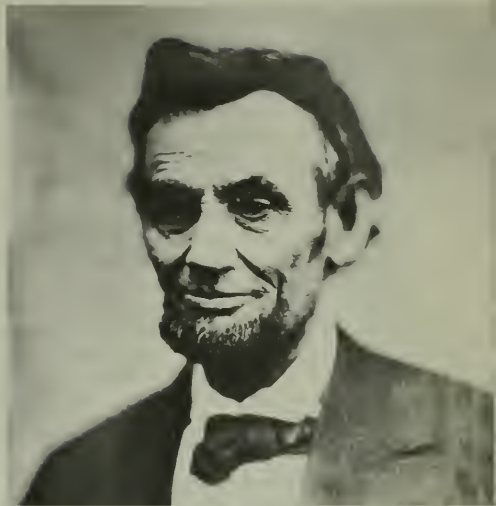
... it is the birthright of every American citizen when charged with crime, to be tried and punished according to law. . . . By the protection of law human rights are secured; withdraw that protection, and they are at the mercy of wicked rulers, or the clamor of an excited people.

Although Lincoln agonized over the fact that he denied citizens of the United States their rights and sometimes moderated the actions of overzealous subordinates, he defended his course of action. When federal law was being violated with the purpose of destroying the Union, the President thought that the law of survival overrode the Constitution. "Are all the laws but one to go unexecuted," he asked, "and the Government go to pieces lest that one be violated?" Must he shoot a simple-minded soldier who deserted and not touch a hair of "a wily agitator" who persuaded him? He wrote a friend in 1864:

By general law, a limb must be amputated to save a life, but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation.

Lincoln found a basis for acting independently of Congress and the federal courts because, by the Constitution, the President is "Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy." The constitutional procedures of Congress and the courts are slow, yet war demands quick action. Lincoln's tendency, therefore, was to act on his own authority, although he sometimes asked Congress to approve his actions later.

It is still a matter for serious discussion as to whether it was wise or just for Lincoln to exceed his constitutional powers. He created dangerous precedents, but he certainly had no lust for power and no desire to make himself a dictator in the modern sense. He made no attempt to reduce congressmen to puppets nor to rivet himself in power by building up a



The effects of the burdens of the presidency are graphically shown in these two pictures taken just five years apart. The picture on the left shows Lincoln at the time of his nomination for the presidency in 1860, and the one on the right was taken shortly before his assassination in 1865. Most Presidents of the United States have felt the grueling pace of the demands of the office.

militaristic organization of his followers. "The Constitution was stretched," said the historian J. G. Randall, "but not subverted."

WARTIME DIPLOMACY

In no field was Lincoln apparently less fitted for the job of President than in foreign affairs. He had never been abroad and knew no foreign language; there was every reason to agree with Lord Lyons, British minister to Washington, who predicted that Lincoln would be fatally handicapped by "his ignorance of everything but Illinois village politics." Yet in diplomacy, as in other fields, he confounded those who expected him to fail.

Although the spoils system forced him to hand out diplomatic posts as political plums, Lincoln's major appointments were good.

Seward was a brilliant Secretary of State, whose occasional tendency to rashness was tempered by Lincoln's sober judgment. The key position abroad, minister to England, was held by Charles Francis Adams, the son and grandson of Presidents of the United States, both of whom had also represented this country in London. Adams knew how to be reasonable without conceding American rights, to be firm without giving offense. Understanding the importance of foreign public opinion, Lincoln sent abroad a number of unofficial "good will ambassadors." An Episcopalian bishop from Ohio worked among British clergymen; a Catholic archbishop from New York presented the case of the Union in Catholic countries; Henry Ward Beecher, a famous American preacher, addressed large audiences in England; and a former Secretary of the Treasury used his friendships with Euro-

pean financiers to create distrust of Confederate bonds. Above all, Lincoln succeeded in foreign affairs because he kept his head and understood how to present the cause of the Union in ways that had wide appeal. "One war at a time!" he used to say to followers who were so angry at Britain they were willing to risk hostilities.

The principal task of United States diplomacy during the Civil War was to prevent Britain from giving aid to the Confederacy. The South confidently expected such aid because of British need for her cotton. Furthermore, the British upper classes feared American democracy as a standing rebuke to their privileged position, and they would have been glad to see the disintegration of the world's largest republic. British manufacturers expected that an independent South would be a better market for their goods. Lacking industry, the new nation would be unlikely to levy protective tariffs; indeed, they were forbidden by the Confederate Constitution.

The Trent Affair

In November 1861, an incident brought Great Britain and the United States to the verge of war. A United States warship, cruising the Caribbean, stopped a British steamer, the *Trent*, and took off two Confederate diplomats, James Mason and John Slidell. The action caused rejoicing in the victory-starved North, and Congress voted the captain of the vessel a gold medal. But American joy was matched by a wave of anger in Great Britain. The British government demanded the release of Mason and Slidell; it sent troops to Canada and ordered the British fleet to prepare to go to sea. Lincoln and Seward had to choose between facing a wave of indignation in America if they let the diplomats go or the disaster of war with the strongest naval power in the world if they refused. Fortunately, the recently laid Atlantic cable broke down at this moment and so slowed

communications that popular clamor on both sides of the ocean died down. Seward released Mason and Slidell. He sweetened the bitter pill by remarking that he was glad to see Britain defending the rights of neutral ships as the United States had done in 1812.

Britain and the Civil War

Charles Francis Adams compared the *Trent* affair to a sharp storm that cleared the air. It became evident that forces pushing Britain to aid the South were balanced by others making for a policy of neutrality. Although British cotton mills eventually suffered from the cotton famine caused by the blockade of the Confederacy, they carried on for some time with

surpluses in British warehouses and then made up much of the deficit from other sources, such as Egypt and India. Meanwhile, the British were mak-

QUESTION • Bismarck, chancellor of the German Empire, once remarked that Europe made a serious mistake in permitting the North to preserve the Union. What did he mean?

ing money by selling war materials to the North, and during two or three bad harvests at home they became dependent on American wheat. Upper-class sympathy for the South was balanced by the fact that the middle and lower classes favored the North. Many who wished to see England become more democratic agreed with Lincoln that the war was a test of democracy. They were not wholly on the Union side, however, until it was clear that the United States was fighting to abolish slavery. Once Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation (see p. 362) there was no further danger that the British government would help the South.

A remaining source of friction between England and America arose from the efforts of Confederate agents to buy warships in Britain. Several cruisers were sold to the Confederate

navy and left British ports for highly successful careers as commerce destroyers. An even greater threat were the "Laird rams," built in a famous British shipyard and designed for the sole purpose of breaking the Union blockade. Hearing that these ships were ready to sail, Charles Francis Adams bombarded Lord John Russell, British foreign minister, with protests, one of which contained the celebrated remark, "I need not remind your Lordship that this is war." At the last moment the British government bought the rams for its own navy.

Britain's refusal to give active aid to the Confederacy persuaded France to remain neutral. Napoleon III, the French emperor, was eager to aid the South, but not without British cooperation. Yet, as we shall see, he used the war as an opportunity to establish a government under his control in Mexico.

SLAVERY AND THE CIVIL WAR

When the Civil War began, there was surprisingly little opinion in the North that it would mean the end of slavery. Lincoln himself was, as we have seen, no abolitionist. He regarded slavery as a moral wrong and a disaster for both Negroes and whites, but as a lawyer he recognized the constitutional guarantees of the institution. He was careful to reassure the South on this point, saying that he had "no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery where it now exists." When Union generals freed slaves who had drifted into military posts, Lincoln overruled them. Had he not acted in this way, the northern tier of border states, especially Kentucky, might have joined the Confederacy.

Lincoln declared again and again that his "paramount object" was "to save the Union . . . *not* either to save or destroy slavery." But why pin the Union back together with bayonets at frightful cost in money and blood? One answer

is easy: patriotism. In the eighty-odd years since the Americans had declared themselves "one people," preservation of the Union had become a cause for which men were willing to give their lives. Lincoln maintained also that the struggle to save the Union was of world-wide importance as a test of whether large-scale democracy could "long endure." (Reread the quotation at the head of this chapter.)

The Emancipation Proclamation, 1863

As time passed, Lincoln came under increasing pressure to turn the war into an abolitionist crusade. There was a strong desire to punish the slaveholders of the South and an increasing conviction that the war was worth fighting only if it destroyed an institution that was a complete violation of the principles that America was supposed to stand for. Another compelling reason for emancipation was the need to win foreign support. Public opinion in Europe was so strongly opposed to slavery that if the North was fighting to abolish it, no European government would dare to aid the Confederacy. After Lee's defeat at Antietam in 1862, Lincoln announced that he would free the slaves of the Confederacy at the start of the next year. On January 1, 1863, he issued the famous Emancipation Proclamation, acting under his authority as Commander in Chief. This document did not immediately free a single slave, since it applied only to those areas behind Confederate lines. An English editor remarked that the principle behind it "is not that a human being cannot justly own another, but that he cannot own him unless he is loyal to the United States." Even so, the Emancipation Proclamation changed the entire character of the war. From that time on, Union armies were fighting to end human bondage. In a mysterious way the Negroes came to know of it, and whenever northern armies occupied southern territory, runaways poured into the Union lines.



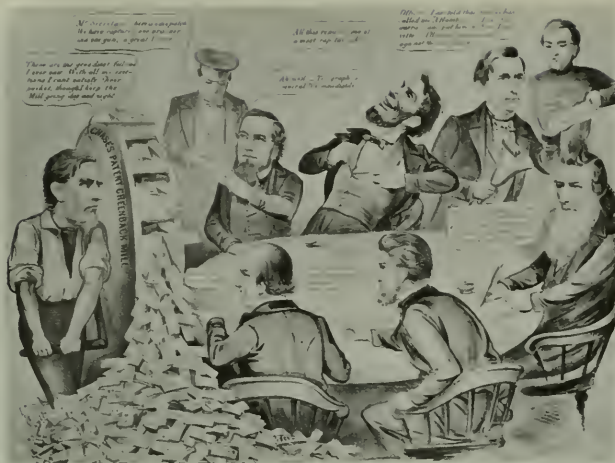
Scene in the House of Representatives, January 31, 1865, on the announcement of the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery in the United States. The report in *The New York Daily Tribune* described the scene: "The tumult of joy that broke out was vast, thundering, and uncontrollable . . . [for] the most august and important event in American Legislation and American History since the Declaration of Independence. God Bless the XXXVIIIth Congress! . . ."

The Thirteenth Amendment, 1865

There still remained the problem of slavery in the areas where the Emancipation Proclamation did not apply—the border states and those portions of the Confederacy already conquered by Union armies. To deal with them, Lincoln recommended a policy of compensated emancipation—setting the slaves free, but paying their owners for them. This scheme was applied only in the District of Columbia. Elsewhere slavery was abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1865. Thus a war begun simply to save the Union ended as a victory for the abolitionists.

LINCOLN FACES THE PEACE

In the presidential election of 1864, Lincoln was renominated by his party, which temporarily changed its name from Republican to Unionist to attract all who supported the war. The Democrats nominated George B. McClellan, a popular general who had twice been removed from command by Lincoln. They drew up a platform which denounced the war effort as a failure, but made no suggestion that the Confederate states be allowed to leave the Union. Although at one time Lincoln's defeat was expected, Sherman's taking of Atlanta in-



Lincoln was greatly loved and greatly hated. This cartoon shows Lincoln nonchalantly telling jokes to his cabinet, while Fessenden, Secretary of the Treasury, grinds out greenbacks, Stanton celebrates a great victory — “the capture of one prisoner and one gun,” and Welles says, “They say the Tallahassee sails 24 miles an hour! . . . Well then, we'll send 4 Gunboats after her that can sail 6 miles an hour, and that will just make enough to catch her.”

sured a Unionist victory. By a narrow margin the voters decided, in Lincoln's homely phrase, that “it was not best to swap horses while crossing the river.”

In the four years since the untried prairie lawyer delivered his First Inaugural, his stock had risen. In spite of violent attacks in Congress and in the press, he inspired affection and trust, as shown by the nicknames “Uncle Abe” and “Father Abraham.” Men of judgment had begun to appreciate the ability and strength of character hidden behind Uncle Abe's homely exterior. One of these was the novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne, who thus recorded his impressions:

There is no describing the lengthy awkwardness nor the uncouthness of his movement; and yet it seemed as if I had been in the habit of seeing him daily, and had shaken hands with him a thousand times in some village street. . . . If put to guess his calling and livelihood, I should have taken him for a country schoolmaster as soon as anything else. He was dressed in a rusty black frockcoat and pantaloons, unbrushed, and worn so faithfully that the suit had adapted itself to the curves and angularities of his figure. . . . He had shabby slippers on his feet. His hair was black, still unmingled with gray, stiff, somewhat bushy, and had apparently been

acquainted with neither brush nor comb that morning . . . on the whole I like this fallow, queer, sagacious visage, with the homely human sympathies that warmed it; and, for my small share in the matter, would as lief have Uncle Abe for a ruler as any man whom it would have been practicable to put in his place.

Second Inaugural Address

In his Second Inaugural Address, Lincoln reviewed the causes of the war and looked forward to the peace. When he first took office, “all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it.” Yet war broke out. Why? Because, said the President, “One side would *make* war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish.” Behind these attitudes was slavery, which the South wished to “strengthen, perpetuate, and extend,” while the North wanted to restrict its spread. (See p. 804.)

Although Lincoln believed slavery wrong, he never privately or publicly expressed hatred of the slaveholders themselves. In the Second Inaugural, he pointed out that both sides “read the same Bible and pray to the same God.”

Slaveowners may seem to be violating man's God-given right to freedom, "but let us judge not that we be not judged." It may be, said Lincoln, that the war was a divine vengeance on both North and South for two centuries of wrongs to the Negroes. Lincoln concluded his short address by urging that "with malice toward none, with charity for all," Americans should work to "bind up the nation's wounds," and "do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Lincoln's charity extended to the defeated South. He directed his generals to offer Confederate armies liberal terms of surrender. When a crowd with a brass band appeared to cheer him after the fall of Richmond, he asked the musicians to strike up "Dixie," which, he said, was "now contraband of war." He had already made plans to bring the Confederate states back into the Union as soon as possible.

Lincoln's Assassination

On the night of April 14, 1865, five days after Appomattox, Lincoln was assassinated by a fanatical Confederate sympathizer, John Wilkes Booth. Booth's deed was a tragedy for both North and South because it removed the man best fitted to "bind up the nation's wounds."

After Lincoln's death, many who had scorned and ridiculed him changed their minds. One of the most dramatic of these conversions was that of the British humor magazine *Punch*, which had published cartoons showing the American President as "a bearded ruffian, vulgar charlatan, and repulsive beast." Yet after his assassination a poem in *Punch* paid him this tribute:

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
To lame my pencil, and confute my pen—
To make me own this kind of princes peer,
This rail-splitter a true-born prince of men.

HOW TO DEAL WITH THE DEFEATED SOUTH?

When Confederate veterans—tired, ragged, and hungry—went home at the end of the Civil War, they returned to a ruined land. The region through which Sherman had marched "looked for many miles like a broad, black streak of ruin and desolation—the fences all gone; lonesome smoke stacks, surrounded by dark heaps of ashes and cinders, marking the spots where human habitations had stood." In addition to physical damage the South suffered profound dislocation of its economic life. Confederate money was worthless. Southern banks, which had done business in this currency and invested in Confederate bonds, were ruined. With the freeing of the slaves the plantation system broke down. Thousands of freedmen were on the move, possessed with the natural idea that the end of slavery meant "the day of jubilee" and no more work. Some wandered west because they heard wonderful stories of easy living out there, with hogs lying around "already baked with the knives and forks sticking in them and fritter ponds everywhere with fritters a-fryin' in them, ponds of grease and money trees." Even the many freedmen seeking work could often not find it, because landowners had no means to pay them, and the Negroes had no means to acquire land. The disorganization of southern agriculture was so great that in 1866 the production of cotton was only half that of 1860.

Lincoln and Reconstruction

The term "reconstruction" might logically be applied to the effort to deal with such southern problems as war damage, lack of credit, and the changeover from slave labor to free. In the years 1865 to 1877, however, reconstruction referred principally to two political problems: on what terms should the southern states be readmitted to the Union, and what should

be the political rights of the newly freed Negroes?

Before he died, Lincoln had turned his attention to reconstruction. As his Second Inaugural Address showed, he favored a generous policy. In order to get some sort of working arrangement as soon as possible, he proposed to readmit Confederate states to the Union when 10 per cent of the voters of 1860 signed a loyalty oath. As to the freed Negroes, Lincoln's favorite

QUESTION • If Lincoln had lived to complete his second term, would he enjoy as high a reputation as he does now?

solution was the wholly impractical idea that they should be colonized in Africa and the Caribbean. He even supported an ill-starred attempt to colonize freedmen in Haiti. Meanwhile, he helped to push the Thirteenth Amendment through Congress so that all Negroes would be free. Beyond that he was willing to let Southerners work out the details of the transition from bondage to freedom, although he urged that literate freedmen and those who had served in the Union army be granted the franchise.

Lincoln's lenient policy toward the South was opposed by the so-called Radical Republicans, who had the support of the majority in Congress. The Radicals did not share Lincoln's belief that Southerners could immediately be trusted with defining the status of the Negroes or that effective, loyal state governments could be based on 10 per cent of the male population. In any case, they believed that it was for Congress rather than the President to determine reconstruction policies. They embodied their opinions in the Wade-Davis Bill of 1864, which provided for much more rigorous conditions for readmitting the rebellious states to the Union. When Lincoln killed the bill by a pocket veto, its authors attacked him in a widely published

"manifesto." Accusing the President of a "studied outrage on the legislative authority of the people," the Wade-Davis Manifesto demanded that he "confine himself to his executive duties . . . and leave political organization to Congress." Had Lincoln lived, Congress might well have prevented him from arranging a peace based on "malice toward none" and "charity for all."

Andrew Johnson's Policies

Andrew Johnson, who succeeded to the presidency on Lincoln's death, attempted to carry out his predecessor's policies so far as he understood them, but he was seriously handicapped. As "President by accident" he commanded little popular following, and as a former Democrat he could not command the support of the Republican majority in Congress. A Tennessean who had once owned slaves, he thought that Negroes were by nature inferior to whites. Although able and courageous, Johnson was self-righteous, too apt to lose his temper, and stubborn where Lincoln had been flexible.

In the summer of 1865, Johnson encouraged the southern states to form new state governments. Each state was required to abolish slavery, repeal its ordinance of secession, and repudiate debts incurred in the war. There was general compliance with these terms. The South appeared to be heeding the advice of its most respected leader, Robert E. Lee, who said, "The war being at an end . . . I believe it the duty of every one to unite in the restoration of the country and the re-establishment of peace and harmony."

When it came to the status of the Negro, however, the new governments acted on the principle stated by the governor of Mississippi: "Ours is and ever shall be a government of white men." While Negroes were given the right

to own property, to marry within their own race, and to secure protection of the laws, they were nowhere allowed to serve on juries or to vote. No state made provision for Negro schools. In addition to denying the freedmen many of the rights of citizens, southern legislatures passed special laws known as "Black Codes" to keep them under control. These laws obliged Negroes to make long-term contracts with employers; those without steady jobs might be arrested as vagrants and their labor sold to the highest bidder. Sometimes they were even bound over to work for their former masters. The new South apparently intended the Negro to be "an illiterate, unskilled, propertyless, agricultural worker."

Even some Southerners thought it a blunder to go as far as did the new state constitutions and the Black Codes in placing Negroes in an inferior caste. President Johnson was at fault, too, in not making southern leaders realize that they must accept the fact of defeat and grant more than token rights to Negroes. How little the former Confederacy had "repented" secession was revealed in the congressional elections, when most of the men chosen were former Confederate leaders. President Johnson accepted these results, but when the Republican-dominated Congress met in December 1865, it refused to seat the men elected from the South. Insisting that Congress rather than the President had the right and duty to define the terms of readmission of the southern states, congressional leaders formed a Joint Committee on Reconstruction, composed of members of both houses. The Joint Committee drew up bills providing for economic assistance to the freedmen and for federal protection of their rights. These were duly passed and presented to Johnson for his signature. The President vetoed them. He thus antagonized moderate Republicans, and leadership in reconstruction passed to the Radicals.



The Library of Congress

Richmond in ruins after Union capture. The Civil War was "total" war: civilian centers were bombarded and fired, and the countryside was pillaged and wrecked.

RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION

The Radical Republicans included men inspired by both self-interest and idealism, by desire for partisan advantage, and by genuine concern for the Negroes. Certainly, one of their motives was to keep the Republican party in power. If the southern states were readmitted to the Union immediately, and with Negroes disfranchised, they would probably support the Democratic party, as in 1856 and 1860, and enable it to regain power. To prevent this, the Radicals insisted that Negroes be given the right to vote and that former Confederate leaders be barred from politics. Supporting the Radicals in their effort to keep control of the national government were northern industrialists and



Thaddeus Stevens' harsh features suggest something of the implacable hatred he felt for the former slave-owners. He proposed to divide their land among the freedmen, thus giving the Negroes economic independence that they desperately needed.

bankers, who feared that the Democrats might lower the tariff, pay off Union bonds with cheap money (by issuing large amounts of paper money, see p. 357), or destroy the national banking system that was set up during the Civil War. The cause of the Radicals was strong because they appealed to the principles of the Declaration of Independence: that men had a natural right to equality and that government must rest on consent of the governed. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts said:

[Congress] must see to it that the man made free by the Constitution is a freeman indeed; that he can go where he pleases, work when and for whom he pleases . . . go into the schools and educate himself and his children; that the rights and guarantees of the common law are his, and that he walks the earth proud and erect in the conscious dignity of a free man.

Congressional Elections of 1866: The "Bloody Shirt"

In the congressional elections of 1866, the President and the Radical Republicans campaigned against each other. Johnson hurt his cause by rambling, intemperate, bitter speeches. His opponents made effective use of a technique that came to be known as "waving the bloody shirt." This consisted in deliberately stirring up war hatreds and appealing to bitter memories of carnage and of the suffering of Union prisoners in southern prison camps. There were many Northerners who felt that the South should not be readmitted to the Union until it had been further punished and had shown itself repentant for the sins of slavery and secession. "Bloody shirt" oratory equated Democrats and traitors:

Every unregenerate rebel . . . every deserter, every sneak who ran away from the draft calls himself a Democrat. . . . Every man who labored for the rebellion in the field, who murdered Union prisoners by cruelty and starvation . . . calls himself a Democrat. Every wolf in sheep's clothing who pretends to preach the gospel but proclaims the righteousness of man-selling and slavery . . . calls himself a Democrat.

The elections of 1866 resulted in a sweeping victory for the Radicals, who could now claim that they had a mandate from the people to put through their own version of reconstruction.

The principal Radical leader was Thaddeus Stevens, congressman from Pennsylvania, who insisted that the southern states were "conquered provinces." He was determined to punish the "slaveocrats" whom he held responsible for the Civil War. He would not execute them all, he said, "but surely *some* victims must propitiate the names of our starved, murdered, slaughtered martyrs." Stevens proposed that the land of former slaveholders be confiscated and parceled out among the freedmen. Congress did not go all the way with Stevens, but in 1867

it passed two Reconstruction Acts that did away entirely with the state governments that Johnson had set up and put the South under military rule. The former Confederacy, except for Tennessee, was divided into five military districts, each under command of a major general. The officers were given the duty of setting up new governments in which Negroes should be guaranteed the right to vote. Those who had held office under the Confederacy or had "given aid and comfort" to enemies of the United States lost their suffrage. This meant that the majority of white southern males were disfranchised.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, 1868, 1870

The Radical program was written into the Constitution by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which southern states were now required to ratify as a condition of readmission to the Union. The most important portion of the Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, is the first section. It specifically overrides the Dred Scott decision by making all persons born in the United States citizens of the United States and of the states where they reside. It forbids any state to deprive its citizens of equal rights under law. (For the text of the Fourteenth Amendment and explanation of its provisions see pp. 144-146.) The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, was designed to guarantee to Negroes the vote, by providing that no state might deprive any citizen of the franchise "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." (See pp. 146-147.) The two amendments reveal one of the most important results of the Civil War—an immense gain in the power of the national government. Formerly, rights of citizenship and voting had been almost entirely determined by the states. Now the federal government laid down rules for the states to follow.



Andrew Johnson, a "political accident," became Vice-President because Lincoln hoped to win Democratic votes, and President because of Lincoln's death. In dealing with the Republican majority in Congress he displayed more courage than tact.

In addition to providing permanent constitutional protection for the rights of Negroes, Congress made a temporary effort to provide for their economic and educational needs. This was done through the Freedmen's Bureau, set up in March 1865, to care for former slaves. The first great federal relief agency, the bureau did useful work in providing food, clothing, and medical care. It also attempted to protect the civil rights of Negroes and to see that employers treated them fairly. It spent some \$5,000,000 on Negro schools. Northern missionary organizations also supported schools for the freedmen. The American Missionary Association, representing former abolitionists, sent hundreds of schoolteachers to the South and established nearly a score of colleges and normal schools to train Negro teachers.

Carpetbag Governments

Some of the leaders of the new state governments set up under the Radical program were Northerners whom the South called "carpetbaggers" (men who allegedly came seeking their fortunes with no more possessions than could be carried in a carpetbag). The epithet stuck, and as "carpetbag governments" they have been known ever since. Allied with the carpetbaggers were southern whites, who were dubbed "scalawags." Some of the carpetbaggers were respectable, honest men sincerely devoted to the public interest, but enough of them were self-seeking to give the carpetbag governments a reputation

The Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed Negroes the right to vote in state and federal elections. Celebrations of its ratification were premature because means were found to make the amendment inoperative.

for graft and inefficiency. Whether they were corrupt or honest, most Southerners disliked them because at the height of Radical reconstruction 700,000 Negroes possessed the franchise in the South, as against 625,000 whites. Prompted by agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union League, a secret fraternal organization, Negroes mostly voted for Republican candidates.

But the carpetbag governments were not in truth run by and for the Negro. Even when the Negroes held a majority of the legislative seats, they were subordinate to whites. In any case, the carpetbag governments were, as a recent historian says, "an unfair test of the Negro's capacity for self-government." The conditions under which the freedmen had lived in slavery had been deliberately designed to keep them illiterate, helpless, and dependent. They could not suddenly acquire the skills needed to carry on government successfully.

Many of the carpetbag governments were corrupt. Votes in the legislatures were bought and sold like shares of stock. Most graft, however, went not to Negroes but to the whites at the top and to businessmen who received legislative handouts in the form of railway franchises, public lands, and fat government contracts. But the carpetbag governments were not unique in being graft-ridden. Unfortunately, political corruption was characteristic of politics all over the United States in the period after the Civil War. The Tweed Ring, operating only in New York City, stole more than all the carpetbag governments put together.

The period of carpetbag rule was not without achievement. The rights of women were increased, taxation was made fairer, and penal systems were reformed. Most of the new state constitutions made improvements in facilities for the care of the poor and the insane. Above all, they laid the foundations for public school systems that the South had hitherto lacked.

—THE—
COLORED CITIZENS
 —OF—
MARION COUNTY
 PROPOSE TO HAVE A
GRAND
MASS
MEETING!
AT LEBANON, KY.,
 —ON—
Tuesday, Feb. 22, '70,
 At which time they will celebrate the adoption of the
XVth Amendment to the Constitution.

The following Speakers have been invited and are expected

**HON. BLAND BALLARD, HON. JAS. SPEED, COL. B. H. BRISTOW,
 FRED DOUGLASS, Rev. J. B. STANSBERRY, Rev. W. H. MILES,
 CAPT. JAS. M. FIDLER, COL. H. C. TAYLOR, A. G. DRAKE, HON. R. L. WINTERMITE,
 GEN. ELI H. MURRAY, GEN. R. H. ROBSON, REV. R. MARSHALL, HON. SAM MCKEE,
 HON. W. G. GOODLOE, DR. J. C. MAXWELL, COL. CHAR. A. GILL, REV. J. M. REYNOLD**

A FULL BAND OF MUSIC
 Will be in attendance and a **GRAND TORCH-LIGHT PROCESSION,**
 with Speeches, will be held on the night of the 22d of February.
LEBANON, KY., FEB. 14th, 1870 **BY ORDER OF COMMITTEE.**

Radical Attacks on the Federal Courts and the Presidency

To push through their reconstruction program, the Radicals in Congress attempted to reduce both the judicial and executive departments to a subordinate position. Had they had their way, they might have destroyed the system of checks and balances and given Congress the omnipotent position enjoyed by the British Parliament. Fearing that the Supreme Court would apply the principles of *ex parte Milligan* to military courts in the South, Congress forbade appeals to that body in any cases arising under the Reconstruction Acts of 1867. To prevent Johnson from appointing justices to the Supreme Court, Congress provided that whenever a justice died or resigned he was not to be replaced. Thus the court gradually shrank from nine members to eight.

Above all, the Radicals were determined to get rid of Johnson. In order to reduce the President's power of appointment, Congress in 1867 passed the Tenure of Office Act. It provided that the President might not remove important civil servants from office without senatorial permission; if he did so, he was declared guilty of a "high misdemeanor." Believing the law unconstitutional, Johnson demanded the resignation of Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, in February 1868.

Immediately, the President was impeached by the House of Representatives, and brought to trial before the Senate, amid intense public excitement. After a trial lasting over two months, the Senate voted 35 to 19 that Johnson was guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors" (see Article II, section 4, p. 128). Since this was one vote short of the two-thirds majority necessary for conviction (Article I, Section 3, clause 6), Johnson was acquitted and completed his term as President. This came about because seven Republican senators could not honestly find evidence that Johnson was guilty. Under every



The sergeant-at-arms of the Senate serving the summons of impeachment on Johnson. This was a bold attempt to remove a President for political reasons and make Congress all-powerful. This would have altered the American constitutional system of checks and balances.

sort of pressure they stood firm in refusing to put their party above the Constitution. One of them explained his actions as follows:

It is not a party question I am to decide. I must be governed by what my reason and judgment tell me is the truth and the justice and the law of this case. . . . Once set the example of impeaching a President for what, when the excitement of the hour shall have subsided, will be regarded as insufficient causes, and no future President will be safe who happens to differ with a majority of the House and two thirds of the Senate. . . . what then becomes of the checks and balances of the Constitution so carefully devised and so vital to its perpetuity? They are all gone.



A cartoon attacking the Radical Reconstruction policies carried on by President Grant. Grant is portrayed sitting in a carpetbag carried by the South and propped up by the troops who kept the carpetbag governments in power.

The Election of 1868

As the presidential election of 1868 approached, the Republicans sought a candidate who could sweep the country and keep them in power. They found such a person in General Grant. Before the war Grant had been a Democrat. After Appomattox he appeared to share the Lincoln-Johnson attitude toward the South, and joined forces with the Radicals only after a quarrel with Johnson. Opposing Grant as Democratic candidate was Horatio Seymour, former governor of New York. The Democratic platform condemned the Radical reconstruction

plans, reduction of the power of the federal courts, and Johnson's impeachment. Only Grant's popularity as a war hero kept the Democrats from victory. Although the vote in the electoral college stood 214 for Grant to 80 for Seymour, a small shift in the popular vote in key states would have given Seymour the election. Grant won only because he was supported by the carpetbag governments of the South and because three southern states had not yet been readmitted to the Union. It is no wonder, therefore, that throughout Grant's administration troops were stationed in the South.

RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION ON THE WANE

Southern whites at first put up little resistance to Radical reconstruction. Weary from the war, they were preoccupied with the business of merely keeping alive amid the general poverty. But there were many "unreconstructed rebels" who were not disposed to follow General Lee's advice to let bygones be bygones. Instead, their attitude was that of a song of the period, "Good Old Rebel," of which one verse went:

I hate that Yankee nation,
And all they say and do.
I hate the Declaration
Of Independence too.

Unable to strike openly at the federal government, they organized secret, terrorist societies, of which the most important was the Ku Klux Klan. Hooded, white-robed Klansmen, riding in bands at night, intimidated carpetbaggers, teachers in the new Negro schools, and above all the Negroes themselves. The Klan was quite willing to use violence to back up its threats. Although it was finally suppressed by federal authority, it and other similar organizations frightened many Negroes away from the polls and contributed to the re-establishment of governments opposed to the Radicals. The so-called "Conservatives" gained control of one southern state after another, until by 1876 only South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana had not been restored to "home rule."

One reason for these southern successes was that the North was becoming weary of Radical reconstruction. In 1872 a group called the "Liberal Republicans," including some of the best men in the Republican party, refused to support Grant for re-election because they thought him unfit for the presidency (see p. 448), and because they opposed Radical reconstruction policies. They nominated Horace Greeley for

President and the Democrats ratified the nomination. Although Grant was re-elected, the Liberal Republican attitude toward reconstruction became more and more widespread.

Disputed Election of 1876 and Compromise of 1877

The end of Radical reconstruction resulted from the presidential election of 1876. The Democratic candidate was Samuel J. Tilden, who had gained fame as a reform governor of New York; that of the Republicans was Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio, noted for his personal honesty. The Republicans continued to wave the bloody shirt, but it was losing effectiveness. The Democrats, on the other hand, effectively attacked both Radical reconstruction and the corruption which characterized Grant's administration.

As the first election returns came in, it appeared that Tilden had won. From the three states still under carpetbag rule, however, there were two sets of returns, one favoring the Democrats and the other the Republicans. One of Oregon's electoral votes was also disputed because of a technicality. If Hayes could get *every single one* of the twenty disputed electoral votes, he would carry the election by 185 electoral votes to 184. There was nothing in the Constitution to show how to settle such a controversy. The Republicans were determined to retain the control of the presidency which they had enjoyed for sixteen years. The Democrats were determined not to be defrauded. There were threats of civil war. Northern Democrats formed "rifle clubs," and a Kentucky editor called for 100,000 Democrats to invade Washington and prevent Hayes from "usurping" the presidency.

In the end, Hayes was chosen President. The decision was left to an electoral commission, chosen from the House, Senate, and Supreme Court, composed of eight Republicans

and seven Democrats. By a strict party vote the commission awarded every disputed electoral vote to Hayes, and the Democrats peacefully accepted the result. The Democrats' willingness to allow Hayes to be inaugurated was the result of a compromise between Republican leaders and southern Democrats. It differed from previous arrangements such as the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850 in that it was largely secret and was not embodied in law.

Having suffered so much from war, Southerners were repelled by the northern Democrats' talk of using violence to put Tilden in the White House. They were willing to let Hayes assume the presidency in return for concessions. The most striking of these was the end of Radical reconstruction. This came about easily when the federal troops which protected the remaining carpetbag governments were withdrawn. Without soldiers to guard them, these governments collapsed, and the South was restored to "home rule." This meant the restoration of "white supremacy." Negroes played less and less part in politics, and in some southern states, schools for them were closed down.

Less important southern demands in the Compromise of 1877 were that Hayes appoint a Southerner to his cabinet as postmaster general; that more federal funds be appropriated for southern rivers, harbors, and railroads; and that the federal government help to finance a railroad from New Orleans to the Pacific Coast. Hayes and his advisers were willing to agree to all these requests in order to get the presidency, but for reasons mostly beyond their control they were unable to carry through their bargain completely.

The significance of the Compromise of 1877 was not simply that a threat of civil war had been averted, nor that the Republicans managed to stay in power by abandoning Radical reconstruction. The Compromise was also a temporary alliance between the conservative

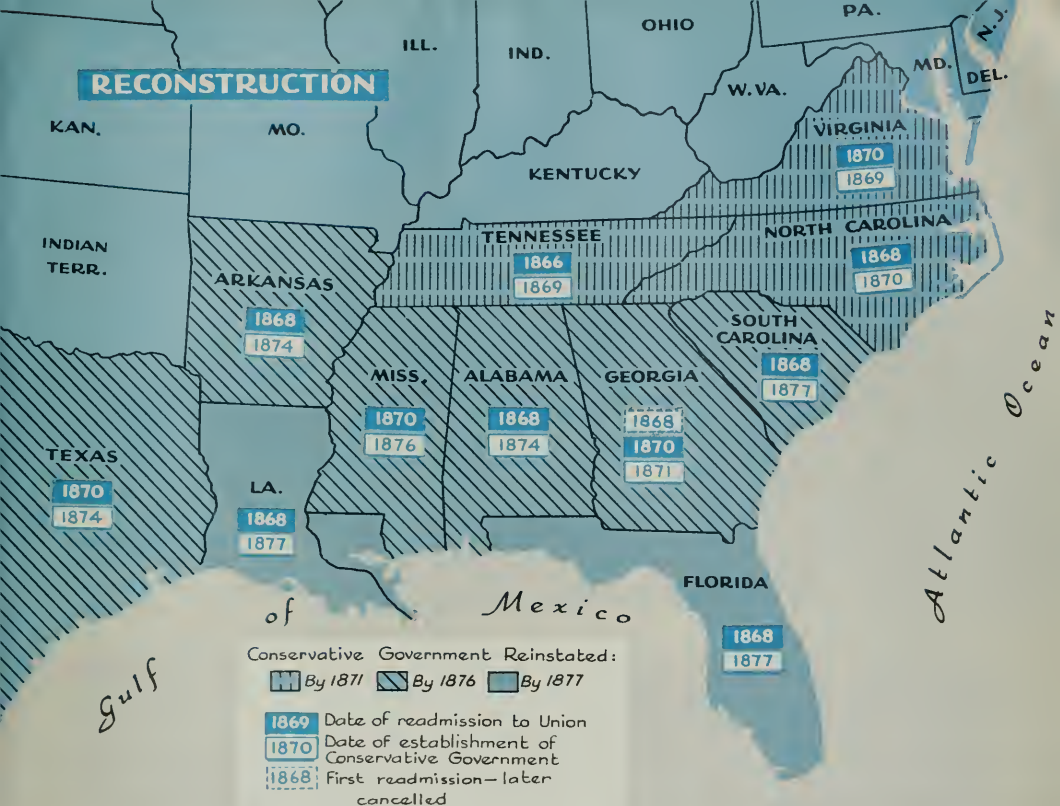
property interests of the North and South, somewhat like the former alliance of the propertied classes in the Federalist and Whig parties.

Results of Radical Reconstruction

The results of Radical reconstruction continued for many years. One of the most obvious was the "Solid South"—a block of former slave states dominated by the Democratic party. This did not begin to break up for nearly a century. The Solid South was a reflection of the bitterness created by Radical reconstruction. Southern whites agreed with Joel Chandler Harris (famous for his stories of "Uncle Remus"), who called it "a policy of lawlessness, under the forms of law, of disfranchisement, robbery, oppression, and fraud."

Radical reconstruction was of only temporary help to the Negroes whose rights it professed to defend. Abolitionist idealism waned, and too many professed Radicals were more interested in Negro votes than in the welfare of the freedmen themselves. The Radicals took no long-range steps to provide what the freedmen needed most—education and the opportunity to acquire property. They closed down the Freedmen's Bureau after only five years of operation, and they failed to support or follow up promising experiments in teaching Negroes to manage cotton plantations for themselves.

And yet, as the Black Codes revealed, without federal intervention emancipation for southern Negroes meant merely a change from slavery to peonage. Although immediate efforts to aid the Negroes failed, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments wrote the principle of equality for all men into the Constitution of the United States. For many years they remained almost a dead letter, but in the twentieth century these constitutional provisions provide the legal basis and part of the inspiration for positive efforts to bring the Negro at long last into full enjoyment of his rights as a citizen.



Georgia was readmitted to the Union in time to cast its electoral votes with other carpetbag governments for Grant. Later in 1868, military government was reimposed on the state because of irregular procedures in its new legislature. It was not readmitted until 1870, after ratifying the Fifteenth Amendment.

It is often forgotten that the South was treated more leniently than the losers in any great internal struggle of modern times. After events such as the French, Russian, and Chinese revolutions, the winning side executed many of the losers. After the Civil War the only people executed were those connected with the plot to assassinate Lincoln and the Confederate officer who ran Andersonville prison, where many Union soldiers died.

The fact that bloodshed ceased with the surrender helped to make it possible for conciliatory feeling to develop. In 1893 Woodrow Wilson, a Southerner, wrote, "The day of inevitable strife and permanent difference came to seem strangely remote." This reconciliation was promoted by a number of actions that had a profound effect on public opinion. When parts of the South were stricken by famine in 1866 and by yellow fever in 1878, large-scale relief

came from the North to the stricken areas. Of more permanent importance were the gifts of northern philanthropists to promote education in the South, both Negro and white. The largest of these was made by George Peabody, a wealthy financier, who set up a permanent fund to encourage elementary school education in the South. "This I give to the suffering South," he said, "for the good of the whole country." Both General Grant and Admiral Farragut served as trustees of the Peabody Education Fund. Such acts of generosity helped to reunite the sections. The day came when Jefferson Davis in a speech to southern students said,

The past is dead; let it bury its dead, its hopes and its aspirations; before you lies the future, a future of golden promise, a future of expanding national glory. . . . Let me beseech you to lay aside all rancor, all bitter sectional feeling, and to make your place in the ranks of those who will bring about a consummation devoutly to be wished—a reunited country.

"THE NEW SOUTH"

While political reconstruction occupied the center of the stage, the South experienced an economic revolution—the transition from plantations and slave labor to small farms and free labor. Much of the damage of war was repaired, and the South turned again to raising cotton and tobacco.

Sharecropping and Tenancy

By 1870 the average size of southern farms was half what it had been in 1860. The large plantations were split up for a number of reasons. Their owners no longer owned slaves and lacked the money to hire day labor. Furthermore, the Negroes regarded working in gangs under any sort of continuous direction as a badge of slavery and preferred to be on their own. There were also many whites who wanted to own farms.

Few Negroes or whites had the means to buy farms. Therefore many became tenants, paying for the use of the land either in cash or—more usually—by a share of the crop. This system of "sharecropping" had serious defects. The owners, often in debt themselves and anxious to get the maximum cash income from the land, put pressure on tenants not to do the wise thing and plant different kinds of crops, but to plant only cotton or tobacco. This exhausted the soil. It made the tenants more dependent on the landowners or local merchants from whom they bought—on credit—seed, fertilizer, draft animals, and food. They often ended each year deeper in debt.

In spite of its faults, tenant farming was perhaps an inevitable result of southern conditions. "Tenancy," wrote Paul H. Buck in *The Road to Reunion*, "seemed the only way by which the inefficient elements of southern agriculture—an ignorant, unpropertied labor force and a landowning class without capital or authority—could be fused into a productive combination."

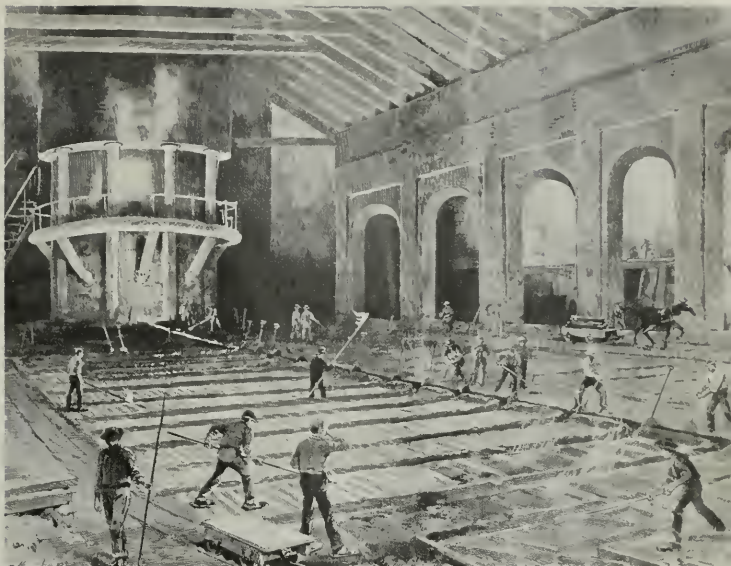
Industrial Growth

In the postwar years, northern capital was of real help to the South only in providing money to build railroads; even here the price was steep. The building was often wasteful, and was over-rewarded in bonds and lands given away by corrupt carpetbag legislatures. Southern freight rates were higher than those in other parts of the country. Nevertheless, by 1890 the railroad mileage of the South was twice that of 1860, and the region had a better transportation system than ever before.

Other factors necessary for industrial "take-off" also began to appear in the South. (See p. 322.) Thoughtful Southerners had long realized that one of the great weaknesses of their region was the lack of manufacturing. By the late 1870's, however, there was increasing

The "New South"

As the southern economy recovered from the ravages of the Civil War, new industries appeared, as depicted by this steel mill in Birmingham, Alabama, and this sugar refinery in Louisiana, and men began to talk enthusiastically of the "new South." In fact, however, the region was still the least prosperous in the country and as much as ever dependent on one crop, cotton.



The Library of Congress



talk of the New South, of which a principal feature was industrial progress. Around Birmingham, Alabama, there developed a flourishing iron industry. In scores of small towns, especially along the "fall line" (see pp. 8-9), cotton mills appeared. The money for these factories was usually raised by Southerners themselves from their own slender resources of capital; such investment was often regarded as a public duty. Far from northern markets, paying high freight and interest rates, able to hire only unskilled labor, southern mills faced serious handicaps. The owners therefore felt forced to pay low wages, to hire child labor, and to work factory hands long hours.

With these developments in agriculture, transportation, and industry, the South gradually revived. By 1870 it was producing as much cotton as in 1860; by 1890 the yield had doubled again. By 1900 the manufactured products of the South were worth at least four times as much as in 1860. Great as these advances were, they did not match the agricultural and industrial growth elsewhere. The South remained the least prosperous section of the country.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Once the Confederacy had been defeated, the United States was brought face to face with problems in foreign affairs. Napoleon III had violated the principles of the Monroe Doctrine by setting up a monarchy in Mexico. How could he be forced out? Now that the slavery issue was buried, would the United States use its new military strength to expand its borders? The resentment which developed against Great Britain during the war remained intense. Could hostilities be avoided? It was fortunate that in meeting such problems the country had the services of two able Secretaries of State—William H. Seward, whom Johnson inherited from Lincoln, and Hamilton Fish, who served under

Grant. Their task was made easier by the respect abroad that the Union victory had gained for the United States.

Napoleon III's Intervention in Mexico, 1861-1867

One of the most serious challenges the Monroe Doctrine ever faced was an effort by Napoleon III to overthrow the Mexican Republic and replace it with a government under his influence. He desired not only to re-establish French power in the Western Hemisphere, but also to set up "an insuperable barrier" to the expansion of American democracy. French troops entered Mexico in 1861 as part of a joint expedition with Spain and Great Britain to collect debts that the Mexican government had refused to pay. The other countries withdrew, but a French army occupied Mexico City in 1863. The next year Maximilian, an Austrian prince, agreed at Napoleon's persuasion to become emperor of Mexico.

American opinion was violently opposed to Napoleon's actions, but during the Civil War there was little to do but protest. In 1864 the House of Representatives passed a unanimous resolution stating that the United States refused to recognize "any monarchical government erected on the ruins of any republican government in America under the auspices of a European power." Once the South was defeated, the United States had military power to back up its warnings; at one time 50,000 federal troops were stationed on the Rio Grande border. With such force behind him, Seward had little difficulty persuading Napoleon III to withdraw French troops early in 1867. The unfortunate Maximilian, who had trusted Napoleon's promise that "the assistance of France shall never fail the new empire," died before a Mexican firing squad. It was the Mexicans themselves, under the remarkable leadership of an Indian, Benito Juárez, who defeated Maximilian's

forces, but the action of the United States probably hastened Napoleon's withdrawal. The Monroe Doctrine gained new respect abroad and popularity at home.

Alaska Purchase, 1867

Seward was a Secretary of State who believed in a policy of manifest destiny. He wanted the United States to annex Canada, Hawaii, and several Caribbean islands. His only major achievement along this line was the purchase of Alaska in 1867. This undeveloped territory, twice the size of Texas, and inhabited by only 20,000 people, was held by Russia, but was too far from Moscow for the Russian government either to rule or to protect effectively. When in 1867 the Russian minister to the United States informed Seward that the czar wished to

QUESTION • Was the Alaska Purchase a better real estate bargain than the Louisiana Purchase?

sell the territory, the Secretary of State jumped at the chance. In a few hours he arranged a treaty whereby the United States bought Alaska for \$7,200,000—a price of less than two cents an acre. Seward's action had little popular support, because, as has been remarked, most Americans did not know whether Alaska was "a city, an animal, or a new kind of drink." Newspapers called the area "Seward's icebox." The treaty passed the Senate, but the House of Representatives balked at voting the necessary funds until the Russian ambassador acceded to the pecuniary demands of certain needy congressmen.

Anglo-American Tension: Treaty of Washington, 1871

In the postwar period there was tension between the United States and Great Britain, as after the War of 1812 and at the time of the Aroostook War. Queen Victoria's diary reveals her fear of a war in which Britain would be



Purchase of Alaska was ridiculed by many as "Seward's Folly." This contemporary newspaper drawing shows Seward wheeling a large chunk of Alaskan ice to cool off hot Senate tempers.

almost certain to lose Canada. The strongest American grievance involved Confederate cruisers, such as the *Alabama*, that had been allowed to slip from British ports. In 1869 Charles Sumner, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, made a famous speech that whipped up ill feeling. Sumner claimed that Great Britain owed us more than \$2,000,000,000 in "direct" and "indirect" damages for allowing Confederate warships to sail. If the British would not pay, said the senator, the United States should take Canada.

Fortunately there were more reasonable men than Sumner in both the British and American governments. In Britain there was a realization that it had been a blunder to aid the Confederacy and thereby to risk losing Canada. It was also realized that if Britain should get involved in a war with a European power, the United States could build ships for Britain's foes and allow them to use our ports as they preyed on the British merchant marine. On the part of the United States, Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State under Grant, was willing to drop claims for indirect damages and to let an inter-

national court decide how much Britain owed in direct damages. In both governments there was a willingness to clear the books of outstanding disputes.

This mutually conciliatory attitude resulted in the Treaty of Washington, 1871. This document, containing 43 separate articles, provided for the settlement of all sorts of questions, such as a disputed boundary between the United States and Canada in Puget Sound, the rights of Americans to fish in Canadian waters, and claims of British subjects against the United States. In regard to the *Alabama* claims, the treaty contained a clause expressing "regret by Her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports."

With the British practically admitting themselves in the wrong, it did not prove too difficult to assess the amount of damages. This was done by an international court of arbitration, consisting of representatives from the United States, Great Britain, Italy, Brazil, and Switzerland. Called the Geneva Tribunal, because it met in Geneva, Switzerland, this body awarded the United States damages totaling \$15,500,000, and Great Britain promptly paid. This was a remarkable victory for peace, and served to popularize the idea of arbitration instead of war to settle international disputes.

On the whole, the relations of the United States with foreign nations during the postwar years were handled with wisdom sadly lacking in the treatment of the South.

Activities: Chapter 14

For Mastery and Review

1. In parallel columns, compare the Civil War and the War of the American Revolution.

2. What were the effects of the blockade? What was the significance of the encounter between the *Virginia* and the *Monitor*? What effects did the Confederate cruisers such as the *Alabama* have upon the American merchant marine?

3. Trace the course of the war in the West. What were its purposes and how were they achieved?

4. Account for Lee's successes in Virginia. What was the importance of his defeats? Why did he finally surrender to Grant?

5. Prepare a summary comparison of northern and southern strengths.

6. How and why did the war increase the powers of the presidency?

7. Why was the British government sympathetic to the Confederacy? Why did it remain neutral?

8. Trace the changing attitude of Lincoln and of northern opinion in general toward freeing the slaves. By what steps was it accomplished and what

was the immediate background of each?

9. Outline the Lincoln plan of Reconstruction. What were arguments for it? Who were the Radical Republicans? What actions did Johnson take in southern reconstruction? What were the reactions in the southern states and in Congress?

10. What self-interests did the Radical Republicans seek? What ideals? Outline the major provisions of their Reconstruction program. What were the carpetbag governments? What did they accomplish, good and bad?

11. In what ways did the Radical Republicans attack constitutional checks and balances? How did they weaken the Supreme Court? In what ways did they provide Negroes with constitutional protection of their rights as citizens?

12. How did southern whites regain political control of their state governments? What were the terms of the Compromise of 1877? What was its principal result? What were the results of Reconstruction on the South, politically, economically, and educationally?

13. Describe postwar foreign relations, including (a) Maximilian in Mexico; (b) the purchase of Alaska; and (c) the Treaty of Washington.

Unrolling the Map

1. On an outline map of the United States, indicate the free states, the states that composed the Confederacy, and the slave states that did not secede. Indicate the lines by which the Confederacy was cut apart. Locate Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Savannah, and the chief Confederate ports closed by the Union blockade. Locate Richmond, Washington, and Gettysburg.

Who, What, and Why Important?

blockade	Amendment XIII
Gideon Wells	Andrew Johnson
Virginia vs. <i>Monitor</i>	"Black Codes"
Alabama	Racial Reconstruction program
Ulysses S. Grant	Amendments XIV and XV
Vicksburg	carpetbag governments
William T. Sherman	impeachment
Robert E. Lee	election of 1868
"Stonewall" Jackson	Ku Klux Klan
Gettysburg	Compromise of 1877
Appomattox	white supremacy
conscription	Solid South
greenbacks	sharecropping
Clara Barton	Maximilian
"Copperheads"	Alaska Purchase
<i>ex parte</i> Milligan	Treaty of Washington
The Emancipation Proclamation	Geneva Tribunal

To Pursue the Matter

1. What was the appalling price that the South had to pay for the sharecropping system, and who paid it? See Arnoff, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 266–270.

2. What were the contributions of former slaves to the Union war effort? See McPherson, *The Negro Civil War*.

3. "The Emancipation Proclamation did not free a single slave." Do you agree or disagree? See Franklin, *The Emancipation Proclamation*.

4. Make a diagrammatic map explaining how Grant took Vicksburg or one explaining how Lee won overwhelming victories with inferior forces at Second Bull Run and Chancellorsville.

5. How do you explain Lincoln's extraordinary success as a diplomat? See Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, Chapters 22, 23.

6. Is the federal government justified in restricting freedom, even illegally, in time of crisis? See "The Case of the Copperhead Conspirator," in Garraty, *Quarrels That Have Shaped the Constitution*.

7. A most important question to consider:

In general, Southern Negroes simply exchanged a system of slavery for one of peonage after the Civil War. What would have been the elements of a program that would have prepared them for equal status? How could it have been put across?

THEMES

PART 4

The immense tide of immigration from Europe that began about 1840 and continued well into the twentieth century involved at least three of the themes of American history: "economic opportunity," "a mobile population," and "toleration of differences," as can be seen by questions such as these:

1. Why did the immigrants come to these shores?
2. Where did they go when they got here?
3. How did they make a living?
4. How were they treated?

See Jones, *American Immigration*, Chapters 4–6, or Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant*, Part II.

In dealing with the themes of American history as described in the Prologue, it is important to remember that they are only trends and that they were by no means an invariable pattern. Surely the outbreak of that tragic period of bloodshed, the Civil War, contradicts the statement that Americans agreed to settle disputes "by ballots rather than bullets." The treatment of the free Negro of the North, let alone the Negro slave of the South, in the nineteenth century makes a mockery of the statement that all Americans have always been imbued with "respect for the rights and abilities of the individual." To get a mature and balanced view of American history it is necessary to look on the dark side as well as the bright. To see why intersectional differences led to war see Bedford, *The Union Divides: Politics and Slavery, 1850–1861*. For an account of how the northern states, after freeing the Negroes, kept them in a subordinate position see Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States*.

Special Supplements

- ARNOF, "A Sense of the Past, Part Four.
BRADON, MCCUTCHEN, and BROWN, "Frame of Government, "The Confederate Constitution," pp. 201-243.
BEDFORD, H. F., "The Union Divides: Politics and Slavery, 1850-1861. (New Perspectives.) An interesting study of events leading to the Civil War, with conflicting historical interpretations.

American History in Sound

The Columbia Record Club, Terre Haute, Indiana, has made two records, *The Union and The Confederacy*, of the music and of readings from the Civil War.

The Archive of American Folk Song of the Library of Congress publishes a magnificent selection of folk songs as actually sung by the people themselves.

Specialized References

THE WEST

B. DeVOTO, "The Year of Decision, 1846, vividly describes the westward migration, the Mormons (rather critically), and the Mexican War. For a brief history of the Mexican War, see O. SINGLETARY, "The Mexican War. R. BILLINGTON, "The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860, describes farmers, trappers, and miners, as well as the Mexican War. The theme of manifest destiny emerges in B. DeVOTO, "Across the Wide Missouri, which has superb illustrations. F. PARKMAN, "The Oregon Trail, written when Parkman was a young man, tells of his trip along the Oregon Trail and his encounters with Indians. The Gold Rush is described in P. I. WELLMAN, *Gold in California*. P. HORGAN's *Great River*, vol. II, continues his fascinating history of the Rio Grande; and L. TINKLE, *13 Days to Glory* ("The Alamo"), tells of one of the most dramatic events in Texan history.

THE FATEFUL FIFTIES

R. F. NICHOLS, "The Disruption of American Democracy, is a good survey of the years 1856 to

1861. Two differing views of the causes of the war are presented in A. O. CRAVEN, "The Coming of the Civil War, and D. L. DUMOND, "Antislavery Origins of the Civil War. The complete Lincoln-Douglas debates are reprinted in P. ANGLE (ed.), *Created Equal*, and in R. W. JOHANSEN (ed.), "The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. On John Brown's raid, see C. V. WOODWARD's essay in D. AARON (ed.), *America in Crisis*. A. NEVINS, *Ordeal of the Union*, 2 vols., and *The Emergence of Lincoln*, 2 vols., are superbly written histories of the 1850's.

Southern arguments in defense of slavery are reprinted in E. L. MCKITRICK (ed.), "Slavery Defended: The Views of the Old South. Ex-slaves themselves describe their lives under slavery in B. A. BOTKIN (ed.), "Lay My Burden Down, a moving and revealing book. R. C. WADE, *Slavery in the Cities*, tells how slavery was different in the cities from what it was on the plantations. During the 1850's, many Northerners travelled South and reported on what they saw. One of the fairest and best reports was F. L. OLMSTED, *The Cotton Kingdom* ("The Slave States). One of the best books on the South by a Southerner is M. B. CHESUT, "A Diary from Dixie. On the Underground Railroad, see H. BUCKMASTER, "Let My People Go.

C. WOODHAM-SMITH, "The Great Hunger, is a brilliant and vividly written study of the Irish immigration of the 1840's and 1850's. On transportation, see M. TWAIN, "Life on the Mississippi, and J. STOVER's comprehensive history, "American Railroads.

THE CIVIL WAR

R. N. CURRENT, "Abraham Lincoln and the First Shot, tells of the beginning of the war. B. CATTON, "This Hallowed Ground, is a marvelously vivid history of the war from the northern view. For a southern view, see C. DOWDEY, *The Land They Fought For*. J. M. MCPHERSON, *The Negro's Civil War: How Negroes Felt and Acted During the War for the Union*, is a collection of documents. H. S. COMMAGER (ed.), *The Blue and the Gray*, contains the soldiers' own stories. D. DONALD (ed.), "Why the North Won the Civil War, and A. NEVINS, "The Statesmanship of the Civil War, analyze the prob-

lems northern and southern leaders faced and the actions they took. C. P. ROLAND, **The Confederacy*, includes a discussion of the difficulties the South encountered in setting up a strong national government. D. DONALD, **Lincoln Reconsidered*, is a collection of perceptive essays that dispute many popular beliefs. J. H. FRANKLIN, **The Emancipation Proclamation*, recounts the political background of that famous document. *American Heritage* articles on the war include: "Tonight for Freedom" (Negro soldiers), June 1958; "New York's Bloodiest Week" (the draft riots), June 1959; and "Prison Camps of the Civil War," August 1959.

RECONSTRUCTION

K. M. STAMPP, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877*, is a first-rate survey which synthesizes the most recent historical studies. H. CARTER, *The Angry Scar: The Story of Reconstruction, 1865-1890*, is a balanced view by a southern newspaperman. P. H. BUCK, **The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900*, describes the politics of Reconstruction. C. VANN WOODWARD, **Reunion and Reaction*, is an authoritative account of the complicated political dealing that produced the Compromise of 1877.

Biographies

C. A. MCCOY, *Polk and the Presidency*, analyzes this successful President. I. BARTLETT, *Wendell Phillips*, studies a leading abolitionist. The senator from Illinois is presented in G. M. CAPER, *Stephen A. Douglas*. C. SANDBURG's **Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years* is a fine one-volume version (three volumes in paperback) of his six-volume study. B. P. THOMAS, *Abraham Lincoln*, is an outstanding one-volume biography. H. STRODE, *Jefferson Davis* (3 vols.), is a favorable account of Lincoln's opponent. On the leading generals, see B. CATTON, **U. S. Grant and the American Military Tradition*; E. S. MIERS, **Robert E. Lee*; B. H. LIDDELL HART, **Sherman*; and F. VANDIVER, *Mighty Stonewall*. R. KORNGOLD, *Thaddeus Stevens*, is a sympathetic account. B. J. THOMAS and H. HEYMAN, *Stanton*, deals with Lincoln's Secretary of War.

Historical Fiction

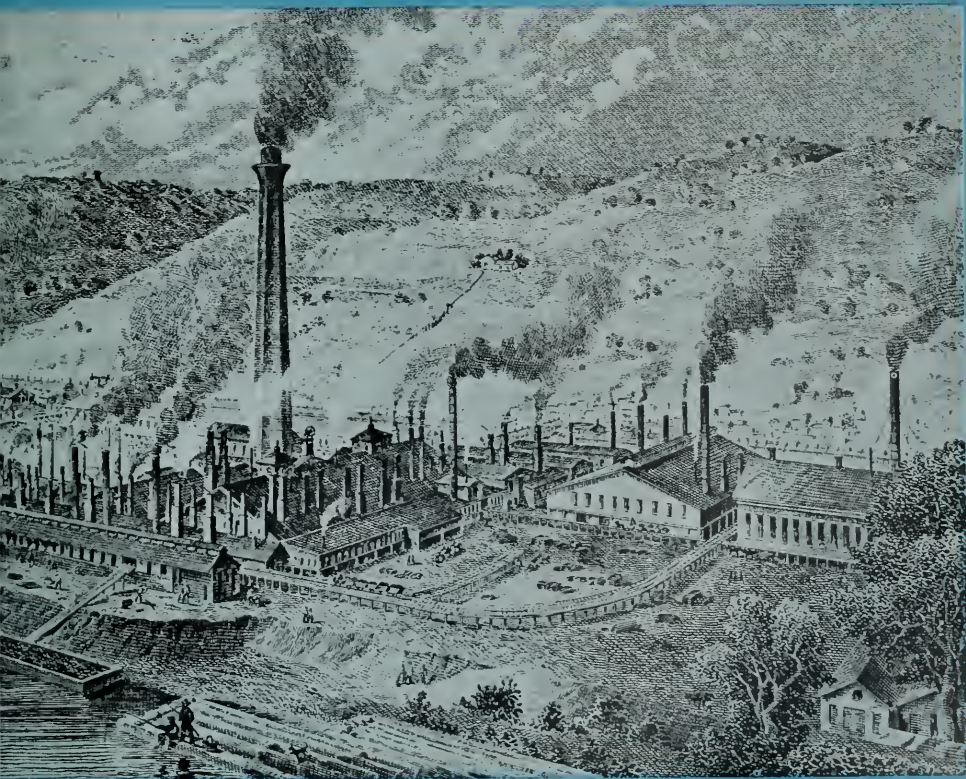
A. B. GUTHRIE's **The Way West* is a novel of the epic trip from Missouri to Oregon. T. D. ALLEN's *Doctor in Buckskin* tells a story of the Whitmans in the Oregon country. S. E. WHITE, *Cold*, tells a fast-moving story of the days of '49; and R. L. TAYLOR, **The Travels of Jaimie McPheeters*, gives a racy tale of Gold Rush days. S. V. BENET's *John Brown's Body*, a book-length poem of the war, is highly readable. S. CRANE, **The Red Badge of Courage*, describes a young soldier's first battle; W. HENRY, *Journey to Shiloh*, takes a group of young Texans through the war; and N. B. BAKER, *Cyclone in Calico*, tells the story of Mary Ann Bickerdyke, nurse of Sherman's army. B. LANCASTER, *Night March*, is about a raid to free Union prisoners.

Basic Books for Part Four

1. BOTKIN, B. A. (ed.), **Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946.
2. OLIMSTED, F. L., *The Cotton Kingdom (*The Slave States)*. New York, Knopf, 1953 (Capricorn).
3. WOODHAM-SMITH, C., **The Great Hunger*. New York, Harper, 1962 (Signet).
4. NICHOLS, R., **The Disruption of American Democracy*. New York, Macmillan, 1948 (Collier).
5. CATTON, B., **This Hallowed Ground*. New York, Doubleday, 1956 (Pocket Books).
6. THOMAS, B., *Abraham Lincoln*. New York, Knopf, 1952.
7. ROLAND, C. P., **The Confederacy*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960.
8. STAMPP, K. M., **The Peculiar Institution*. New York, Knopf, 1956 (Vintage).
9. COMMAGER, H. S. (ed.), *The Blue and the Gray*, 2 vols. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1950.
10. STAMPP, K. M., *The Era of Reconstruction*. New York, Knopf, 1965.



THE EMERGENCE OF Part 5 MODERN AMERICA



PITTSBURGH, 1880

THE GILDED AGE

The period after the Civil War has received many uncomplimentary names. Mark Twain called it the Gilded Age; Lewis Mumford dubbed it the Brown Decades; Vernon Parrington described it as "a world of triumphant and unabashed vulgarity." Its immense wastefulness was symbolized by the extinction of the vast buffalo herds, its political mediocrity and corruption by the Tweed Ring in New York City. In Washington, congressmen took bribes to give away land grants to railroads, and President Grant placed seventy-five relatives on the federal payroll. In business, unabashed rascals made fortunes; Jim Fisk, after failing to corner the gold in the United States, cheerfully announced, "Nothing is lost save honor." As cities sprawled out like fungi, unplanned and ugly, pauperism, slums, and crime sprang up. In the arts, sham was everywhere, symbolized by the popular "jigsaw Gothic" architecture.

Why did all this happen? Look at the diagrams on pp. 470-471. In the period 1850-1900 manufacturing gained on agriculture, the urban population on the rural. Machinery, power, and rapid transportation were changing the environment more swiftly than ever before in history. The industrial revolution was creating brand-new political, social, economic, artistic, and moral problems faster than men could find solutions.

The unattractive features of the Gilded Age can easily blind us to its achievements. The material progress was astounding. In 1860 half the country—from Kansas to California—was practically empty of people. By 1890 this area had been so thoroughly settled that the census takers could no longer find a frontier line. Improved manufacturing processes had made scores of hitherto "luxury" products available to the ordinary consumer. In the cities there appeared such great monuments of engineering skill as the Brooklyn Bridge and such evidence of public spirit as The New York Public Library. Instruction in American universities and technical schools was on a par with that furnished by French and German universities. A new generation of architects began to design buildings with taste and imagination.

For all its faults, America, the "land of opportunity," was a mecca for immigrants. In 1886 the Statue of Liberty was dedicated, a gift of the French people in honor of the hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The message inscribed on the base, written by poet Emma Lazarus, was addressed to the nations of Europe:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free . . .
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."



Chapter 15

Industrial America

Laughing!

*Laughing the stormy, husky, brawling laughter of Youth, half-naked, sweating,
proud to be Hog Butcher, Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat, Player with Railroads,
and Freight Handler to the Nation.*

—CARL SANDBURG

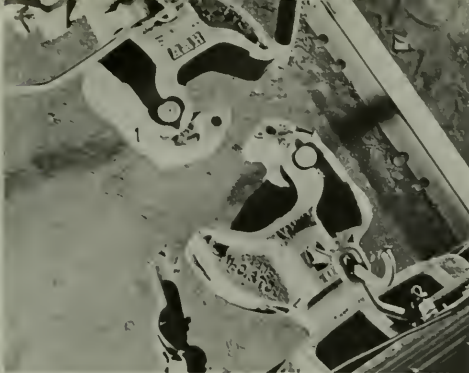
The Civil War and Reconstruction mark a sort of “great divide” in American history. The war finally settled important issues that had agitated people for many years, such as nullification and expansion of slavery, so that politics assumed quite a different character. But more important than political developments were changes in the way Americans lived. Before the Civil War the great majority of the people gained their living from agriculture and lived on isolated farms or in small towns. Although industry had begun a period of rapid growth, most manufacturing was on a small scale and was designed to supply local markets. In the thirty to forty years after the war, it expanded more rapidly in America than in any other country in the world. In 1900 American industrial production was seven times that of 1865, and the United States rose from fourth place among industrial nations to first. Agriculture also expanded with amazing speed, and the farmer was brought into and subordinated to the industrial system. According to W. W. Rostow, whose theory about stages of economic growth was

mentioned in Chapter 13, the “takeoff” of the 1840’s and 1850’s was now followed by over half a century of self-sustaining growth, centering on expansion of railways and of heavy industry, such as the manufacture of steel.

CAUSES OF RAPID INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

It is a matter of debate whether the Civil War speeded up or slowed down the development of industry in the North. In any case, northern factories and railroads did not suffer the physical damage inflicted on those in the South. From the end of the war on there was a period of continued growth, interrupted by periods of depression in 1873–1878, 1882–1884, and 1893–1896. Industrial production doubled about every twelve to fourteen years. Although economic historians differ as to the relative importance of the causes for this explosive growth, they generally agree that the following factors were involved:

(1) *Inventions.* A flood of important inventions served to increase productive capacity



Technological problems vexed railroads from the beginning. Braking, slack control, and coupling (shown above) were a few of the many problems that had to be solved before railroads could fulfill their potential.

and to speed transportation and communication. Among these were the telephone, new methods of steel production, and the use of electricity as a source of light and power.

(2) *Vast natural resources.* The immense underground wealth of the United States had scarcely been touched. The country contained in fantastic abundance the raw materials upon which industry depended, such as coal, iron, petroleum, and copper.

(3) *Railroad building.* By 1900 the railroad mileage of the United States was greater than that of all the rest of the world. Technical improvements enabled trains to carry bulky products long distances cheaply, thus making it possible for businessmen to sell their goods in a nation-wide market.

(4) *Abundant capital.* The great profits to be obtained from manufacturing and transportation in the United States attracted investors. Much of the capital formerly invested in shipping was diverted to building factories and railroads. Billions of dollars came from abroad, especially from England.

(5) *A mobile labor supply.* European capitalists often had difficulty recruiting labor for new industries because workingmen had been

brought up to traditional occupations and hated to leave their home villages. In the United States, labor was more mobile. The American tradition was to "keep moving." Laborers came to new jobs in new cities the way pioneers moved into new lands. Furthermore, the flood of immigration continued; the newcomers, already uprooted from their homes and traditions, supplied much of the "floating" labor force that industry demanded. The native American workers were noted for the ease with which they learned new processes, and the immigrants such as English textile workers, Welsh miners, and Italian farmers often brought with them important skills.

(6) *Government policies.* The Constitution gave American industrialists an advantage when it forbade the states to levy tariffs. This prohibition resulted in an immense home market—the largest free trade area in the world. Compare this with western Europe, where nearly twenty nations were levying tariffs on each others' goods.

American capitalists demanded and received special favors from Congress. A high protective tariff encouraged "infant industries" and raised manufacturers' profits by keeping out foreign goods. Liberal immigration laws insured a steady supply of cheap labor. The federal government bore about a third of the cost of building the western railroads and sold public lands containing vast mineral wealth for a small proportion of their true value.

(7) *American institutions and attitudes.* In Europe it was often difficult to change industrial methods because of continuing traditions of hand craftsmanship and the feeling that a son should follow his father's trade. But in America no such restraints existed; both laborer and industrialist felt free to abandon old techniques and try new ones.

In America more than in Europe business attracted and held men of high ability and

ambition. While European capitalists often retired from business when they had acquired enough money to buy their way into the upper classes, American capitalists regarded money-making as a laudable end in itself. They had no other ambition than to be "captains of industry." At the other end of the scale Europe was plagued with an almost hereditary class of paupers who, with little hope of ever rising from poverty, lacked initiative. In the United States, on the other hand, laborers believed that hard work would be rewarded, if not by wealth for themselves, at least by wider opportunities for their children.

American law encouraged the formation of business corporations, and this form of ownership had a number of advantages over partnerships or individual proprietorships. It provided permanence of organization, so that its officers could plan far into the future. By selling bonds and stocks, a corporation could get the capital needed for its operations from the public at large, and small bits of capital could be pooled into large sums. Those with capital were attracted to corporate securities because by diversifying their investments they could spread their risks. A specialized form of corporation, the holding company, enabled capitalists to combine

The lure of freedom and higher wages drew an ever-increasing number of immigrants to America from Europe. The average influx of immigrants to the United States was over a third of a million per year between 1870 and 1900. This woodcut shows John Bull, the British counterpart of Uncle Sam, trying to hold back workers wishing to go to the United States.

Museum of the City of New York



dozens of businesses under centralized control, and it became one of the methods of forming immense business combinations.

THE GROWTH OF BIG BUSINESS

Along with the rapid industrial expansion of the United States came an immense increase in the size of the business units. By 1900 several major industries were dominated by gigantic concerns which owned scores of plants, sold products all over the country, and had hundreds of millions of dollars capital and credit behind them.

Legitimate Advantages of Big Business

The growth of big business was a natural development. Big companies could take full advantage of the nation-wide markets. They lowered production costs and improved their products by installing the newest processes. They paid high salaries to obtain the best business brains. They reduced costs by combining operations formerly carried on by separate companies, and at the same time increased efficiency by establishing separate departments for specialized functions such as purchasing, production, research, distribution, and sales.

All this was shown dramatically by the development of large-scale meat-packing. Formerly fresh meat had been slaughtered locally, and every town had at least one slaughterhouse. When the refrigerator car made it possible to ship fresh meat long distances, there appeared gigantic concerns such as Swift and Armour selling their products all over the country. The big meat-packers made such efficient use of by-products that they were often able to sell the meat for less than they paid for the animal and still make a profit out of the rest of the carcass. The Chicago humorist "Mr. Dooley" (Finley Peter Dunne) was scarcely exaggerating when he said:

A cow goes lowin' softly into Armour's an' comes out glue, gelatin, fertylizer, celooloid, joolry, sofy cushions, hair restorer, washin' sody, soap, lithrachoor an' bed springs so quick that while aft she's still cow, for'ard she may be anything fr'm buttons to pannyma hats.

Unfair Advantages of Big Business

In addition to its natural efficiency, big business was sometimes in a position to take unfair advantage of competitors or the public. It could get special discounts from transportation companies. It could sell its product in one locality at less than cost until local businesses were forced to close down or sell out. If able to get a monopoly, it could raise prices to consumers and lower those paid to producers of raw materials. It could bribe public officials to pass laws favorable to its interests or not to enforce regulations that hurt it.

The great business concerns were created by men who saw the vast possibilities for wealth in America, who were willing to take risks, and who often had few scruples when it came to driving competitors out of business, bribing legislators, or breaking labor unions. Vernon L. Parrington says of them:

These new Americans were primitive souls, ruthless, predatory, capable, single-minded men; rogues and rascals often, but never feeble, never hindered by petty scruple, never given to puling or whining. . . .

Analyze the most talked-of men of the age and one is likely to find a splendid audacity coupled with immense wastefulness. A note of tough-mindedness marks them. They had stout nippers. They fought their way encased in rhinoceros hides.

Horizontal and Vertical Consolidation

Business consolidation took various forms. Sometimes there was "horizontal" consolidation of several firms engaged in a single process. Sometimes there was "vertical" consolidation of different processes all the way from extracting

raw materials to selling the finished product. A horizontal combination, once established, was able to expand vertically because of the control it could exert over both producers and distributors. And a vertical combination could be so efficient that it expanded horizontally by buying out competitors or forcing them out of business.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER AND THE STANDARD OIL TRUST

The most successful and dramatic example of horizontal consolidation was the Standard Oil Trust, a near-monopoly of oil refineries and pipelines. Its guiding genius was John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937), who in the course of his long lifetime amassed what was reputed to be the world's largest fortune—nearly a billion dollars.

Rockefeller went to work at an early age, starting as a bookkeeper in a grocery in Cleveland. Dominated by the idea that he was "bound to be rich," he saved \$500 in three years, on a salary of \$15 per week. After going into business for himself, in only four years he increased his small capital until by 1865 he commanded about \$100,000. Then he sank all his money in a new industry—petroleum refining.

Rise of the Oil Industry

The production and use of petroleum, like that of steel, was increasing at an almost fantastic rate. Until the 1850's, petroleum (called "rock oil") had been used only as a patent medicine. In 1855 it was discovered that when refined into kerosene it was better for lighting than whale oil and supplied a better lubricant than animal fats. The first oil well, drilled in 1859, set off a stampede to western Pennsylvania like the California gold rush of 1849. Land values in the region jumped from a few dollars an acre to hundreds of dollars a square foot. New towns appeared overnight. The demand for kerosene became world-wide. In spite of the

Civil War, the petroleum industry grew so fast that by 1865 petroleum had risen to fourth place among the exports of the United States.

The petroleum business was highly speculative. Fortunes were made and lost overnight as the price of oil fluctuated wildly. Fraud was so prevalent that "oil stock" became as much a symbol for worthlessness as the continental dollars of the Revolution. It was Rockefeller's remarkable achievement to impose order on this chaotic industry.

By 1870 Rockefeller's firm, the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, with capital stock of a million dollars, was the largest of 26 refineries in Cleveland, processing 2 or 3 per cent of the crude oil produced in the United States. In nine years Rockefeller and his associates gained control of about 90 per cent of the refining business of the country. Some of their methods were so ruthless that when they were revealed Rockefeller became one of the most hated men in the business world.

Methods of Consolidation

One of Standard Oil's principal weapons was the rebate (a discount on railroad charges). In 1872 the company made a secret agreement with the railroads running out of Cleveland by which the rates on its products would be from 25 per cent to 50 per cent below those charged other companies. In order to see that the railroads were not tempted by higher rates into carrying its competitors' oil, Standard Oil had the railroads pay it a "drawback" on every barrel of competitors' oil shipped. Standard Oil was also furnished with the waybills telling the destination of competitors' oil; this provided it with valuable information about its business dealings.

This agreement gave Standard Oil such an advantage over all other Cleveland refineries that within three months all but five of them were forced to sell out. Once in control of oil refining in Cleveland, Standard Oil moved



University of Chicago

The Eastman Johnson portrait of John D. Rockefeller shows him as a young man. Rockefeller dominated the oil industry by means of the great horizontal trust he organized (see chart, page 396).

rapidly toward a national monopoly. It did this by forming an alliance of the strongest companies and ablest men in the oil business, and by gaining control of the transportation of oil. In 1880 a committee of the New York legislature reported on Standard Oil as follows:

It owns and controls the pipe lines of the producing regions that connect with the railroads. It controls both ends of these roads. It ships 95 per cent of all oil. . . . It dictates terms and rates to the railroads. It has bought out and frozen out refiners all over the country. By means of the superior facilities for transportation which it thus possessed, it could overbid in the producing regions and undersell in the markets of the world.

Many of the operations in this Napoleonic campaign to conquer an entire industry were completely unknown even to Rockefeller's competitors. Companies controlled by Standard Oil continued, for instance, to do business under their former names, with "dummy directors," who were sometimes mere office boys or stenographers. In 1882, forty companies were put under one management by a secret agreement known as the Standard Oil Trust. The controlling interest in the stock of the companies was turned over to nine trustees headed by Rockefeller. This trust arrangement offered such vast possibilities for profit that it was imitated in other industries; the very word trust became a term applied to any big, monopolistic business.

Once having achieved control of most of the refining and transportation of oil in the United States, Standard Oil expanded "vertically." It gained control of oil fields, so as to have an independent source of supply, and also marketed natural gas. At the other end of the scale, it moved into the distribution of petroleum products, both in America and abroad. Eventually it controlled a fleet of ocean-going tankers and door-to-door delivery wagons in Europe. It manufactured and sold cooking stoves to increase the demand for kerosene.

Rockefeller, a devout churchgoer, never admitted that his actions in what he referred to as "systematizing" the oil industry were wrong. He pointed out that railroads customarily granted rebates to big shippers, and that rebates were not illegal when he first used them to gain advantage over his rivals. When buying out competitors, Rockefeller offered to pay them in either cash or Standard Oil stock, advising them to take the latter. Those who took his advice became rich. Much of his advantage over rivals stemmed from a passion for efficiency and hatred of waste. Standard Oil continuously improved its product. It had few labor troubles because it paid its workmen well, tried to keep



University of Chicago

The first oil well, drilled in 1859 by Edwin Drake in Titusville, Pennsylvania, began the petroleum industry. A rush to the oil fields almost as spectacular as the gold rush of '49 to California followed shortly after.

them on in times of depression, and was one of the first companies to pay old-age pensions. Rockefeller plowed much of his fortune back into society by gifts which totaled over half a billion dollars.

Standard Oil's spectacular success led to other attempts to establish horizontal combinations of companies in industries as varied as whiskey, bituminous coal, and rope. Their purpose was principally to prevent overproduction and to keep up prices. But it was difficult to control an entire industry and to keep new firms out of the market. Furthermore, efforts to suppress competition were much resented by small businessmen and consumers. They were also of

questionable legality; they ran afoul of the English common law doctrine that it is illegal to combine with others to restrain trade, a principle that was written into federal law by the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. Vertical consolidation, on the other hand, was not by its very nature monopolistic, and it resulted in large economies that were passed on to the consumer in the form of lower prices. It has become a common means of business combination, and can be seen today in such giant organizations as General Motors and American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

ANDREW CARNEGIE, MASTER OF STEEL

The most remarkable example of the creation of a vertical trust was the giant steel business built up by Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919). Coming to this country from Scotland at the age of thirteen, Carnegie went to work in a cotton factory, where he received \$1.20 for a 72-hour week. His ability, energy, and driving ambition were so great that he rapidly worked his way upward as a telegraph operator and private secretary until by the age of twenty-two he was traffic superintendent of a branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad. By fortunate investments in a sleeping car company and in oil wells, he made a small fortune by the time he was thirty.

In the demands of the railroads for rails, bridges, cars, and locomotives, Carnegie foresaw a great future for the iron and steel industry. After seven years' experience making iron bridges, he decided in 1873 to "put all his eggs in one basket and watch the basket"—that is, to concentrate entirely on iron and steel.

Carnegie's decision followed closely on the development of two new ways of making steel—the Bessemer process and the open-hearth process. These produced steel so cheaply that it could be used for girders and rails as well as for cutlery and precision machines.



Andrew Carnegie, steel master. Carnegie's genius lay in his courage and in his ability to organize. His vertical empire in the steel industry (see chart, page 396) became the pattern for others to follow. After making a fortune in the early part of his life, he devoted his later years to giving it away.

Between 1866 and 1876, the production of American steel skyrocketed from 20,000 to 600,000 tons; by 1897 it was over 7,000,000 tons. Previously iron and steel had been manufactured at hundreds of small furnaces all over the country. Now almost overnight the character of the industry changed. Bessemer converters and open-hearth furnaces demanded heavy investment of capital, and needed huge amounts of coke and ore to keep them going. Small operators were soon forced out by big concerns.

Less than twenty years after Carnegie put all his eggs in one basket, he had become the greatest steel master in the world. There were a number of reasons for his success.

(1) He took a great deal of the guesswork out of making iron and steel by getting the best scientific and technological advice he could find. His chemists found out how to use by-products previously thrown away, and how to smelt ores formerly thought to be worthless.

(2) Carnegie wrote that he wanted as his epitaph: "Here lies the man who was able to surround himself with men far cleverer than



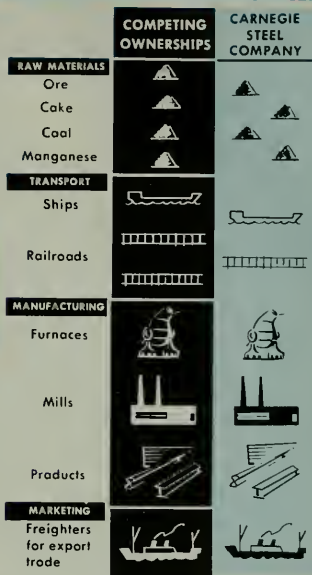
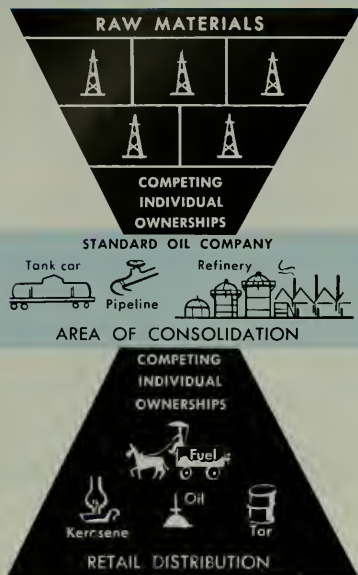


As the steel empire developed under the direction of Andrew Carnegie and others, great fleets of ships carried the rich ore from the Minnesota fields toward areas where there was coal and limestone for smelting of iron and steel.

himself." Seeking out the ablest men in the steel industry, he took them into partnership. Always on the watch for ability in his own companies, he gave rapid promotion to young men who made good. Common laborers fared less happily. In the Homestead lockout of 1892, Carnegie's partner, Henry C. Frick, broke the steelworkers' union, driving wages down and hours up, so

that the 12-hour day was standard in the industry for many years.

(3) Carnegie was a master at pricing his goods so as to make the highest profit. Sometimes he drove competitors out of business by underselling, and sometimes used protective tariffs and price agreements with other companies to keep prices at artificially high levels.



In Carnegie's empire all processes — from mines to markets — used in making steel were combined in one great vertical consolidation. The Standard Oil Company, a horizontal form of consolidation, controlled both the refining and transport stages of oil production. It was thus able to dominate the oil industry, even though it did not at first try to monopolize raw materials or markets.

(4) In time of depression, when competitors closed down and laid off their men, Carnegie rebuilt his factories and put in more efficient processes. He “gambled on the future of America,” as he expressed it, “and won.” When business improved, he was able to sell his products at prices which “meant vast profits for himself and absolute ruin for his competitors.”

(5) Carnegie combined all the processes involved in making steel into one great vertical consolidation. In addition to blast furnaces and steel mills, his company controlled rich ore deposits near Lake Superior, fleets of ore ships on the Great Lakes, a railroad from Lake Erie to

Pittsburgh, coal mines and coking ovens in Pennsylvania, plus factories for producing finished products such as wire. Carnegie summarized the result of this achievement as follows:

Two pounds of ironstone mined upon Lake Superior and transported nine hundred miles to Pittsburgh; one pound and one-half of coal, mined and manufactured into coke, and transported to Pittsburgh; one half-pound of lime, mined and transported to Pittsburgh; a small amount of manganese mined in Virginia and brought to Pittsburgh —and these four pounds of materials manufactured into one pound of steel, for which the consumer pays one cent.

Carnegie and the Gospel of Wealth

Eventually, Carnegie was making over \$20,000,000 a year in a time when there was no income tax, while his workers received eight or nine dollars a week. He was producing steel so cheaply that his remaining competitors faced bankruptcy. Carnegie justified both his immense fortune and the ruthlessness of his business methods by an adaptation of the theory of evolution that had been propounded by the English naturalist Charles Darwin. Darwin maintained that in the constant struggle for existence certain species of plants and animals survive because they are more efficient, while others die out. Carnegie said that within the human race also there is a "law of competition" that decrees that only the fittest should survive. Organizing and managerial talents are so rare that men possessing them must rise to the top in a free society and must be abundantly rewarded. According to Carnegie:

We of the capitalistic persuasion put trust in the individual man. We make him a part, according to his particular skill, of a great and far-reaching industrial organization. We demote him when his ability fails, and discard him if we find a serious flaw in his character. . . . We have, then, a method, better than that of practical politics, for selecting the leaders of a democracy. By a process of pitiless testing we discover who are the strong and who are the weak. To the strong we give power in the form of the autocratic control of industry and of wealth with which the leader, who has risen by a process of natural selection, can and does do for the mass of the community what they could never do for themselves.

But to Carnegie the achievement of great power and wealth was not enough. He preached that in the latter part of a businessman's career he should plow his wealth back into society, and that the man who dies rich dies disgraced. In 1901 Carnegie sold his steel properties to

the newly formed United States Steel Corporation for \$250,000,000 and withdrew from business

to devote the rest of his life to philanthropy. By the time of his death, he had donated \$350,000,000 to various projects. His belief in education

QUESTION • Did the large-scale benevolences of John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie justify the ruthless business methods in which they engaged?

amounted almost to a religion, and most of the money went to such projects as building public libraries, increasing college endowments, providing pensions for college professors, and promoting research.

THE GROWTH OF CITIES

In the new industrial age, the city was "the mighty heart of the body politic, sending its streams of life to the very fingertips of the whole land." Between 1860 and 1900 American urban areas grew twice as fast as the total population. Chicago, which in 1850 had been a frontier town of 30,000 people, doubled its population every ten years and became a vast metropolis approaching two million. New York became the second largest city in the world. The day dreaded by Thomas Jefferson, when Americans should abandon farming life and be piled high up on one another in cities, was clearly on the way.

Urbanization was a world-wide phenomenon associated with the industrial revolution. The new industrial cities were essentially the product of the mine, the factory, the steamship, and the railroad. New cities appeared or old ones mushroomed near coal and iron deposits (Birmingham and Pittsburgh), near sources of water power (Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts), at points of transshipment (Baltimore and New



The Library of Congress

Like most American cities, Albany, New York, was laid out in a rectangular gridiron design. This layout is convenient for builders and brings maximum profit to real estate owners, but it is monotonous and it makes every street a thoroughfare, dangerous for children and other pedestrians.

York City), and at railroad centers (Omaha and Chicago).

Once established, cities grew by a self-generating process. Various facilities appeared to serve industry: banks and insurance companies, docks and warehouses. These in turn attracted more industry. Immigrants, lacking agricultural skill or money to buy a farm, could often find employment only in urban areas. The recent arrivals often preferred the big cities where there were colonies of people who spoke their native language and tried to preserve old-world customs. An even greater source of supply for the growing urban population were American rural areas. Thus not merely from the rocky hillsides of New Hampshire and Vermont, but even from rich lands in Iowa and Illinois, farm boys and girls, bored with life in the country, headed for the city lights to make their fortunes. "A sort of natural selection," remarked a foreign traveler in America, "carries the more ambitious and eager spirits into the towns, for the native American dislikes the monotony and isolation of farm life with its slender prospect of wealth."

Although the modern industrial city offered many people the opportunity for a higher standard of living than they had known before, it also confronted them with a novel and often unattractive environment. Because of the pre-

vailing *laissez faire* philosophy and a lack of community sense, the new cities were built with less concern for the comforts of the inhabitants than for the profits of builders and real estate speculators. It suited the latter group to have the streets laid out in a rectangular gridiron. The result was that every street often became a dangerous thoroughfare and cities as a whole were monotonous. There was inadequate provision for parks and playgrounds, the few open spaces too often being given over to dumps and to vacant lots where a scanty growth of grass and weeds competed with cinders and tin cans. Rivers and harbors were polluted by sewage and factory wastes, and the air was made foul by smoke from thousands of chimneys. In many ways the new environment seemed a sort of prison, cutting off men from sun, air, and natural beauty.

Problems Created by Urbanization

The growth of cities created many technical and human problems. There was, for instance, a demand for new sources of water, since wells and brooks provided too scanty a supply and were often polluted. New York City was the first to make a major effort to meet this problem by building the Croton Aqueduct, twenty-five miles outside the city limits. Cities became so



Riis Collection, The New-York Historical Society

The banquet hall and its triple fireplace in Biltmore, the Vanderbilt estate in North Carolina, surpassed in grandeur royal palaces of Europe. But while the wealthy spent their money for such splendid display, city workers often lived in slums where it was impossible to keep clean or stay healthy. Such extreme contrasts in living conditions caused angry social comment, and gave rise to protest movements.

large in area that better means of transportation within them had to be devised. This need was first met by the horse car, later by the elevated railway, trolley car, and subway. The demand for space in preferred localities such as Wall Street in New York or the Loop in Chicago was answered by the skyscraper, which, in turn, added a vertical dimension to transportation in the form of the elevator.

A sinister product of urban life was an increase in crime. Until the rise of the city, there had naturally been occasional violence and theft, but never on a scale demanding an organized police force. There was, in fact, nothing resembling modern police until the formation of the Metropolitan Police of London, known as bobbies, about 1830. As American cities grew, they had to follow the British lead and provide police protection. The larger the city, the more expensive this protection was, costing five or six times as much per capita in cities with over a million people as in those with



less than thirty thousand. All this was partly the result of a breakdown in traditional morality. Whether the new city dweller came from a Connecticut village or an Italian hill town, from a farm in upstate New York or a nobleman's estate in Poland, he found it hard to follow the ways he had been brought up to consider right. It was even harder for him to train his children in the "right" way, since they found other standards in the streets where they played with children of quite different backgrounds. Law-breaking was often simply a protest against disease and monotony, against unemployment and insecurity, or against life in slums so crowded that four thousand people might occupy a single block.

Idle Poor and Idle Rich

There was probably no more poverty in the great industrial cities than in the former agricultural societies; indeed, there may have been less but poverty now became more *visible* because poor people lived in their own districts where unscrupulous landlords crowded them together in slums. Industrialism brought with it recurring periods of depression which threw millions of men out of work through no fault of their own. There also appeared a more or less permanent fringe of "unemployables"—beggars, paupers, and tramps.

The new awareness of mass poverty was coupled with another phenomenon new to American life—the appearance of a class of "idle rich." Until the industrial era there had been few very wealthy people in America. One estimate put the number of millionaires at three in 1860 as against nearly 4,000 in 1900. In the pre-industrial period, gentlemen not needing to work for a living generally took up some other occupation—politics, literature, farming. They had been trained in the tradition that wealth carries with it duties as well as privileges. But many of the owners of new fortunes had no

time to develop such a tradition; they were bent simply on enjoying and displaying their wealth.

The newspapers of the period greedily reported the sensational doings of what was called "high society," a group of people whose one purpose in life, apparently, was pleasure. There was a dinner at Delmonico's, the finest New York restaurant, at which the guests were on horseback and "the favorite steed was fed flowers and champagne." A complete orchestra was hired to serenade a newborn child, and a diamond necklace given by a millionaire to his daughter cost \$600,000.

Widespread Prosperity

The unpleasant aspects of industrialism and urbanization tend to obscure the fact that life was getting better for the mass of the people. Wherever industrialism appears, it tends to bring a rapid increase in the population. Better transportation ends famine and nutritional diseases caused by local crop failures. Improved medical service, water supply, and sewage disposal reduce mortality. A higher proportion of the population lives above a bare subsistence level. In his annual message to Congress in 1861 Lincoln said:

The prudent, penniless beginner labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account with another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of condition to all.

While Lincoln was here describing the situation of the worker in the pre-factory age when the craftsman owned his own tools and worked alongside his "help," his boast that American workers had rising expectations was a true prophecy. The real wages of laboring men (what goods and services they could buy with what they were paid) more than doubled be-



The New York Public Library

Sports and Recreation

In the late 1800's, tennis was played enthusiastically, though gently, by both men and women (above). Baseball was also popular. Note that the players, shown below in Thomas Eakins' watercolor, did not use gloves or a catcher's mitt. "Croquet Scene" (above), by Winslow Homer, depicts a game genteel enough for the ladies to join in. For a time, bicycling was all the rage, as the scene below in Washington, D. C. shows.



Art Institute of Chicago



Rhode Island School of Design



tween 1860 and 1896. Europeans traveling in this country were impressed by the high level of prosperity of the mass of the people. The English historian James Bryce wrote as follows about the lot of American workingmen:

In England the lot of the labourer has been hitherto a hard one, . . . with the workhouse at the end of the vista; while the misery in such cities as London, Liverpool, and Glasgow is only too well known. In France there is less pauperism, but nothing can be more pinched and sordid than the life of the bulk of the peasantry. . . . Of Russia, with her ninety millions of peasants living in half-barbarism, there is no need to speak. Contrast any one of these countries with the United States, where the working classes are as well fed, clothed, and lodged as the lower middle classes in Europe, . . . where a good education is within reach of the poorest, where the opportunities for getting on in one way or another are so abundant that no one need fear any physical ill but disease or the result of his own intemperance. Pauperism already exists in some of the larger cities, . . . But outside one sees nothing but comfort.

THE NEW LEISURE

The industrial revolution provided new leisure not merely for the very rich, but for the middle class and workmen as well. As machines more and more took over the work of hands, the labor time necessary for producing a shirt, a bucket, a pin, or a length of chain was reduced to a small fraction of what it had been formerly. Hours of work, although still long by the standards of the twentieth century, gradually responded to the fact that less labor time was now needed to meet human wants. As leisure time increased, new forms of amusement developed or were introduced from abroad by recent immigrants. City dwellers needed such distraction more than country people because their jobs were usually more monotonous. Many of the immigrants, furthermore, had a greater inclina-

tion to enjoy themselves on holidays than the older stock of Americans, for many of whom Sunday was a day of self-denial.

Sports and Amusements

To meet the new need for diversion many turned to sports. The more wealthy played golf, croquet, and lawn tennis, imported from Great Britain. College students brought in still other British sports—rowing, track, and rugby (from which the American game of football was derived). The American game of baseball was spread all over the country by college and club teams. Starting with the Cincinnati Red Stockings in 1869, more and more teams turned professional. In 1876 the National League was organized, followed shortly by others. Boxing—previously prohibited by law, like cockfighting today—began to attract public interest and to assume respectability after John L. Sullivan won the world's heavyweight championship.

The amusement which for a time outstripped all others was bicycling. After the modern safety bicycle was substituted for the dangerous "high wheeler," bicycling became a craze. There were hundreds of bicycle clubs; special trains carried cyclists into the country on Sundays; and special bicycle paths were built in parks and suburbs. There was even a demand for a bicycle path from one ocean to the other.

The cities—especially the great metropolitan centers such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago—became centers of a much richer cultural life than had ever existed in America. In a day when the motion picture had not yet been invented, vaudeville and the theater enjoyed their period of greatest prosperity. Opera companies and symphony orchestras were founded and halls were built to house them. In 1891 Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky, the famous Russian composer, came to America and conducted one of his own works at the new Carnegie Music Hall in New York. He wrote

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12 PAGES

AROUND THE WORLD.

A Continuous Trip Which Will Girdle the Spinning Globe.

Will It Be to Make an Unparalleled Rapid-Travel Record?

NOW, 30,000 MILES IN A RUSH!

Can John Verne's Great Dream Be Before Us?

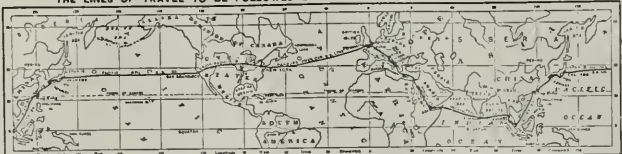
A VERITABLE FEMININE PHINEAS FOGG.

There are few persons in the world who are so much interested in the world's news as the London Journal. It is a fact that the London Journal is the only newspaper in the world which is published every day of the year, without a single day's interruption. It is a fact that the London Journal is the only newspaper in the world which is published every day of the year, without a single day's interruption. It is a fact that the London Journal is the only newspaper in the world which is published every day of the year, without a single day's interruption.

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THE LINES OF TRAVEL TO BE FOLLOWED BY "THE WORLD'S" FLYING REPRESENTATIVE.



The map shows the route to be followed by the "World's" Flying Representative. The route starts in New York, goes westward across the Atlantic, then southward along the coast of South America, then westward across the Pacific, then northward along the coast of Asia, then eastward across the Indian Ocean, then northward along the coast of Africa, and finally back to New York. The map is labeled with various geographical features and cities.

The New York Public Library

The World's account of the "Trip Which Will Girdle the Spinning Globe" reports that "On a Four-Day Notice Miss Bly Starts Out with a Gipsack for the Longest Journey Known to Mankind — She Knows No Such Word as Fail." The map shows the route to be followed by this "veritable feminine Phineas Fogg." (Phileas Fogg is the hero of Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in Eighty Days* — the newspaper mis-spelled it!)

home that everything went wonderfully, and that he was received with even greater enthusiasm than in his native land.

The Yellow Press and Dime Novels

The increase in leisure and in literacy encouraged the development of a new form of journalism, devoted to amusing readers as well as informing them. Improvements in paper-making and printing made it possible to produce newspapers far more cheaply than ever before. At the same time there was such increased demand for advertising space that newspapers could derive support entirely from advertisers and sell copies at less than the printing cost.

The pioneer among the new penny newspapers, designed to attract the largest possible number of readers, was the *New York World*, purchased by Joseph Pulitzer in 1883. In fifteen years its circulation rose from fifteen thousand

to over a million. Pulitzer, dedicating his paper "to the cause of the people rather than the purse-proud potentates," attacked unfair employers and grafting politicians with vigor. His success came less from editorial policies, however, than from new journalistic methods. Pulitzer gave his readers a regular diet of sensationalism. He was the first to use the "scare headline": "Baptized in Blood," "Death Rides the Rails." He introduced the colored Sunday supplement and the serialized comic strip. If he could not find news, he made it, as when he sent a young woman off at four days' notice to travel around the globe in less time than the hero of Jules Verne's popular novel, *Around the World in Eighty Days*.

About the same time Pulitzer bought the *World*, sports writing had its birth in Chicago when three newspapers began to print highly colored accounts of games played by the Chi-

cago White Stockings. By the end of the century the "yellow press," furnishing its readers with daily doses of scandal, violence, comics, and sports, had become well established.

Another form of reading matter produced for a mass market was the dime novel, which was designed especially to interest boys. These were highly adventurous stories whose favorite scene was the Wild West, where heroes such as Mustang Sam and Deadwood Dick fought

QUESTION • Dime novels were accused of corrupting the young in the 19th century and were often read behind the barn. What of comic books today?

Indians, cattle rustlers and outlaws.

These early paperbacks also portrayed the worlds of business and crime in such works as "Jay

Gould's Office Boy" and "The Terrible Mystery of Car 206." Moralists suspected that dime novels would corrupt the young and they were often hidden from the eyes of alarmed parents, but their defenders pointed out that in them virtue was always triumphant and vice always received its just punishment.

ADVANCES IN EDUCATION

One reason why newspapers could develop an immense circulation and dime novels could be published in editions of fifty thousand, was that more and better education had increased literacy. By 1900 all but two states outside the South made education for all children compulsory. The wealth of urban districts was so great that taxes could easily support the expense of better buildings, longer school terms, and graded schools that were far better than the one-room schoolhouses still prevailing in rural districts. Many cities also introduced free secondary education, and the number of public high schools increased from a few hundred in 1870 to over 6,000 in 1890. Yet public education

still left great room for improvement: in 1900 the average American child received only five years of schooling, and the average expenditure per pupil was only about \$25 per year.

The most striking development in American education in the latter nineteenth century was the improvement of higher education. At the start of this period, most American colleges and universities had poor equipment and libraries, and ill-trained and overworked faculties. Their fixed curriculum did not include training in modern languages, history, or science. There were no first-rate graduate schools, either in professions such as law and medicine or in the liberal arts. No American scientific school deserved to be mentioned in the same breath with the best in Europe.

By 1900 these weaknesses had been vigorously attacked. Young American scholars trained in German universities, then the best in the world, brought back higher standards of scholarship. From Germany, too, came inspiration for better scientific schools, because much of the amazing advance of German industry could be credited to the superior training of German scientists. By 1900 a number of American technical schools, such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology, California Institute of Technology, Purdue University, and Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, had been founded. These institutions supplied highly trained graduates to answer the demands of American industry for engineers, metallurgists, and chemists.

A great force for reform was a group of able college presidents, such as James McCosh of Princeton, Andrew White of Cornell, Daniel Gilman of Johns Hopkins, and William R. Harper of Chicago. The most famous of these was Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard from 1869 to 1909. During this time Harvard's enrollment increased from 1,000 to 4,000, the teaching staff from 60 to 600, and the endowment from \$2,000,000 to \$20,000,000.

Far more important than material growth was the rise in standards, which can be illustrated by the Harvard Medical School. When Eliot came into office, a student could get a medical degree after a few months' study by passing five out of nine oral examinations. Profiting by the fact that a graduate of the Harvard Medical School had unintentionally killed a woman by prescribing a poison, Eliot insisted that the requirements for a diploma be stiffened. Eventually, the Harvard medical degree was given only to men who had completed three years' study and passed difficult written examinations.

In other fields as well as medicine graduate instruction was so improved that by the time Eliot retired, standards at Harvard rivaled those of the best European universities. In undergraduate instruction Harvard broke away entirely from the rigid curriculum, and allowed students to take any subjects they desired, the only requirement for graduation being credit for a definite number of courses. This elective system was attacked on the ground that students had no real idea what was best for them, and simply shopped around for "snap courses." Today no American college, not even Harvard, allows such freedom.

Land Grants and Cow Colleges

In 1857 Justin Morrill of Vermont introduced a bill in the House of Representatives providing that some of the country's public lands be sold and the proceeds used to establish colleges. His measure was in line with the 1860 Republican platform: the liberal use of public lands to promote internal improvements.

Usually, internal improvements meant roads, canals, and railroads. But schooling had a long history of public backing, too. The Land Ordinance of 1785 dedicated the sixteenth section of every township to school financing (see p. 86). The "common man" used his first ballots to demand free, tax-supported schools for his children (see pp. 277, 287). Now elementary schools were not enough; colleges were needed, and the church-supported "fresh-water" colleges were not meeting the need.

Agriculture was changing; new methods had to be developed to meet new conditions in the western lands. Congressman Morrill was interested in agriculture, and his measure provided for instruction in "agriculture and the mechanic arts" in the new colleges. Still, President Buchanan vetoed the bill, doubting that Congress had the right to make the land grants.

Morrill persisted, and a new act was passed in 1862. Under it, each loyal state was allotted 30,000 acres per congressman, and the colleges taught not only agriculture but military science and tactics as well. A second bill, passed in 1890, added further benefits. By this time, Morrill was the "grand old man of the Republican party," a senator interested chiefly in finance and the tariff. Some sixty-nine land-grant colleges were established under the terms of the two measures. No longer scorned as "cow colleges," they include many of our leading universities.

(Theme 6, see p. xii)



Private Gifts and Public Land Grants

Many advances in higher education resulted from gifts by wealthy men. A legacy left by Johns Hopkins of Baltimore made possible the first good graduate school for general studies and one of the world's finest medical schools. Bequests by John D. Rockefeller helped to make the University of Chicago a center of research in fields as varied as economics, biology, and Egyptology. The railroad magnate Leland Stanford established a great university in Palo Alto, California.

Along with the growth of privately endowed universities and technical schools went an expansion of state universities. Such institutions owed a great deal to the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862. This law, a landmark in American education, granted the states public lands for the endowment of colleges to teach "agriculture and the mechanic arts," but "without excluding other scientific and classical studies." Eventually the land-grant colleges received the proceeds from thirteen million acres of land.

By 1900 American college education was not only on a higher plane than ever before, but was more widely available than that provided in any other country, except possibly Scotland.

Public Libraries

For those who wished to continue their education, American cities provided opportunities which had never existed before. The most important agencies promoting adult education were improved public libraries. In 1876 the American Library Association was founded to encourage "the best reading for the largest number at the least expense." The public library, receiving support both from taxes and private donors, was by 1900 coming "to be recognized as no less important than the schoolhouse in the system of popular education."

SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE

While American universities were improving as agencies of teaching, they were also becoming centers of scientific research. Their faculties contained men whose discoveries were of world-wide importance. The Harvard faculty in President Eliot's time included Asa Gray, a botanist who made a thorough study of American plants (see p. 280); Edward Pickering, who as head of the university's astronomical laboratory directed the compilation of the first photographic record of the universe; and William James, who was equally eminent and thought-provoking as a psychologist and as a philosopher. On the Yale faculty at the same time were James Dwight Dana, one of the world's foremost geologists; Josiah Willard Gibbs, who as a mathematical physicist helped to revolutionize conceptions of matter and energy; and Othniel C. Marsh, whose studies of fossil remains resulted in the discovery of the evolution of the horse. Marsh invented the term dinosaur—from the Greek *deinos* (terrible) and *sauros* (lizard)—to describe a previously unknown kind of animal whose remains he discovered in alluvial rocks in Colorado. Scientists of equal eminence were found in new private universities such as Johns Hopkins and Chicago, and state universities such as Illinois and California. The laboratory now stood with the library as a center of university life.

The general public knew little of the university professors who extended the boundaries of pure science, but it was immensely impressed with inventors like Alexander Graham Bell. Bell, whose training was in elocution and whose great interest was in teaching deaf children to speak, figured out the principles of an effective telephone before he taught himself enough about electricity to build one. In 1876 he sent the first telephonic communication to his laboratory assistant, "Mr. Watson, come here; I want you." Only a year later he carried on telephonic con-

versation between Boston and New York, and his invention soon went

QUESTION • Do most inventions come about because there is a technical or popular demand for them, or does the desire or need for them arise after they are invented?

into commercial production. Even more famous than Bell was Thomas Alva Edison, who was later erroneously given credit for inventing the electric light, the phonograph, and moving pictures.

Edison actually made few original discoveries. His greatness lay in his ability to turn the inventions of others into practical use. Thus the incandescent electric light had been demonstrated in England in 1840, but it was Edison who worked out cheap methods of supplying power and wire, as well as filaments that lasted more than just a few minutes. Edison had a fantastic capacity for sustained work, and he surrounded himself with highly skilled technicians. The "invention laboratory" that he founded in Menlo

Park, New Jersey, was the ancestor of the great industrial research laboratories of today.

The growth of industry brought with it a host of new developments: a railroad net binding all sections into one market and one nation, the largest business concerns the world had ever seen, vast cities some of whose populations were counted in millions, great advances in human knowledge and technology. It also brought complex problems, some of which have been touched on in this chapter and some of which will be taken up later: large-scale unemployment, crime, slums, ugliness, fraudulent business practices, violent labor disputes, and corruption in politics. There was no possibility of turning back, however, and little disposition to do so. As Franklin D. Roosevelt said later, "So manifest were the advantages of the machine age . . . that the United States fearlessly, cheerfully, and, I think, rightly accepted the bitter with the sweet. It was thought that no price was too high for the advantages we could draw from a finished industrial system."

Activities: Chapter 15

For Mastery and Review

1. Give six or seven major reasons for the rapid industrialization of the United States in the generation following the Civil War. What were the resulting effects upon the standard of living?
2. What were legitimate and unfair advantages of big business? (These might be set down in parallel columns.)
3. Study the diagrams of vertical and horizontal consolidations on p. 396, and explain each type.
4. Compare the contributions to the industrial growth of the United States of Rockefeller and Carnegie.
5. What were the problems that developed as cities grew larger? Explain each. What benefits came with industrialization and urbanization?

6. How did industrialization create leisure for great numbers of people? What amusements and new interests developed?

7. What were the characteristics of the yellow press? Explain its popularity.

8. What changes in education came with urbanization? Explain the improvements in college education during the latter years of the nineteenth century.

9. Summarize briefly advances made in science in the United States in the period between the end of the Civil War and the turn of the century.

Unrolling the Map

On an outline map of eastern United States, locate the deposits of iron in the Mesabi Range;

the coalfields of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, and Illinois; and Pittsburgh and the steel mill cities on the Great Lakes. Study the diagram of a vertical consolidation and relate Carnegie's steel operations to your map.

Who, What, and Why Important?

mobile labor supply	"idle rich"
big business	urban transportation
holding company	Cincinnati Red Stockings
vertical consolidation	Joseph Pulitzer
horizontal consolidation	technical schools
John D. Rockefeller	Charles W. Eliot
rebates	land-grant colleges
the Standard Oil Trust	Alexander Graham Bell
Andrew Carnegie	Thomas Alva Edison
urbanization	

To Pursue the Matter

1. From *The World Almanac* or *Information Please Almanac* find out the comparative sizes and populations of the continent of Europe and the United States. How many separate sovereign states are there in Europe? What are the probable economic disadvantages of this political fractionalization, compared with the United States? In what ways is western Europe seeking economic unity?

2. Find out about the methods of a modern meat-packing plant. Also read "Swift—Yankee of the Yards" in Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 272–275. How have the great meat-packing companies changed the dietary patterns of Americans?

3. How many major products are derived from petroleum and natural gas? Next to each one you name, illustrate the product or its use.

4. Investigate the foundation and growth of your city or one near you. Why was it located where it was? What factors contributed to its growth? Make a graph, perhaps one big enough for a wall display, of population growth since 1860. Indicate, if you can, what was responsible for each major increase.

5. From "Progress in the United States," by James Bryce, and "How the Other Half Lives," by Jacob A. Riis, both in Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 275–280, you can gain insight into social mobility in the new industrial America. Is it good for society to have people constantly moving up and down in the social scale? Does it promote democracy?

6. "... in 1900 the average American child received only five years of schooling, and the average expenditure per pupil was \$25 per year." (p. 404.) What are the corresponding figures for your community today? How do they compare with the national average today? See *The Statistical Abstract of the United States*.

7. Report to the class on the present-day activities of one of the following: Rockefeller Foundation, General Education Board, Carnegie Corporation, Ford Foundation.

8. In Handlin, *The Uprooted*, or Chapter 11 of Wish, *Society and Thought in Modern America*, read how and why immigrants came to America in the latter half of the nineteenth century and what difficulties they had to contend with. If life in American cities was so hard, why did they come by millions?

9. In Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth*, you can find what he considers to be the conditions necessary for rapid economic growth. Apply his theory to the sensational growth of American industry from the 1850's on.

Chapter 16

The Opening of the Trans-Mississippi West

*We primeval forests telling,
We the rivers stemming, vexing we and
piercing deep the mines within,
We the surface broad surveying, we the
virgin soil upheaving,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!*

—WALT WHITMAN

At the close of the Civil War, the Great Plains (see map, p. 9) were still thought to be forever barred to white settlement. The vast Rocky Mountain plateau was equally void of white men, save for a few mining towns and Mormon communities. Yet in the ensuing twenty-five years these regions were developed with almost incredible speed. You could not tell the truth about the growth of the West, it was said, without lying.

RAILROAD BUILDING AND CONSOLIDATION

This rapid development was made possible by the railroad. As a Dakota editor wrote, "Without the railroad it would have required a century to accomplish what has been done in five years." The generation after the war saw both the great period of railroad building in the West and the consolidation of eastern lines. Steel produced by the Bessemer process (see p. 393) enabled the companies to lay heavier rails and build bridges which could carry bigger cars and more power-

ful locomotives. Other technical problems were solved. The Westinghouse air brake at last made possible the simultaneous braking of the cars and the locomotive. The invention of the kerosene lamp and later of the electric light permitted better headlights for night running. In 1860 railroads carried less than half as much freight as inland waterways; in 1890 railroads carried five times as much.

The large amounts of capital needed to build and equip railroads were obtained from various sources. The federal government gave western railroads money grants totaling over 700 million dollars and public lands whose acreage equaled that of Texas. Help came from states and municipalities and still more from private investors. The savings of New Englanders, accumulated from the West Indies and China trade, from clippers and whalers, from textile and shoe factories, helped to build thousands of miles of track across western prairies. An equally important source of private capital, however, was Europe. The value of American railroad securities owned by British investors in 1900 was two

and a half billion dollars—over twice the national debt of the United States at that time.

First Transcontinental Railroad, 1869

The most dramatic achievement in railroad building was the completion of the first transcontinental line. Discussion of this project began with the discovery of gold in California in 1849. During the 1850's no less than ten routes were surveyed, and the Gadsden Purchase was acquired from Mexico principally because the Gila River Valley provided the lowest route across the western plateau. Nothing was decided before the war, however, because of intense sectional rivalry, the South wanting the eastern terminal at New Orleans, the North preferring St. Louis or Chicago. In 1862, with the South temporarily out of the Union, Congress passed an act to encourage the building of a Pacific Railroad. From Omaha the Union Pacific Company was to build westward, and from Sacramento, the Central Pacific Company was to run lines eastward. The federal government lent money to those companies at the rate of \$16,000, \$32,000, or \$48,000 per mile, according to the terrain. They also received land grants along the right of way averaging 6,400 acres per mile.

Construction began in earnest shortly after the war and proceeded rapidly. The two railroads were competing to get more government money and public lands, as well as to secure a greater share of the trade of the interior. At the height of the struggle the Union Pacific builders employed 10,000 men. Crews of Irishmen working for the Union Pacific and of Chinese working for the Central Pacific sometimes laid as much as six miles of track a day. Once on a bet of \$10,000, a Central Pacific crew laid ten miles of track between sunrise and sundown, an all-time world's record. "It is a literal fact that more ground was ironed in some days, by the two companies together, than the ox teams of 1849 averaged in a single day's journey."

The steam shovel not yet having been invented, the digging and grading were done by men and teams. Holes for blasting had to be driven by men with sledge hammers. The Union Pacific building crews had to be protected from Indian attacks and buffalo stampedes. The Central Pacific had an even more difficult time with the Sierra Nevada ranges and with snow that sometimes collected in drifts sixty feet deep. All its heavy equipment was carried from the East 19,000 miles around Cape Horn to California in a fleet of thirty ships.

The two lines met at Promontory Point, Utah, and on May 10, 1869, the "wedding of the rails" took place. The whole country was able to listen as the transcontinental telegraph reported the blow of the silver sledge hammer driving the golden spike. A magnetic ball dropped from a pole on the top of the Capitol in Washington; in Chicago a seven-mile procession paraded through the streets; everywhere the air rang with the bells of churches and firehouses. The "northwest passage" from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific had at last been established.

James J. Hill, Railroad Builder

The first transcontinental line was followed shortly by others—the Northern Pacific; the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe; the Southern Pacific; and the Great Northern. Like other big businesses, these railroads needed at the top men of ability, imagination, and drive. The greatest of the western builders was James J. Hill (1838–1916), creator of the Great Northern. Hill was a small, short-tempered, red-bearded man of titanic energy. He foresaw that his line would tie together the whole northern tier of the United States from Lake Superior to Puget Sound. It would carry flour westward from the Dakotas and Minnesota for eventual shipment to Japan and China, and carry Pacific Coast lumber eastward for barns, silos, and homes in



The driving of the golden spike that linked the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads was celebrated all over the United States. The two companies had been competing to lay the most track, and sometimes as many as eight or ten miles were laid in a single day.

the Great Plains. "We consider ourselves and the people along our lines," he said, "as co-partners in the prosperity of the country we both occupy." Believing passionately in the life of the Plains farmer, he wanted to promote maximum settlement. "Population without the Prairie," Hill wrote, "is a mob, and the Prairie without Population is a desert."

Hill started to build the Great Northern in 1879. He had neither federal subsidies nor land grants to help him, and not too much private capital either. His railroad had to pay its own way from the first. The only way to do this was to encourage settlement as soon as the rails were laid. All sorts of inducements were offered to get farmers to settle along "Jim Hill's main line"—free transportation from eastern ports, credit,

cheap tools, and farm machinery. Once established, farmers were furnished with high quality cattle, given free advice on how to improve crops, and offered prizes for the best quality produce.

Hill saw to it that his bridges and embankments were well constructed, and his grades less steep than those of competitive lines. He was constantly with the construction gangs, sometimes even seizing a pick or shovel himself. This careful construction kept maintenance costs down, enabling Hill to charge lower rates; this, in turn, meant lower prices and better markets for the grain, cattle, and lumber he shipped. Hill made mistakes, such as encouraging the planting of wheat in areas more suitable for grazing, but he showed greatness in keeping

fixedly to the idea that what was good for the Northwest was good for the Great Northern.

Cornelius Vanderbilt, Railroad Consolidator

Of as much importance in the development of the country as the building of lines to the Pacific was the consolidation of existing railroads in the Middle West, East, and South into a few great systems. A highly successful railroad consolidator was Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794–1877), who built up the New York Central system. A hard-bitten former ferryboat captain, Vanderbilt had assumed the unofficial title of “commodore” because he owned a small fleet of coastal trading vessels. He did not seriously enter railroading until his late sixties, when he acquired two short lines running into New York City from the north, and then managed to buy control of the New York Central which ran as far as Buffalo. Vanderbilt was a combination of shrewd speculator, ruthless competitor, and man of vision. Much of his huge fortune came from stock market operations. He was master of the tricks whereby insiders rigged the stock market in order to force prices down or up as they pleased. In business deals the Commodore sometimes showed scant respect for either law or the public interest. On the other hand, he saw the great benefits which would come from tying the Great Lakes region to New York City by a water-level route. He extended his control over lines running all the way to Chicago, as well as stretching through Michigan and into southern Canada. In addition to bringing many lines under one management, Vanderbilt made great improvements in service. He built the

QUESTION • Why was it difficult to stop a railroad train? What were the advantages of the air brake?

Grand Central Terminal in New York City with the largest train shed in the world—600 feet long and 200 wide. He

was one of the first to use the Westinghouse air brake, and the very first to lay a four-track

main line (two tracks for freight, two for passenger traffic).

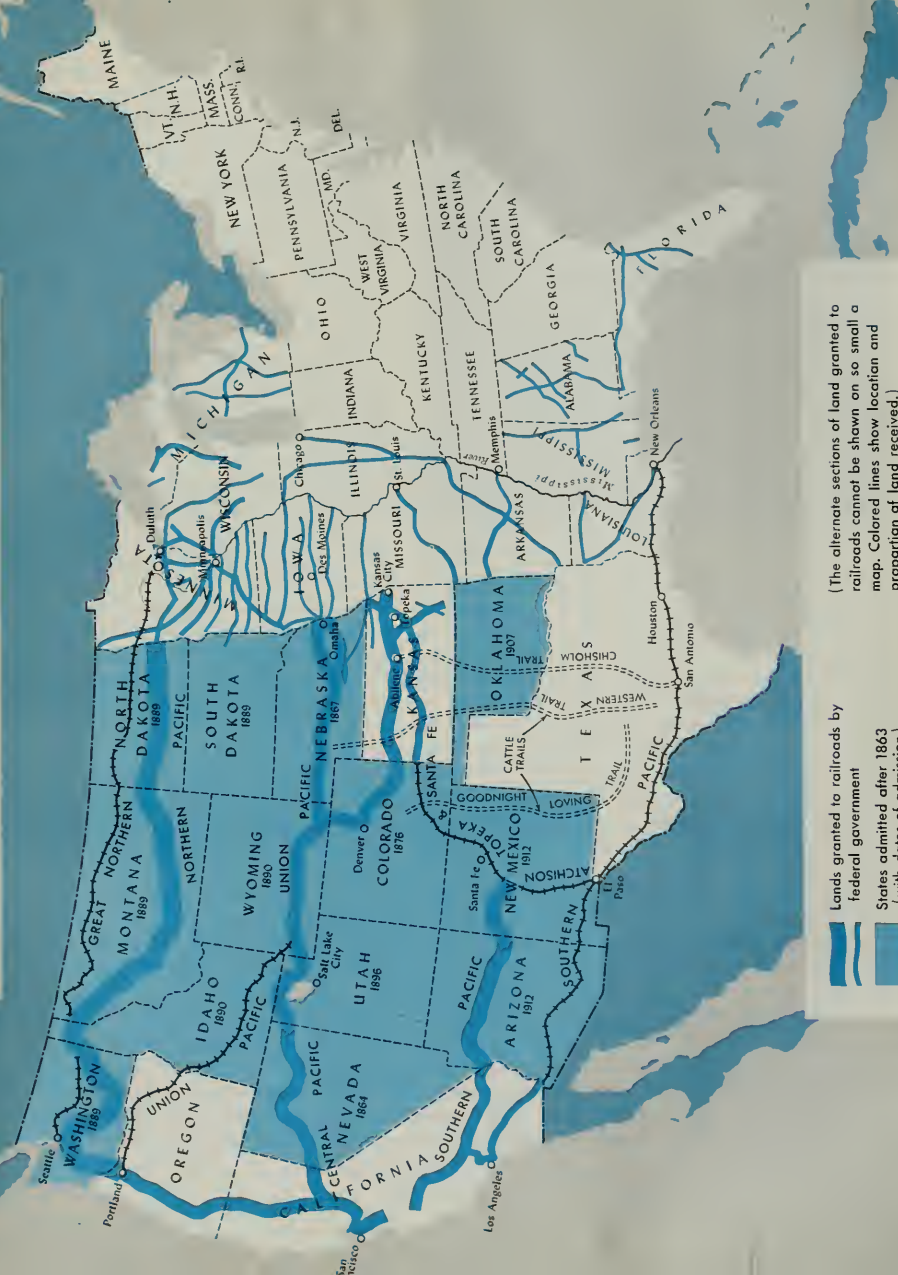
Consolidation proceeded rapidly in the period from the end of the Civil War to the turn of the century so that eventually most of the traffic was controlled by seven major systems with terminals in major cities and scores of branches reaching out into the countryside. A “standard” gauge (4 feet, 8½ inches) had been universally accepted and time zones established. The big systems were able to put on better rolling stock, to shunt cars from one section to another according to seasonal needs, and to speed long distance transportation. They made so many economies in operation that the average rate per mile for a ton of freight dropped from 2 cents in 1860 to three-quarters of a cent in 1900.

FATE OF THE BUFFALO AND THE INDIANS

The railroads played a part in the extermination of the buffalo which opened the western plains to cattle grazing. Buffalo formerly ranged eastward as far as Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, but their natural habitat was the Great Plains, where their numbers defied counting. It was estimated that in 1865 the herds numbered twelve to fifteen million animals. The building of the Union Pacific Railroad cut the herds in half, as a period of ruthless butchery began. Vast numbers were killed for their hides alone. Many were slaughtered by “sportsmen,” who cut out the tongue or a steak to eat and left the rest of the animal for the wolves. Whole train loads of bones were shipped east for making fertilizer or charcoal. By 1883 the herds were wiped out and the buffalo was close to extinction.

This wanton slaughter meant disaster for the Plains Indians. These master horsemen and skillful warriors had been, in the words of Walter P. Webb, “the most effectual barrier ever set up by a native American population against European invaders in the temperate zone. For two

RAILROADS AND WESTERN DEVELOPMENT



(The alternate sections of land granted to railroads cannot be shown on so small a map. Colored lines show location and proportion of land received.)



"The Cowboy," after a drawing by Frederic Remington, who is best known for his depictions of the West. In addition to being colorful, each item of clothing and equipment shown here served a practical purpose.

and a half centuries they maintained themselves with great fortitude against the Spanish, English, French, Mexican, Texan, and American invaders, withstanding missionaries, whisky, disease, gunpowder and lead." To most of the tribes of the Great Plains, such as the Sioux, the Comanches, and the Cheyennes, fighting and horse-raiding were all-absorbing sports and prowess in battle the highest virtue. They put up such an amazing fight against troops sent against them that it has been estimated that each brave killed by the soldiers cost the federal government a million dollars. But the cause of the Indians was doomed in any case, since they were almost entirely dependent on the buffalo for food, clothing, fuel, and shelter. When the herds were wiped out, the tribes had the choice of starvation or virtual imprisonment in reservations. In spite of a few victories, such as the defeat of General George Custer on the Little

Big Horn in 1876, and heroic deeds, such as the 1,500-mile march of the Nez Percés under Chief Joseph in 1877, the result was a foregone conclusion. Chief Joseph's speech at his surrender summarized the hopelessness of the Indian cause:

Our chiefs are killed. . . . The little children are freezing to death. My people . . . have no blankets, no food. . . . I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs; I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever.

Many Americans were ashamed of the injustice done the Indians. The report of the Secretary of the Interior to Congress in 1868 called their treatment by the United States government "revolting." In 1881 the attention of the country was focused on the matter by the publication of Helen Hunt Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor*. Mrs. Jackson pleaded that the whites stop "cheating, robbing, breaking promises." Her book led to the founding of the Indian Rights Association, devoted to improving the lot of the red men.

The early Indian reformers were on the probably mistaken assumption that the best thing for the red man would be to make him as much as possible like the white. Their attitude was reflected in the Dawes Act of 1887, which broke down Indian tribal organizations and divided some Indian reservations into 160-acre homesteads. Although the law was well intentioned, it did the Indians little or no good. They usually had little skill at farming and almost no conception of private ownership of land. They were too often at the mercy of greedy real estate speculators and grafting Indian Agents. Between 1887 and 1934, they lost an estimated 86,000,000 of 138,000,000 acres. Most of the land left in their control was almost worthless.

THE CATTLE KINGDOM

The removal of the buffalo and the Indians, as well as the opening of eastern markets by the railroad, ushered in the great days of the cattle-men. The buffalo grass of the Great Plains provided free pasturage for millions of steers, and the meat packers of Chicago bought all steers delivered at the railheads.

The Open Range and the Long Drive

The open-range cattle industry started in Texas in Spanish times, and the Spaniards developed most of its techniques—herding by mounted men, branding, roping, and the round-up. From the Spanish, too, came the distinctive dress and equipment of the cowboy—except for the six-shooter, which was so cumbersome that it was only worn occasionally. From the Texas plains came breeds of cattle able to shift for themselves, the most picturesque being the famous longhorns. In 1865 it was estimated that there were over three million cattle in Texas, but no one knew for sure because most of them were mavericks—without owners.

In Texas, cattle cost \$3 or \$4 a head; in St. Louis or Chicago they could be sold for \$30 or \$40. The “four-dollar cow” was connected with the “forty-dollar market” by means of the “long drive.” As the spring turned the grasslands green, herds of steers were driven northwards to shipping centers on the railroads. The routes of the long drive were known as trails, such as the Chisholm Trail from near San Antonio to Abilene, a station on the Kansas Pacific Railroad (see map, p. 413). A single herd might number 2,500 and be attended by eight to ten cowboys, a trail boss, and wranglers to care for the horses. Cowboys had a rightful pride in their work, which demanded skill, intelligence, quick judgment, and courage. It also demanded discipline, and it is not surprising that many cowboys were veterans of the Civil War.

The profits obtained from a successful drive were enormous. On an investment of \$15,000 a man might make \$30,000 in less than a year. A 30 to 40 per cent return was normal. As the buffalo were cleared from the Plains, the Cattle Kingdom expanded northward until by 1885 it covered an area half as large as Europe, extending from Texas to Montana. From the East, even from Great Britain and France, men with money to invest and a taste for adventure hastened to the Plains and bought cattle.

Although offering vast profits, the industry was beset by difficulties. Steers might go blind from drought, drown in flash floods, die in stampedes, or get infected by the dreaded Texas fever. They might be stolen by rustlers or shot by angry homesteaders trying to protect their crops. Eventually, the open-range cattle industry collapsed even more rapidly than it had risen. Too many animals were put on the ranges, and overgrazing resulted. Overproduction drove prices down. Shepherders and homesteaders competed with the cattlemen for available land.

Then in 1885–1887 disaster struck. A cold winter was followed by a summer so dry that the grass withered and streams disappeared. In the ensuing winter, that of 1886–1887, terrible blizzards covered the ground so deep with snow that the steers could not paw down to grass. Then followed an unprecedented cold spell, with temperatures ranging as low as -60°F . “When spring finally came,” wrote Ray Allen Billington, “cattlemen saw a sight they spent the rest of their lives trying to forget. Carcass piled upon carcass in every ravine, gaunt skeletons staggering about on frozen feet, trees stripped bare of their bark—those were left as monuments to the thoughtless greed of the ranchers.” The cattle industry survived this terrible blow, but the day of the open range was ended. From then on herds were raised on fenced-in ranches; English Herefords replaced longhorns; the cowboy became a ranch hand.

HO! FOR THE GOLD MINES!

THROUGH BILLS LADING

GIVEN BY THE
MONTANA & IDAHO TRANSPORTATION LINE

TO
Virginia City, Bannock City, Deer Lodge
AND
ALL POINTS IN THE MINING DISTRICTS.

The Steamers of this Line leave St. Louis as follows



The New York Historical Society

When new mining strikes were made in the West, advertisements of transportation were distributed in the East. Few travelers to the West became wealthy. Here a wagon that started out bravely, with the slogan of "Pike's Peak or Bust," returned home with the line, "Busted, by Thunder."



The New-York Historical Society

THE MINING FRONTIER

Another element in the growth of the West was the advance of the mining frontier. The finding of gold in California inspired prospectors to explore the Rocky Mountain and Great Basin regions. They were first rewarded by a gold strike in Colorado in 1858, which set off a stampede to the region the next year:

The first breath of spring started the hordes westward. Steamboats crowded to the rails poured throngs of immigrants ashore at every Missouri River town. . . . All through April, May, and June they left the jumping-off places in a regular parade of Conestoga wagons, hand carts, men on horseback, men on foot—each with "Pike's Peak or Bust" crudely printed on their packs and wagon canvas. . . . By the end of June more than 100,000 "fiftyniners" were in the Pike's Peak country.

Law and Order in the Mining Camps

The Colorado strike was followed by many others; gold was discovered in the Black Hills of Dakota, copper in Montana, silver in many places, especially in the fabulous Comstock Lode at Virginia City, Nevada. Every discovery attracted a swarm of fortune seekers, and new mining towns appeared overnight.

Human life was cheap in these communities of tents and crude houses, with their rows of saloons and gambling houses. There was a vital need for law enforcement agencies to settle disputes over mining claims, and to punish or prevent crime. Law and order were sometimes provided by self-appointed vigilance committees, sometimes by mass meetings which, following a tradition going back to the Mayflower Compact, drew up their own rules and elected their own officials. Soon the different communities of a region such as Colorado or Nevada would band together and demand territorial status or statehood. A foreign traveler in Colorado was so impressed by this American habit of self-organization that he wrote:

Making governments and building towns are the natural employments of the migratory Yankee. He takes to them as a young duck to water. Congregate a hundred Americans anywhere beyond the settlements and they immediately lay out a city, frame a state constitution and apply for admission to the Union, while twenty-five of them become candidates for the United States Senate.

With a few exceptions the actual grant of statehood did not come until the arrival of homesteaders. The miners and the cattlemen were too roving a population to provide stable government.

The Wild West

The Wild West captured the imagination of Americans at once. Dime novels and popular ballads spread the adventures of Wild Bill Hickok, Billy the Kid, and Jesse James. A Wild West Show became part of Barnum and Bailey's famous circus;

QUESTION • Why was Annie Oakley, the Wild West wild?
girl sharpshooter, appeared on vaudeville stages everywhere.

The Wild West period lasted little more than thirty years, yet its fascination continues, as shown by Wild West storybooks and comics, dude ranches, cowboy songs and costumes, and the "Westerns" produced by Hollywood and shown on television.

The picturesqueness of the Wild West tends to hide its ugly features. The conquest of the Great Plains and the Rockies by the invading cattlemen, miners, and homesteaders was appallingly destructive of natural resources, wildlife, and human beings. Something of the "morning after" shock of this episode appeared in a speech that Charles Marion Russell, a frontier artist, made to "forward looking citizens" in Helena, Montana:

I have been called a pioneer. In my book a pioneer is a man who comes to a virgin country,

traps off all the fur, kills off all the wild meat, cuts down all the trees, grazes off all the grass, plows the roots up, and strings ten million miles of wire. A pioneer destroys things and calls it civilization. I wish to God this country was just like it was when I first saw it and that none of you folks were here at all.

PEOPLING THE GREAT PLAINS

For nearly forty years after cultivation approached them, the Great Plains resisted settlement. Even allowing for the Indian menace, the most fundamental reason for farmers' unwillingness to venture into the great ocean of grass was that it was a wholly new environment. The frontiersman was used to getting water by digging a well 10 or 20 feet into the ground. In the Plains few streams ran all year round, and underground water was 30 to 300 feet down. The American pioneer was a woods dweller, dependent on trees for fuel, buildings, and fences. On the Plains, trees were found only in the bottom lands near rivers. These conditions discouraged settlers.

By 1880 the Indians no longer offered a hazard. Other difficulties were overcome by the progress of the industrial revolution. Cheap iron and steel made possible the drilled well in a sheet-iron case and the iron windmill. Barbed wire made up for the lack of wooden fence rails. As has been noted, the most important factor in promoting settlement was the railroad. "You may," wrote a spectator of the Dakota boom of the early 1880's, "stand ankle deep in the short grass of uninhabited wilderness; next month a mixed train will glide over the waste and stop at some point where the railroad has decided to locate a town. Men, women, and children will jump out of the cars, and their chattels will tumble out after them. From that moment the building begins."

Meanwhile improved agricultural machinery cut the cost of raising crops. The reaper, in gen-

eral use by 1865, was followed by the mechanical binder which tied the grain into sheaves as fast as it was cut. By 1880, two men and a team could harvest and bind 20 acres of wheat a day. The steam-driven threshing machine also came into general use. Other machines speeded the production of corn and hay. In addition to solving technical problems, the industrial revolution speeded the expansion of agriculture by creating a vast new urban market for food, both in America and Europe.

Homestead Act, 1862

Congress passed in 1862 the famous Homestead Act whereby a "head of a family" who was a citizen or intending to become one might acquire a 160-acre farm for ten dollars. To insure that the land went to actual settlers it

provided that the owner must reside on or cultivate the land for five years. The act was passed as a result of nearly half a century of agitation by western farmers and eastern laborers. The Homestead Act did not work out as planned. An immense amount of fraud in the operation of the law enabled speculators instead of actual settlers to get the land. Requirements that a would-be homesteader put up a home and cultivate the land were met by laying down a few logs as a "foundation," and scattering a few grains of corn. People became "heads of families" by temporarily adopting neighbors' children. A more important reason for the ineffectiveness of the Homestead Act was that much of the most desirable land, near railroad lines, was usually controlled by the railroad companies themselves.

Annie, Get Your Gun



Annie Oakley was the last of one type of pioneer and the first of another. Born in 1860, she became famous only after the frontier had closed and the frontier skills of shooting, riding, and axemanship had been relegated mainly to professional exhibitions. As a performer in such exhibitions, Annie bravely invaded a man's field. She more than held her own, setting the pace for later women in business and the professions.

Too small for farm work as a child, Annie developed her marksmanship shooting rabbits and squirrels to feed her family. At fifteen, while visiting Cincinnati, she accepted the challenge of an exhibition rifleman. She shot down twenty-five glass balls to his twenty-four. Her bested opponent, Frank Butler, married her the next year.

The Butlers joined the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show, and Annie became world famous. She met Queen Victoria in England, outfired the Grand Duke Michael in Russia, and neatly shot a cigarette from the lips of Prince Wilhelm in Germany. The highlights of this career form the basis for Irving Berlin's musical comedy *Annie Get Your Gun*.

High skill with a rifle no longer commands world admiration, but Annie Oakley's name still recalls a woman who achieved perfection in a "man's world."

(Theme 5, see p. xii)

"Selling" the West

The ineffectiveness of the Homestead Act provided Westerners with a grievance, but probably did not discourage settlement. Although railroads sometimes discouraged the acquisition of free land, they actively promoted the sale of their own. They did not charge high prices because they wanted settlers to get the land into production. Land-grant railroads had "Bureaus of Immigration" to persuade farmers to settle along their lines. They maintained offices in the principal European cities, and agents in eastern seaports to meet immigrants as they left the boat. Steamship companies and western states joined the railroads in promoting the West. Advertisements described the region as so healthy that it cured all known diseases. The industrious man could expect to become wealthy; an \$8,000 investment, it was claimed, might soon result in a steady income of \$11,000 per year. The women were not forgotten, and the West was pictured as a happy hunting ground for unmarried ladies. "When a daughter of the East is once beyond the Missouri," said one railroad advertisement, "she rarely recrosses it except on a bridal tour."

To offset the myth of the "Great American Desert," a new myth was created to the effect that rainfall on the Great Plains would increase with cultivation; a Nebraska promoter summed it up in the catchy epigram, "Rain follows the plow." The production of wheat, centering in Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Nebraska, quadrupled. Nor did all this growth take place at the frontier. In the previously occupied "corn-hog" belt, extending from Ohio to Iowa, output increased as rapidly as in the new wheat lands. Wisconsin became a great center of cheese production. Near every great city, truck gardens were developed to provide vegetables, and a "milkshed" to supply fresh dairy products for the growing urban populations.

Difficulties of Life on the Plains

The life of a Great Plains farmer seldom approached the glowing prophecies of railroad agents. The climate supposed to cure all known diseases turned out to be severe. In the summer the temperature might go over 100°F. for days on end. In winter there were periods of great cold, and terrible blizzards drove the snow through every chink in doors and windows. Prairie fires were a constant danger in the spring and fall. Sometimes there appeared, as if from nowhere, huge swarms of grasshoppers which ate everything green, choked wells to the brim, broke the branches off fruit trees by their weight, and even devoured harnesses and tool handles. Worst of all disasters was drought. The rainfall of the Plains region is markedly less than that of the wooded East, dropping from about 30 to 40 inches along the 98th meridian to as little as 10 inches just east of the Rockies. Much of it was land suitable only for grazing that should never have been plowed.

The greatest push westward into the Great Plains took place in the early 1880's, during a wet period which offered false promise of abundant crops. In the late 1880's drought drove thousands back east in despair. William Allen White, the famous editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, thus described a family he saw returning from western Kansas:

There came through Emporia yesterday two old-fashioned mover wagons headed east. The stock in the caravan would invoice four horses, very poor and very tired, one mule more disheartened than the horses, and one sad-eyed dog. . . . A few farm implements of the simpler sort had been loaded in the wagons, but. . . the rest of the impedimenta had been left upon the battlefield. . . . These movers. . . had seen it stop raining for months at a time. They had heard the fury of the winter wind as it came whining across the short burned grass. . . . They have tossed through hot nights, wild with worry, and have arisen only to find their worst

nightmares grazing in reality on the brown stubble in front of their sun-warped doors.

White went on to say that the family's spirits revived amid the plenty of eastern Kansas and they were ready to try again. In spite of all difficulties, however, most settlers managed to conquer their physical environment. Water from deep wells enabled them to plant gardens and trees around their homes. The railroads brought lumber and brick for houses to replace sod huts, and coal to replace cornstalks or hay as fuel.

The Literature of the Sod House Frontier

The struggle of the farmers with the Plains produced a literature quite unlike that of the Wild West. Cowboys and miners were usually young men; their lives were adventurous; they were on the move. But the homesteader took on responsibilities difficult to shed; he often pledged himself to a bank, invested in tools and land, and started to raise a family. When misfortune hit, he had to weather it out. It is natural to find, therefore, that the literature of the Plains was realistic, sometimes bitter. This can be seen in the stories of Hamlin Garland, who was born on a Wisconsin farm in 1860. Garland's family moved west three times during his boyhood. In books such as *Main-Travelled Roads* and *A Son of the Middle Border*, he told "a tale of toil that's never done." Although describing moments of joy such as harvest time, or of beauty, as when the spring touched the Plains, Garland refused to say that "butter was always golden and biscuits invariably light and flaky." "I will not lie," he wrote, "even to be a patriot. A proper proportion of the sweat, flies, heat, dirt, and drudgery shall go in."

A principal source of settlers for the northern portion of the Great Plains was Scandinavia. So many settlers came to the wheat country that by 1890 four hundred Minnesota towns bore Scandinavian names. Letters written to relatives back home described the wonders of the new

land. "Here it is not asked," wrote one, "what or who was your father, but the question is, what are you?" Another wrote of the pleasure of eating white bread every day and pork three times a week. Still another remarked that here was a country where there were no thieves or beggars. But they told of troubles too: Indian raids, prairie fires, locusts like drifts of snow. Such troubles provide the subject of the greatest novel of the Great Plains, O. E. Rölvaag's *Giants in the Earth*, written in Norwegian. It describes the heroic efforts of Per Hansa and his wife Beret to establish a farm in South Dakota. They eventually triumph, but the human cost is terrible: Beret goes slowly mad, and Per dies in a blizzard.

Frontier Women

For women, the pioneering phase of life on the Plains often meant loneliness and drudgery in a sod house that could never be kept clean. "Born and scrubbed, suffered and died," is the epitaph given a farmer's wife in one of Hamlin Garland's poems. Yet the settlement of the West owed more to the endless toil of frontier women than to Indian fighters, cattlemen, and prospectors. A character in Edna Ferber's novel *Cimarron* pays this tribute:

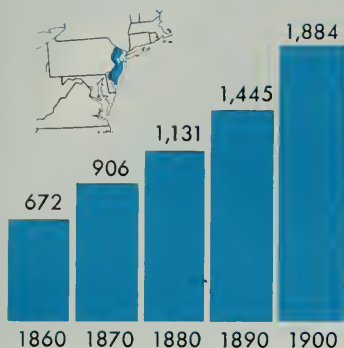
You can't read the history of the United States, my friends . . . without learning the great story of those thousands of unnamed women . . . women in mud-caked boots and calico dresses and sunbonnets, crossing the prairie and the desert and the mountains enduring hardship and privation. Good women with a terrible and rigid goodness that comes of work and self-denial. Nothing picturesque or romantic about them, I suppose . . . no, their story's never really been told. But it's there just the same. And if it's ever told straight, you'll know it's the sunbonnet and not the sombrero that's settled this country.

It is not surprising that women have written some of the best accounts of Plains life, such as *Cimarron* and *My Antonia* by Willa Cather. While not minimizing the sufferings of pioneer-

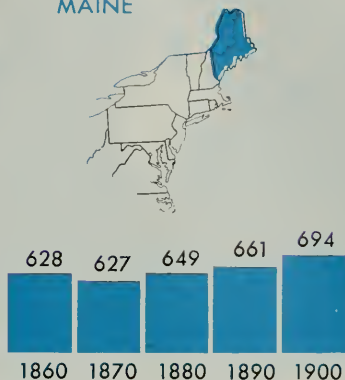
GROWTH OF POPULATION (in thousands) 1860-1900

EAST

NEW JERSEY

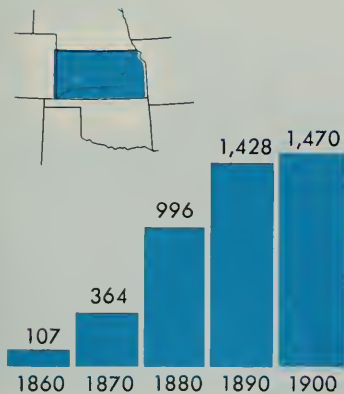


MAINE

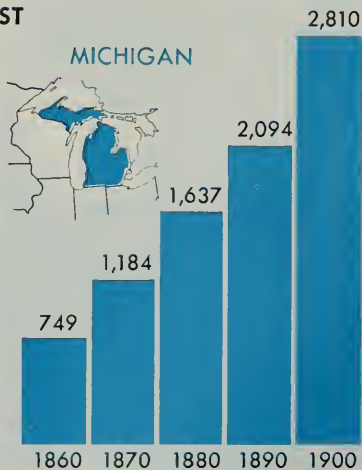


WEST

KANSAS



MICHIGAN



Population patterns of four states, 1860-1900. In Maine there was little industry; fishing and farming were static. New Jersey had a steady growth in industry, dairying, and truck farming. Michigan's pattern was a product of the growth of lumbering, farming, and industrial cities. Kansas' growth rate accelerated because of the expansion of wheat growing, then leveled off because of drought in the late 1880's.

ing, these novels reveal how much easier life became after the sod house days were past. Willa Cather described Black Hawk, the locale of *My Antonia*, as "a clean, well-planted little prairie town, with white fences, and good green yards about the dwellings, wide, dusty streets, and shapely little trees growing along the wooden sidewalks."

A prominent building mentioned in *My Antonia* in Black Hawk was a new brick high school. As soon as farmers began to make a surplus, they established churches and schools. The Morrill Act (see p. 405) helped the new states to establish universities. These were open to girls as well as boys; the pioneer women had earned for their sex a new position of equality.

Farmers' Loss of Independence

The sorest trouble the farmer had to face was often not the struggle with his environment, but the fact that he was in the grip of economic forces beyond his control. Formerly he had been a subsistence farmer, producing almost everything he needed. Subsistence agriculture gave him little cash, but he was "beholden" to nobody. The independent farmer was a standard character in melodramas, especially when contrasted with unhappy factory hands, purse-proud rich men, or dishonest "city slickers."

With the opening of great urban markets, farmers tended more and more to specialize on a single cash crop, such as wheat, milk, or cattle. Their income naturally went up, but so did their expenses, since

QUESTION • Which man enjoyed more security: the isolated subsistence farmer of the Kentucky frontier, or the wheat farmer of the Dakotas?

they now had to buy agricultural machinery, store clothing, and even food. The new need for cash made farmers less

independent. Their prosperity, their very possession of their farms, might depend on the

unpredictable price of grain. A bumper wheat crop in the Russian Ukraine might mean a lean year in the Dakotas. The farmer became dependent on the railroad which carried his crop to market, on the commission merchant who marketed it, and on the owners of grain elevators who stored it. The man who raised hogs or beef cattle was in a similar situation; he had little bargaining power, having to take what the packers paid him.

The new type of cultivation demanded more capital investment than the old. While land itself was cheap, it cost money to drill wells, put up windmills, enclose fields in barbed wire, and buy machinery. Since few farmers could put up the cash outright, they had to borrow by mortgaging their land. Then in order to pay interest on the mortgages, they were forced to concentrate more than ever on raising cash crops. If prices dropped or a lean year came, they could not meet their payments and lost their land. By 1900 about one-third of the farms in the corn and wheat areas were cultivated by tenants.

Not surprisingly, farmers developed a strong sense of grievance. They fed the cities, supported the railroads, supplied the commodities that paid for European investments, and yet somehow the wealth they created seemed to be siphoned off to others. Their attitude was well expressed by a Nebraska newspaper:

There are three great crops raised in Nebraska. One is a crop of corn, one a crop of freight rates, and one a crop of interest. One is produced by farmers, who sweat and toil, from the land. The other two are produced by men who sit in their offices and behind their bank counters and farm the farmers.

End of a Dream

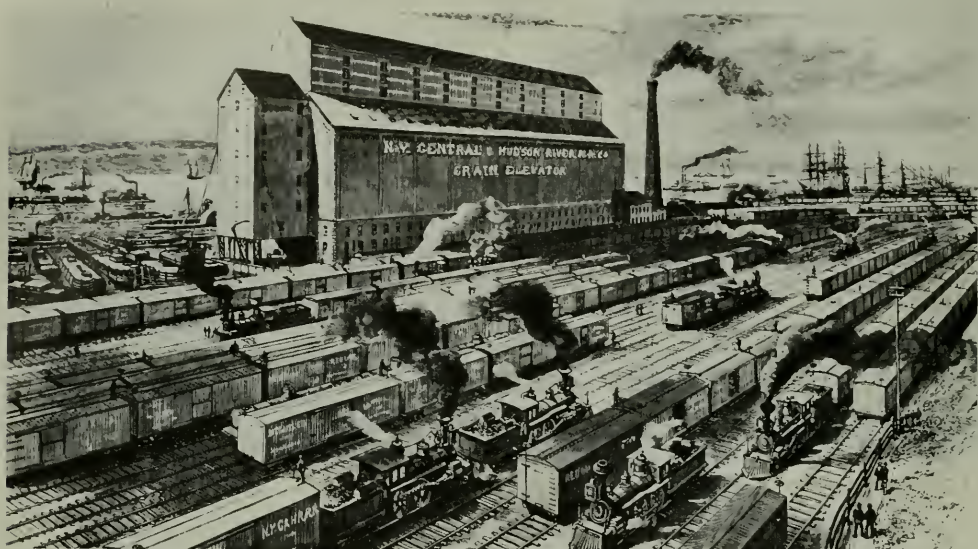
Perhaps the cruelest blow to the farmer was loss of status. Until recently he had been held up as the most admirable and the happiest of men. Thus a congressman supporting free homesteads in 1851 had said:



CONQUERING THE PLAINS

These pictures show the importance of new inventions to the farmers of the "sodhouse frontier." Barbed wire, farm machinery, and steel plows all cost money, however, so that the farmers of the Great Plains were often burdened with debt before they started to wring a living from the soil.





New York City became a port of shipment for American wheat destined for the rest of the world. This busy rail yard and mammoth grain elevator were part of the shipping and marketing organization farmers came to depend on as they shifted from subsistence agriculture to producing staple crops for world markets.

The life of a farmer is peculiarly favorable to virtue; and both individuals and communities are generally happy in proportion as they are virtuous. His manners are simple, and his nature unsophisticated. . . . His life does not impose excessive toil, and yet it discourages idleness. The farmer lives in rustic plenty, remote from the contagion of popular vices, and enjoys, in their greatest fruition, the blessings of health and contentment.

But now power and prestige had shifted from the rural areas to the cities; in the new urban America, country people were regarded not as the backbone of the nation, but as “rubes,” “hicks,” and “hayseeds.”

Along with the farmer’s loss of independence and status came an event that had a profound

effect on the American psychology. In 1890 the census bureau reported that settlement had been so rapid “that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line.” Although in fact much land was still unoccupied and new settlement continued at a brisk pace until well into the twentieth century, the news that the frontier was closing encouraged prophets of doom, who saw the end of a “safety-valve of social discontent.” Formerly the existence of unoccupied land at the frontier had promoted the idea that Americans could always make a fresh start. That was the meaning of Horace Greeley’s famous advice, “Go west, young man.” What was to happen now that the roles were reversed and the city had become a safety-valve of rural discontent?

Activities: Chapter 16

For Mastery and Review

1. What factors, technological and political, enabled railroad companies to span the Great Plains? What difficulties had to be overcome in building the first transcontinental line?

2. What were the contributions to railroading of James J. Hill and Cornelius Vanderbilt? What were the advantages of consolidating railroad systems?

3. What were the effects of the destruction of the buffalo on the Plains Indians? On the cattle industry? What change in policy toward the Indians took place at the end of the nineteenth century?

4. For what reasons did the open-range cattle industry of the West expand so rapidly and then collapse so suddenly?

5. What took the "fifty-niners" to the West? How were law and order achieved in mining communities? What imprint did the Wild West make on American life?

6. What were the obstacles to settling the Great Plains? How were they overcome? Compare the Homestead Act and the railroads as influences in peopling the Plains.

7. What difficulties did the Plains farmer encounter? How did the literature of the "sodhouse frontier" differ from that of the Wild West? Explain the special importance of women in the region.

8. Compare the situation of the subsistence farmer with that of the farmer specializing in a single staple crop.

Unrolling the Map

On an outline map of the United States west of the Mississippi River, show (a) the Great Plains and the area once called the "Great American Desert"; (b) the 98th meridian, labeling it "line of 20-inch average annual rainfall"; (c) the homelands of the major Plains Indian tribes; (d) the major transcontinental railroads; (e) the Chisholm Trail; (f) the most important mining communities. (See maps on pp. 9, 413).

Who, What, and Why Important?

Waddinghouse air brake	James J. Hill
Gastden Purchase	Cornelius Vanderbilt
"wedding of the rails"	Helen Hunt Jackson

Dawes Act	agricultural mechanization
open range	Hamlin Garland
long drive	Willa Cather
vigilance committees	O. E. Rølvaag
Homestead Act	

To Pursue the Matter

1. Americans have variously regarded the opening of the West as dramatic, adventurous, tragic, or romantic. Six selections in Arnof, *A Sense of the Past* (pp. 283-303), may whet your appetite.

2. Graphic and accurate accounts of the opening of the Plains area are found in Webb, *The Great Plains*, and Dobie, *The Texas Longhorn*. Class talks or bulletin board displays might be worked up on such topics as the development of the six-shooter, barbed wire, the long drive, and the practical usefulness of the cowboy's dress.

3. Read Mark Twain, *Roughing It*, for gaudy details of mining camp life. Read Hutchens, *One Man's Montana*, for a view of Montana as a boy saw it a generation after it was first settled.

4. What were the differences between pioneer living in Kentucky in the 1790's and that in the Dakotas in the 1880's?

5. Horace Greeley's famous advice was, "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country." If the young man were living in 1875 and wanted to make a fortune, ought he to have followed Greeley's advice?

6. Holbrook, *The Story of American Railroads*, contains fascinating chapters on the building of the transcontinental railroads, Jim Hill, great railroad disasters, and the appalling difficulties railroads had with many technical problems.

7. The last stand of the Plains Indians is well told in Clark, *Frontier America*. Is there any excuse for the way the Indians were treated? Could this chapter in American history have been prevented?

8. No textbook can give such a sense of the opening of the Great West as folk songs and stories. Look at Botkin, *A Treasury of American Folklore*. You might start with "The Lane County Bachelor," sung to the rollicking tune of "The Irish Washerwoman," with a chorus that begins: "But hurrah for Lane County, the land of the free, The home of the grasshopper, bedbug, and flea."

Chapter 17

Protest Movements

I'm not in a very good humor with "America" myself. It seems to me the most grotesquely illogical thing under the sun; and I suppose I love it less because it won't let me love it more. I should hardly like to trust pen and ink with all the audacity of my social ideas; but after fifty years of optimistic content with "civilization" and its ability to come out all right in the end, I now abhor it, and feel that it is coming out all wrong in the end, unless it bases itself anew on a real equality.

—WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS

The unpleasant aspects of the new industrial America drove many thoughtful men first to questioning, then to protest. The passage above is taken from a letter to Henry James from a fellow novelist, William Dean Howells. The writer was not driven to any such critical attitude by failure to achieve wealth or reputation. On the contrary, Howells was a self-taught writer who rose from a poverty-stricken boyhood in Ohio to the enviable position of editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* when he was still in his thirties. But he came to feel that he must protest against the moral confusions and the injustices of the new industrial age. In a novel, *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, he portrayed the erosion of character that a husband and his wife undergo because of social ambition and desire for easy wealth. In *A Hazard of New Fortunes*, Howells portrayed the unfeeling attitude of the "best people" and the brutality of the police toward workers on strike against a streetcar company. An even more successful writer but no less disillusioned was Mark Twain (pen name of Samuel L. Clemens). In *The Gilded Age*, he described

the personal disasters brought on a family by greed and graft. His greatest novel, *Huckleberry Finn*, is on the face of it simply an adventure story—a prolonged "chase" set on the broad Mississippi. But by setting the natural goodness of an illiterate Negro and a shiftless pauper boy against the cruelty and callousness of respectable, pious folk, Clemens questioned the justice of middle-class society.

One trouble was that the benefits of the immense new wealth created by the industrial revolution and the settling of millions of acres of virgin land were unequally divided. The rich seemed to be getting richer; the poor, poorer. The business system too often seemed a game in which the cards were stacked and the rewards

QUESTION • *Was this recognition of injustice a cause for pessimism or for optimism?*

went to the cheater, or at least to the man with the biggest stake. It was therefore hardly surprising that during the latter nineteenth century there appeared organizations, representing small

businessmen, farmers, laborers, and reformers, to protest the dominance of the men who controlled the great corporations. Although on the whole unsuccessful, these movements won a few victories, especially in promoting legislation based on a partial abandonment of the Jeffersonian principle that the government that governs best governs least.

CURBING THE RAILROADS

Although bringing immense benefits, the railroad corporations were guilty of a variety of abuses of the public interest. Even before lines were built, railroad officials formed construction companies, in which their participation was often secret, and then pocketed immense profits by overcharging their own railroads. Railroad companies bribed state legislators for favors such as land grants and tax exemptions. They evaded laws designed to make them give services in return for privileges.

Railroad Abuses

Railroad financing was marked by a common abuse called "stock watering." Getting its name from the scheme of feeding cattle salt and getting them to drink heavily just before being weighed for market, this was the practice of increasing the number of shares of a company without adding to its assets. When Jay Gould and James J. Fisk gained control of the Erie Railroad in 1868, they issued \$71,000,000 of watered stock on a property worth \$20,000,000. As insiders they profited by selling watered stock to a public still ignorant of its decrease in value. On another occasion Gould gained control of the Union Pacific Railroad and induced it to buy at inflated prices the stock of other railroads that he controlled. He made \$10,000,000 on this deal alone. Such action swindled other stockholders, and hurt the public because railroads that had inflated their stock issues had to keep rates high to pay dividends.

In a day when water traffic was disappearing and automobile trucking not yet dreamed of, railroads more often than not enjoyed a "natural monopoly." Railroads took advantage of this situation by charging more for short hauls, where they had a monopoly, than for long hauls, where they faced competition. Thus it cost shippers more to send certain goods from Poughkeepsie, New York, to New York City, where there was no choice but the New York Central Railroad, than all the way from Chicago, where the Pennsylvania and Erie railroads competed with it for the traffic. The New York Central also charged higher rates in winter, when the Erie Canal was frozen, than in summer, when it was open. Sometimes competing lines kept up rates artificially by a practice known as pooling, whereby companies made agreements to fix rates and divide the profits according to a prearranged formula. Still another abuse was the practice of favoring big shippers over small by granting rebates (see p. 391).

The Grange

Feeling against railroad abuses was exhibited all over the country, but was especially violent in the trans-Mississippi West, where there was practically no competition from other forms of transportation and where the lines had been favored by immense government subsidies in money and land. Although all major interests—businessmen, farmers, and laborers—believed themselves injured, it was a nation-wide farm organization that provided the driving force toward attempts to end railroad abuses by legislation. The Patrons of Husbandry, commonly called the Grange, was a secret organization founded in 1867. Reflecting the importance of women on the farm, it was the first fraternal organization to admit them on equal terms. Hamlin Garland remembered its rallies, with their brass bands, banners, and speechmaking, as "a most grateful relief from the sordid loneliness of the farm." By 1874, Granger lodges



In the anti-railroad cartoon above, the farmer is saying of the Iron Horse that devours his produce: "I can't afford this hired team; it takes every mite I can raise to feed him." Below, the Grange tries to arouse the sleepers. From such agitation came Granger laws, which attempted to regulate freight rates.



contained a million and a half members and had become centers of political action.

The Granger Laws

The Patrons of Husbandry agitated so successfully that in the early 1870's several states passed legislation to end or prevent railroad misdoings. These "Granger Laws" attempted to fix maximum freight and passenger rates; they forbade discrimination between places or between shippers; and they attempted to regulate other natural monopolies, such as grain elevators and warehouses.

The railroads protested violently against the Granger laws. Their principal argument was the *laissez-faire* principle that government should not interfere with private enterprise. "Can't I do what I want with my own?" asked Commodore Vanderbilt. Railroad lawyers argued that the Granger laws were unconstitutional because the Fourteenth Amendment forbade a state to "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." A railroad corporation was a legal "person"; if forced to charge lower rates it was deprived of "property"; regulatory laws were an "undue" extension of state legislative power.

Defenders of the Granger laws pointed out that most railroads had received large favors from the federal and local governments. How could they now claim freedom from control in the public interest? *Laissez-faire* did not apply here. It postulates that an open market free of state control insures the public fair prices because producers compete to produce cheaper goods for sale. But as a natural monopoly, the railroad had no competitors. Its rates must therefore be controlled by government, representing the people at large.

In 1876 and 1877 the Supreme Court decided several cases in favor of the Granger laws. In the most famous case, *Munn v. Illinois*, the court supported by an 8 to 1 vote the right of an Illinois commission to fix rates for grain ele-

vators. The court argued that since common carriers, such as railroads, and public utilities, such as grain elevators, "stand in the very gateway of commerce" and "take toll of all who pass," they exercise "a sort of public office." "Property does indeed become clothed with a public interest," said the court, "when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and affect the community at large." Therefore the warehouse companies "must submit to being controlled by the public for the common good."

Failure of the Granger Laws

In spite of judicial support, the Granger laws were unsuccessful. The railroads fought them by cutting services or threatening to lay no more track until the acts were repealed. The laws also lost the backing of organized public opinion, as membership declined in the Grange. In attempting to reduce middlemen's profits, the Patrons of Husbandry had gone into business for themselves, setting up plow and reaper factories, grain elevators, packing plants, and banks. Bitterly fought by private companies and often inefficiently run, these businesses usually failed, and their collapse discredited the Grange. By 1880 its membership was less than a quarter of what it had been in 1874. This effort of the Grangers to undercut middlemen had one long-term result: the development of mail-order department stores, selling direct to the consumer. The first mail-order house, Montgomery Ward & Co., of Chicago, was founded in 1872 especially "to meet the wants of the Patrons of Husbandry."

Such Granger laws as remained were dealt a mortal blow in 1886. The Wabash Railway had charged shippers 25 cents a hundred pounds for carrying goods from Gilman, Illinois, to New York City, there being no other railroad into Gilman. It charged only 15 cents a hundred pounds from Peoria, Illinois, to New York; it was a longer distance, but there was competition from other lines. This violated an Illinois

statute forbidding the "long and short haul" abuse. The railroad appealed its case to the Supreme Court. While not directly attacking the principle laid down in *Munn v. Illinois*, that public utilities must submit to government control, the court held that states control only such traffic as lay entirely within their borders. Since most railroad traffic crossed the boundaries of states, the Wabash Railway decision practically wiped out state regulation of rates.

Interstate Commerce Act, 1887

The Wabash decision led to such a demand for federal regulation of railroads that Congress passed the famous Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. This law declared that railroad charges must be "reasonable and just"; it forbade pooling, rebates, and higher rates for short hauls than long. The companies were required to publish rates, give advance notice of all changes, and make annual financial reports to the federal government. Violations of these provisions were punishable by fines up to \$5,000 for each offense. Enforcement of the law was placed under the Interstate Commerce Commission, a group of five men appointed by the President.

Regarding its immediate purpose, the Interstate Commerce Act was a failure. The Interstate Commerce Commission lacked power to fix rates and could only make recommendations or bring suits in the federal courts. In sixteen cases that reached the Supreme Court—a process that took four years on an average—the court held for the railroads in fifteen. In 1892, Richard Olney, a corporation lawyer who later served as Attorney General under President Cleveland wrote a railroad official urging him not to advocate repeal of the Interstate Commerce Act. "It satisfies popular clamor for government supervision of the railroads," observed Olney, "at the same time that such supervision is almost entirely nominal." Nevertheless, the Interstate Commerce Act was one of the most important laws ever passed by Congress. It

established the precedent that the federal government might control large-scale private enterprise if the public good seemed to require it. It also provided a model for regulatory commissions that today oversee activities as diverse as air lines, labor relations, and television.

DEMAND FOR CHEAP MONEY

If there was anything that farmers demanded in the late nineteenth century more than the regulation of natural monopolies or the reduction of middlemen's profits, it was "cheap money." To understand this, it is necessary to explore briefly the quantity theory of money, which was widely accepted at the time, although not thoroughly understood. According to the quantity theory, the value of money, like that of any other commodity, changes according to the supply. Raise the number of dollars in circulation—in other words, *inflate* the currency—and the dollar buys less; prices go up. Restrict the amount of money in circulation—in other words, *deflate* the currency—and the dollar buys more; prices go down. This can be expressed in a simple mathematical equation:

(1) Let P stand for prices.

(2) Let M stand for amount of money in circulation.

(3) Let T stand for the total amount of goods and personal services for sale.

$$\text{Then } P = \frac{M}{T}$$

If the amount of money (M) is increased faster than the total production (T), prices will go up. This is inflation.

If the total amount of goods and services (T) increase faster than the money supply (M), prices will go down. This is deflation.

Actually, this simple form of the quantity theory of money is so incomplete as to be misleading. It leaves out two other factors: *velocity*—how fast money passes from hand to hand, and *credit*—which affects prices just as money

and which is more abundant. But the simple equation given above is what the inflationists believed to be true in the late nineteenth century. It accorded closely with the facts of agricultural life in the three decades after the Civil War. The production of agricultural staples such as wheat and cotton (a large factor in T) nearly quadrupled, while the supply of money (M) increased very little. The prices received by farmers (P) dropped by nearly two-thirds.¹

Deflation and the Gold Standard

The three decades after the close of the Civil War were a period of deflation. In 1865, with the currency inflated by the wartime issuance of greenbacks, there were \$31 in circulation for every person in the country. By 1895, per capita circulation had sunk to \$20. This was partly the result of a world-wide movement related to wide-spread adoption of the gold standard. When a country went on the gold standard, it made all its currency convertible into gold.

Formerly most countries had been on a bi-metallic standard whereby the government coined both gold and silver and established the official value of each. In spite of official "mint prices" for gold and silver, their relative value often changed sharply. The California gold strike of 1849 so increased the amount of gold, for instance, that it became cheap in relation to silver. According to the tendency known as Gresham's Law, whereby dear money is hoarded while cheap money remains in circulation, silver went into hiding. This metal was so little used that the federal government issued 25-cent gold pieces and small bills, called "shinplasters" for denominations as low as 3 cents.

The difficulty with the gold standard in the late nineteenth century was that world produc-

¹ For a more thorough explanation of the quantity theory, explaining the concepts of velocity and credit, see the definition of the Quantity Theory of Money in the glossary.

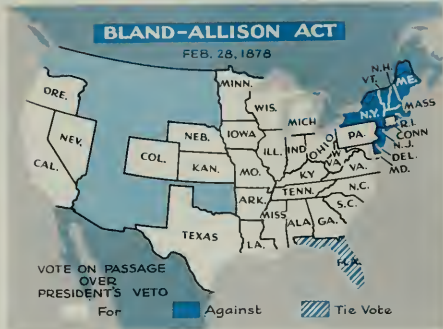
tion of gold did not increase as fast as the world production of goods. This restricted the currency supply and drove prices down.

Deflation was hard on farmers, who borrowed money more heavily than ever before. When a wheat farmer borrowed \$1,000 in 1880, with wheat at \$1 a bushel, the principal of his loan equaled 1,000 bushels of wheat. But in 1890, with wheat at 75 cents a bushel, his debt equaled 1,333 bushels. To use a homely phrase, there was "too much hog in the dollar." This state of affairs meant that thousands of farm owners lost their land and became tenants or hired men.

Greenbacks and Free Silver

As soon as greenbacks began to be called in during the late 1860's and prices began to drop, farmers started to demand inflation. They protested that bankers and bondholders lent 50-cent dollars during the war, and now wanted to be repaid in 100-cent dollars. With the slogan, "The same currency for the plowholders and the bondholder," western delegates to the Democratic Convention of 1868 were strong enough to force an inflationist plank into the party platform. In the mid-term election of 1878, a Greenback party polled over a million votes, electing fifteen congressmen.

The Greenback movement declined after 1880 as inflationists turned to free silver. In 1873, Congress decided to stop coining silver money and adopted the gold standard. Six years later, after building up a gold reserve of 200 million dollars, specie payments were resumed. These events caused a howl of protest from western silver miners because new mines, especially the famous Comstock Lode, produced a flood of silver which would no longer be coined. Denouncing what they called "the Crime of '73," silver miners demanded a policy of "free silver," meaning that the government should coin all silver brought to the mint. They were joined by debtor farmers of the West and South,



In this vote on a "cheap money" proposal, sectional interests completely overrode party lines, since debtor-agrarian sections favored inflation.

who expected that free silver would mean a cheaper dollar and higher prices.

The strength of the silver movement was shown by the Bland-Allison Act of 1878, passed over President Hayes' veto. Starting as a free silver bill in the House, this law was amended in the Senate to require that the treasury buy from \$2,000,000 to \$4,000,000 worth of silver a month and issue currency against it. Although adding to the money supply, the Bland-Allison Act did not halt deflation. The increase in business far exceeded that in currency. Agitation for cheap money therefore continued, reaching a peak in events to be described in the next chapter.

National Banks

As in the time of Andrew Jackson, many western farmers distrusted banks. Needing credit as never before, they could obtain it only at high rates of interest. They were especially critical of the banks created under the National Banking Act of 1863. This law provided (1) that banking associations putting at least a third of their capital into federal bonds (but not less than \$30,000) might issue national bank notes

up to 90 per cent of the value of the bonds; (2) that for most purposes national bank notes could be used as currency; and (3) that the national banks must submit to federal inspection.

The national bank notes were a great improvement on the wild confusion of state bank notes, issued by over two thousand institutions, many of them irresponsible and some dishonest.

QUESTION • State bank notes, often fluctuating and sometimes fraudulent, were driven out of circulation by a 10% federal tax. Is such destruction of free enterprise justifiable?

Federal supervision made for more stable and honest banking. The national banks failed, however, to fit the needs of farming communities since the amount of capital required

for a national bank was more than most small towns could afford. The agricultural South and West were poorly served, having only one-third of the national banks and less than one-quarter of the total capitalization.

The farmers' most fundamental objection to the national banks, however, was a feeling that they made the rich richer. Since the banks drew interest on their federal bonds and could also lend against the bank notes issued with the bonds as security, it seemed as though the government guaranteed them a double profit. Farmers' organizations therefore demanded that national banks be abolished and that the federal government provide them with cheaper credit.

ATTEMPTED REGULATION OF TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES

In 1881 the *Atlantic Monthly* published an article entitled "The Story of a Great Monopoly," by Henry D. Lloyd, telling how the Standard Oil Company had monopolized the oil

refining business. It caused such a sensation that the magazine had to print three times as many copies as usual. Throughout the next decade, as it was revealed that industry after industry was in danger of being monopolized, demands for federal regulation came from many different groups—small businessmen, farmers, consumers, and workingmen. Even officials of the great corporations themselves began to have qualms. Henry O. Havemeyer, head of the American Sugar Refining Company, which produced over 90 per cent of the sugar used in American homes, urged that producers of commodities in general use should submit to federal regulation. In the election of 1888, both parties promised action, and in 1890, Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act with only one dissenting vote.

The Sherman Act wrote into federal law an old principle of the English common law: that artificial restraints on trade and private monopolies are forbidden. Its core is contained in these words: "Every contract, combination, in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations, is hereby to be declared illegal." Any person who was found guilty of achieving a monopoly, or even of attempting to do so, might be punished by fines and imprisonment. A private individual or corporation hurt by the monopolistic activities of a rival might collect triple damages from the offender.

Early Failure of the Sherman Antitrust Act

For a number of reasons the Sherman Act was no more effective in preventing business consolidation than the Interstate Commerce Act in controlling railroad rates. It was not strictly enforced, and was so loosely worded that its meaning was doubtful. Did the act mean, for instance, that all mergers were unlawful, that all business transactions must be open to the public, that any contract whereby

one company planned to take business from another was unlawful? Such decisions had to be left to the federal courts, which in the 1890's were probably more favorable to business interests than at any other time in American history. Just as the courts whittled down the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, they took the teeth out of the Sherman Act. In the E. C. Knight Company case of 1895 the Supreme Court ruled that an almost complete monopoly of sugar refining was not a violation of the Sherman Act, because sugar refining was manufacturing, and manufacturing was not interstate commerce.

The Supreme Court's decision that the Sherman Act applied only to transportation and telegraph companies was followed by one of the greatest periods of consolidation in American business history. In 1890 there had been 24 trusts with a total capitalization of \$436 million. In 1900 there were 183 great consolidations with a capitalization of over three billion dollars. The new concentrations of power were effected through a new type of corporation known as the "holding company." A holding company did not actually engage in production or in direct services to the public, but controlled the securities of many operating companies. This new device enabled men to establish control of business concerns with less outlay of capital. Through ownership of a majority of the shares of stock, and often much less, they could put their own men into the boards of directors of the operating companies. (See chart, p. 584.)

In spite of initial failure, the Sherman Anti-trust Act, like the Interstate Commerce Act, was a most important piece of legislation. It tended to make businessmen more careful not to offend the public or to antagonize competitors by unfair practices. The law itself later became more effective under a less conservative Supreme Court, with more vigorous enforcement by the



In "wishing books" — mail-order catalogs — farmers found equipment for their farms as well as fashionable wearing apparel. Here ladies' shoes are advertised as a specialty of Sears, Roebuck & Co.

executive department, and with strengthening amendments. Federal trust legislation remains today a "shotgun behind the door," helping to discourage monopoly and to encourage competition.

THE GROWTH OF LABOR UNIONS

The Civil War encouraged the revival of labor unions, which had dwindled because of the Panic of 1837. Workmen needed higher wages to meet prices raised by the wartime inflation; with hundreds of thousands of men under arms, they were in a strong position to

demand them. In 1863 and 1864 the number of local unions rose from 79 to 270. There was also organization on a national scale, since a local union was often helpless in dealing with an industrial corporation doing business throughout the country.

Difficulties Facing the Unions

In spite of rapid growth during the war and afterward, labor unions faced many difficulties:

(1) *American labor was mobile and diverse.* It was difficult to organize workmen in this country because they would not "stay hitched," but moved from job to job. Young men, who in other countries might have become labor leaders, went into business for themselves or worked up into executive positions. The inflow of immigrants, averaging over a third of a million a year between 1870 and 1900, increased the difficulties of organization. Ignorant of American wage scales and with few resources, the newcomers often accepted low pay. A Contract Labor Law, passed by Congress in 1864, allowed employers to hire foreign laborers, bring them to America, and have them work for a year to repay passage. Variety in language, religion, and customs among the immigrants made it hard to weld them into an effective organization. To discourage unionization, employers deliberately mixed nationalities. Thus a steel mill superintendent wrote:

We must be careful what class of men we collect. We must steer clear of the West, where men are accustomed to infernal high wages. We must steer clear as far as we can of Englishmen who are great sticklers for high wages, small production and strikes. My experience has shown that Germans and Irish, Swedes and what I denominate "Buckwheats"—young American country boys, judiciously mixed, make the most effective and tractable force you can find.

(2) *There was confusion of aims.* Men who wanted to bring all workmen together and pro-

mote widespread reforms were opposed by others who believed that unions should work only for the short-time benefit of workers in their particular craft or industry. A small but vocal group wanted to use the power of organized labor to overthrow the capitalist system and establish socialism (see pp. 444-445). Even more radical were anarchists who preached, "All property is theft; all government is tyranny," and tried to create class hatred by bomb-throwing and assassination. Although never composing more than a small fraction of the labor movement, socialists and anarchists aroused fear and dislike which were transferred to all workingmen's organizations.

(3) *Unions faced strong opposition from employers.* Workers were often required to take an iron-clad oath that they would not join a union. If discharged for union activity, a man often remained jobless, because employers combined to keep black lists of all "troublemakers." Once black-listed, a laborer could get a job only by changing his residence, his trade, or his name. Once workers organized a plant, the employer could still fight back by a lockout (shutting the plant down) or by discharging union men and hiring strikebreakers (also known as "scabs"). In any strike or lockout the odds favored the employer because he had the longer purse; few unions could afford to support their members through prolonged unemployment.

(4) *Public opinion was distrustful of labor unions.* Laborers formed a minority group in America, and unions were an unfamiliar type of organization. Fixing wages and hours by collective bargaining between union representatives and employers seemed to violate the right of the individual to deal with the employer himself. Occasionally public opinion condemned employers when labor disputes resulted in violence. This happened during the Homestead lockout in 1892, when the Carnegie Steel Com-



Harper's Weekly

The railroad strike of 1877 resulted in the most violent upheaval in the history of American labor. In several places, such as the city of Baltimore (shown here), there were clashes between troops and strikers. Labor unions learned that such violence hurt their cause, and responsible labor leaders thereafter tried to avoid it, however, and a "lunatic fringe" of anarchists preached that violence was necessary to destroy capitalism.

pany hired a private army of 300 Pinkerton detectives armed with repeating rifles. Generally, however, labor unions were held responsible when disorder occurred, partly because anarchists and extreme socialists loudly predicted a day when the "toiling masses" would overthrow existing society.

(5) *Law enforcement agencies usually sided with the employers.* Although employers suffered no penalties for lockouts and black lists, strikes or boycotts were judged "conspiracies in restraint of trade" for which labor leaders might be jailed or fined. Contracts between employers and unions were not usually enforceable by law. When violence occurred, or even threatened, the police and sometimes troops were arrayed

on the side of the employers. Occasionally employers were permitted to hire armed guards and make them deputy sheriffs.

Labor unions survived all obstacles, although membership fluctuated according to business conditions. During the lean years following the Panic of 1873, union membership dropped from over 300,000 to 50,000. Three million men were unemployed; tramps and hoboes roamed the countryside; workers' mass meetings to demand relief were suppressed by mounted police. Such conditions created bitterness leading to violence.

This "Great Upheaval" of the 1870's culminated in the railroad strike of 1877, the most destructive labor dispute in American history.

Railroad Strike of 1877

Starting as a protest against a simultaneous wage cut by four eastern railroads, the strike spread to beyond Chicago. In city after city, strikers seized and sometimes destroyed railroad property; in Pittsburgh alone the Pennsylvania Railroad lost 2,000 cars, 25 locomotives, two roundhouses and a railroad station. Militia and workers fought pitched battles. In much of the violence railroad men themselves were less involved than teen-age boys who, unable to find employment, were on the loose. Although in fact the disorders were usually spontaneous, newspaper editors saw in them "an insurrection, a revolution, an attempt of communists and vagabonds to coerce society, and endeavour to undermine American institutions." In several cities order was restored only after President Hayes had sent federal troops, but Hayes himself was disturbed. He felt that the railroad workers had much justice on their side, and that the railroad officials had brought on the crisis by their own ruthless actions. The President confided in his diary, "Shall the railroads govern the country or shall the people govern the railroads?"

The railroad strike had complex results. There was such fear of violent revolution that state militias were reorganized and great armories were built in cities as fortresses where troops could hold out. Union leaders learned from the strike that violence hurt labor's cause. A way to prevent it was to organize unions with sufficient discipline to discourage mob action. Employers were often more resolved than ever to discourage union organization, but many of them realized that to do this they must treat their workmen better. Indiscriminate wage cutting in times of depression became less common; a few companies began to take active steps to promote their workers' welfare by making provisions for old age pensions and free hospital service.

The Knights of Labor

As business improved, a new national labor organization, the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, grew in strength. Founded in 1869 as a secret society (partly to evade the black list), the Knights of Labor came into the open in 1878 and endeavored to bring all laboring men—skilled and unskilled, Negroes and whites, men and women, white collar and manual workers—into one big union. The only people excluded belonged to occupations regarded as harmful or parasitic, such as saloon keepers, gamblers, lawyers, and bankers. At the head of the Order, with the title Grand Master Workman, was Terence V. Powderly, an immigrant who rose from railway switch tender to mayor of Scranton, Pennsylvania. An eloquent speaker and tireless organizer, Powderly had great hopes for his union. "We seek and intend," he said, "to enlist the services of men of every society, of every party, and every religion, and every nation in the crusade we have inaugurated against those twin monsters, tyranny and monopoly."

Powderly persuaded the Knights to support a great variety of reforms, such as equal pay for men and women, temperance, the abolition of child labor, and above all, the establishment of cooperatively owned industrial plants. A man of peace, he opposed strikes and wished to submit labor disputes to arbitration by impartial third parties. Local assemblies of the Knights were less interested, however, in remaking society than in securing immediate gains; sometimes they started strikes which Powderly had to support to preserve his organization. In 1885 the Knights gained tremendous prestige by winning a strike against the Wabash Railway, then owned by Jay Gould. Membership soared from 100,000 to 700,000 in less than a year. Conservative newspapers feared that Powderly, the "labor czar," would become stronger than the President.

Decline of the Knights of Labor

The Knights of Labor were soon beset with troubles. Members called strikes before they had sufficient funds or discipline, and Powderly directed them badly. Like the Grangers, the Knights wasted their funds in unsuccessful attempts to set up cooperative businesses. The effort to bring all kinds of labor into one big union failed. Laborers in different crafts and industries had little interest in working for common goals. Unskilled laborers were too often undisciplined and too willing to use violence; if a strike failed, or the men were blacklisted, they drifted into other jobs. Skilled workers, however, had more to lose and were more vulnerable to the blacklist.

The decline of the Knights was hastened by the Haymarket Square riot in Chicago on May 4, 1886. This event had its origin in a peaceful meeting of three thousand workers called to protest the shooting of striking workers by the police. Even the mayor of Chicago attended. As the meeting was beginning to disperse, someone threw a dynamite bomb into a company of policemen. Although the identity of the bomb-thrower was never established, eight known anarchist leaders were arrested and found guilty of participation in the crime. Four were executed for murder. The Haymarket riot encouraged opponents of labor organization to pin the "anarchist" label on the Knights of Labor, even though the Knights condemned the attack on the police as the work of "cowardly murderers."

From 1886 on the Knights declined as rapidly as they had grown. By 1893 their numbers had dwindled to 75,000. But their brief success was an immense stimulus to those who hoped to organize workers into an effective counterforce to the power of the corporations, and their failure taught lessons from which other labor organizations, such as the American Federation of Labor, benefited.

The American Federation of Labor

In 1886, the very year the Knights of Labor began to decline, the American Federation of Labor appeared. In principles and in structure the new organization differed greatly from the Knights. Its members were skilled laborers, organized into separate unions, each covering a particular craft. Each union managed its own

affairs and fought its own battles, with only occasional help from the national organization. Initiation fees and dues

QUESTION • If each union managed its own affairs, of what use was the AFL? Why has it survived?

were relatively high, in order to restrict membership, build up strike funds, and provide benefits to members and their families in case of sickness, unemployment, or death.

The new AFL owed much of its success to Samuel Gompers, its president for thirty-seven years. Born in London, Gompers brought to America some of the ideas of British trade unions, the best established and least revolutionary in the world. Gompers, who prided himself on being a practical man, repudiated ambitious reform schemes and was interested only in the day-to-day gains of federation members. He came to feel that socialists and radicals hurt the labor movement by frightening the public. His own personality did much to allay popular fear of labor unions and their leaders. Dressed in a Prince Albert coat, he looked and behaved much like a banker. Yet he devoted his life to the federation, and died a poor man.

So effective was the organization and leadership of the American Federation of Labor that when hard times hit again in 1893, the unions composing it not only survived but gained members, while other labor organizations declined. Between 1890 and 1900, AFL membership rose from 190,000 to 500,000.



Under the moderate guidance of Samuel Gompers, the American Federation of Labor became strong enough to hold out during the Panic of 1893. At a trade meeting in 1905 (above), Gompers is addressing a large crowd of garment workers, including many women who had by then joined unions. He aimed to organize skilled workers into horizontal unions that could monopolize certain skills (see diagram, page 638).

The American Railway Union and the Pullman Strike of 1894

The AFL failed to provide for unskilled and semi-skilled labor. To correct this and yet avoid the weakness of the "one big union" approach of the Knights, a new type of labor organization appeared. This was the industrial union, in which all classes of workers in a single industry are welded together. In some ways it resembles a vertical trust. Among those impressed by its advantages was Eugene V. Debs, an officer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, one of several railway unions representing different kinds of jobs. He felt that the division of railwaymen into different unions weakened their power. Conductors and engineers, the "aristocracy of labor," looked down on less skilled and lower paid men, and the unskilled had no organization at all. Debs

therefore started a new organization in 1893, the American Railway Union, with headquarters in Chicago. It was not an auspicious time to found a new organization because it was a panic year. Nevertheless, the new union grew rapidly; it included all types of railway workers—switchmen, firemen, conductors, engineers, telegraph operators, station clerks, brakemen. In 1894 it was powerful enough to force James J. Hill to restore wage cuts to employees of the Great Northern Railway.

Hardly had the Great Northern strike ended than the Pullman strike began. This largest walkout the country had ever seen started in the pretty little town that George M. Pullman, the sleeping car manufacturer, had built for his workers. When the Panic of 1893 reduced demand for its cars, the Pullman Company laid off two-thirds of its employees and cut the

wages of the rest. It did not reduce either its dividends or the rents charged to workers in the town of Pullman. When a delegation protested the pay cuts, its members were fired. Most Pullman workers then struck, and Pullman locked out the rest.

Pullman workers who were members of the American Railway Union called on it for help. Debs proposed that the dispute be referred to arbitration, but Pullman replied, "There is nothing to arbitrate." The American Railway Union thereupon declared a boycott, in which union members refused to work on any train which included a Pullman car. Pullman had an ally, however, in the Railway Managers Association, made up of the heads of all twenty-four railroads running into Chicago. The managers ran Pullman cars, even on trains that did not ordinarily include them. The result was that five days after the boycott began in late June 1894, 100,000 railwaymen had quit work, and railway traffic west of Chicago was almost paralyzed. Debs warned his followers not to interfere with United States mails, and appealed to them to be "orderly and law-abiding." Although a few mail trains were delayed, usually when combined with Pullman cars, there were few disturbances.

Labor and the Injunction

The Pullman strike was defeated by the federal government. Over the protests of the mayor of Chicago and governor of Illinois, who claimed they had matters in hand, President Cleveland sent federal troops to guard mail trains. Immediately rioting broke out as angry mobs, sympathetic to the strikers, taunted the soldiers. Members of the American Railway Union kept out of trouble, but nevertheless received the blame. Even before the troops appeared, the federal government also took judicial action. On application of the U.S. Attorney General, a federal judge issued an injunction

(court order) forbidding any interference with transportation in interstate commerce and any attempt to persuade railway workers to quit work. The judge held that the strike was a conspiracy in restraint of trade and therefore a violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. On refusing to obey, Debs was jailed for contempt of court. Deprived of his leadership, the Pullman strike collapsed and with it the American Railway Union.

From that time on, labor unions demanded that the use of the injunction in labor disputes be abolished. Even outside labor circles there was strong feeling that putting Debs in jail was an unfair extension of judicial power. The *Springfield Republican*, one of the most influential newspapers in the country, said, "If Debs has been violating the law, let him be indicted, tried by a jury, and punished. Let him not be made the victim of an untenable court order and deprived of his liberty entirely within the discretion of a judge."

Gains of Labor

Although labor unions lost more disputes than they won, and most workers remained entirely unorganized, laborers made genuine gains during the latter nineteenth century. The deflation, which hurt the farmer, helped workingmen by lowering the cost of food. Improved technology produced better and cheaper goods. As we have seen, real wages increased, even though the average work day was reduced from 12 hours to 10 hours between 1830 and 1900.

Federal and state legislation reflected the growing political influence of labor. To keep imported labor from depressing wages, Congress passed the first laws restricting immigration. In 1882 Chinese laborers were excluded, and in 1885 it was forbidden to import workers under contract. Several states gave labor unions a new legal status by granting them the right

to incorporate. Nearly all states passed laws regulating working conditions and requiring minimum standards of health and safety.

The gains won by legislation and by unions themselves were supplemented by the action of enlightened employers, motivated either by the desire to head off unionization or by genuine concern for their workers. The Standard Oil Company and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad pioneered in providing old age pensions, and the latter firm also provided benefits in case of

injury. The Pillsbury Flour Company attempted to increase its employees' sense of participation in the business by sharing profits; its example was widely copied.

REFORMERS AND RADICALS

Although commonly noted for other phenomena, such as industrial progress and agrarian discontent, the period after the Civil War, like the Jacksonian period, hatched "a fertility

John Peter Altgeld, Eagle Forgotten



He pardoned three anarchists convicted of murder. He charged a President of the United States with the "invasion of Illinois." And to many, he is known only through a poem by Vachel Lindsay.

John Peter Altgeld, son of poor German immigrants and one-time railroad laborer, was elected reform governor of Illinois in 1892. A Democrat, one of the truly progressive leaders in the politics of the 1890's, he seldom agreed with Democratic President Grover Cleveland. His single term in office severely tested his convictions.

In 1893 petitions for release of three notorious prisoners were submitted to him. Eight admitted anarchists had been convicted of murder following the Haymarket riot. Four had been hanged and one had committed suicide; only these three were still alive. In the language of Altgeld's pardon, no proof of their guilt had ever been established, so he set them free. His state and the nation heartily disagreed with him.

In 1894, when the Pullman strike crisis gripped Chicago, President Cleveland sent federal troops into the city to guard the mail trains, thus effectively breaking the strike. Governor Altgeld sent a bitter message to Washington, denouncing the "invasion" without a prior request for troops from the state government.

His position was legally correct, but the voters of Illinois did not support it. Despite his many reforms, among them the eight-hour day for women and the use of the secret ballot, they elected another man in 1897. But Altgeld remains a symbol of the courageous politicians who have advanced reform—slowly and haltingly—against heavy odds, as honored in Vachel Lindsay's lines:

"Sleep softly . . . eagle forgotten . . . under the stone.
Time has its way with you there and the clay has its own.
Sleep on, O brave-hearted, O wise man that kindled the flame—
To live in mankind is far more than to live in a name,
To live in mankind, far, far more . . . than to live in a name!"

(Theme 3, see p. xii)



Among new opportunities for women living in the big cities were positions as stenographers and switchboard operators. Here, in a New York City office of the telephone company, many women were able to find employment and thus earn their own living.

of projects for the salvation of the world." Indeed, several reform movements of the earlier period continued their agitation. The temperance movement, for instance, was never more active. Supporters of prohibition formed a political party, and from 1872 on they ran a presidential candidate. Much more effective in promoting temperance, however, were two national organizations that waged a ceaseless campaign against the evils of liquor and the saloon: the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Women's Rights

The WCTU revealed again what the U.S. Sanitary Commission had shown during the Civil War: that women were learning the techniques of large-scale organization. The industrial cities offered women new job opportunities. The invention of the typewriter and telephone, for instance, created a need for thousands

of stenographers and switchboard operators. Added to the independence gained from earning their own living was the fact that girls had the same public school education as boys. Women gained more chance for higher education with the opening of women's colleges, such as Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, and Bryn Mawr, and the advance of coeducation in state institutions.

It was no wonder that women continued to demand the right to vote, and received support from the other sex. Wendell Phillips, a former abolitionist, argued their case as follows:

One of two things is true: either a woman is like a man—and if she is, then a ballot based on brains belongs to her as well as to him; or she is different, and then man does not know how to vote for her as well as she herself does.

Both the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor supported woman suffrage. By 1900, eighteen states had given women the

right to vote in school board elections; four—Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho—had granted them full voting rights.

Grappling with New Problems: Jacob A. Riis and Jane Addams

The most all-pervasive and difficult problems to be faced were not those inherited from earlier periods, but those connected with industrialism and urbanization. The suggested solutions were as various as the problems. Some people looked back to an earlier morality for answers. Thus some pious folk sought to enforce the Puritan Sabbath as a means of regenerating the city. As a result restaurants and amusement places were closed, and there were even efforts to forbid the running of trains and streetcars. The railway strike of 1877 and the Haymarket riot of 1886 greatly alarmed those who feared immigrants carrying dangerous foreign "isms." A few politicians, notably Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, professed to see a menace to America in the "new immigration" from southern and eastern Europe and advocated legislation that would discriminate against "alien races." A short-lived national organization, the American Protective Association, which had much the same philosophy as the Know Nothings of the 1850's, also sought to restrict immigration, and to bar Catholics from office as well.

Such negative and defensive reactions did not grapple with the realities of life in factories, shops, and slums. One of those who did face these realities was Jacob A. Riis, a Danish-American police reporter for New York newspapers. In the course of his work, Riis had seen again and again the connection between slums and human degradation. In 1890 he focused public attention on the slum evil in a best-selling book, *How the Other Half Lives*. By appealing to public conscience, Riis secured legislation that reduced the worst slum con-

ditions, along with other measures that improved the lives of city dwellers, such as playgrounds for schools. Among his close friends was a rising young Republican politician, Theodore Roosevelt, whom he "educated" by taking him into tenements, sweatshops, and jails.

In the year before *How the Other Half Lives* was published, Jane Addams founded Hull House, the most famous American settlement house, in a Chicago slum. Inspired by a passionate desire to put her Christian faith to work, and modeling her endeavor on Toynbee Hall, a settlement house in England, Jane Addams was determined to improve the life of the "other half." Hull House soon carried on activities as various as cooking classes, an art gallery, a gymnasium, hot lunches for factory workers, and classes in English. Above all, it was interested in children, on the principle that "a fence at the top of a precipice is better than an ambulance at the bottom." Miss Addams soon surrounded herself with young people who were glad to enlist in a war against human suffering. (See biographical sketch, p. 539.)

Religious conviction and desire to serve humanity were also the motivating forces behind the foundation of other settlement houses, such as the Henry Street Settlement in New York City, the Santa Maria Institute in Cincinnati, and South End House in Boston. In addition to their immediate services to the people in their neighborhoods, the settlement houses were schools where hundreds of men and women learned the conditions of life among the poor and then went into politics to promote reform legislation, either as lobbyists or as officeholders. "Graduates" of Hull House, for instance, were instrumental in securing the first playgrounds and public baths in Chicago, better garbage collection, and the first Illinois factory inspection law. Trained in a New York settlement house, Frances Perkins embarked on a political



Museum of the City of New York

The Brooklyn Bridge, longest span in the world at the time it was built, was designed by John Augustus Roebling, a German-born engineer who was killed on the job in 1869. The work was completed fourteen years later by his son, Washington Augustus Roebling.

career that reached a climax when she became the first woman in a President's cabinet (see p. 620 for biographical sketch).

Beautifying the City

Among the indictments against the sprawling industrial cities were their ugliness and their lack of provision for rest and recreation. Architects and landscape designers were among those who sought remedies. In 1876 New York City opened Central Park, designed by Frederick L. Olmstead as "a great breathing space for the toiling masses." Many other cities followed New York's example. In 1893 Chicago cele-

brated (a year late) the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by putting on a great exposition. The country was astonished as "a rough, tangled stretch of bog and dune" along Lake Michigan was changed to a gleaming "White City," with buildings in classical style surrounded by lagoons and greenswards.

The Chicago Columbian Exposition revealed that American architecture was emerging from the period of ignorance and bad taste into which it had fallen earlier in the nineteenth century. The best American architects now thoroughly understood European styles, and

adapted them for modern use. The firm of McKim, Mead, and White used Italian Renaissance style in designing the Boston Public Library. Henry Richardson adapted Romanesque style for churches, libraries, warehouses, and department stores. The Transportation Building at the Chicago Exposition, designed by Louis Sullivan, did not imitate earlier styles. Sullivan preached a new concept: "Form follows function." He meant that the architect should rid himself of tradition and create buildings whose design should reveal their purposes and methods of construction. Sullivan's influence, both direct and later through the work of his famous pupil Frank Lloyd Wright, was world-wide.

The finest example of a structure whose form expressed its function was the Brooklyn Bridge, completed in 1883, some sixteen years after it was begun. Hung from great steel cables with a span half again as great as that of any previous bridge, it was designed and constructed by two German-Americans, John A. Roebling and his son Washington Augustus Roebling. The Roeblings, one of whom was killed on the job and the other crippled, succeeded in their intention of making their bridge "a great work of art," and "a great example of advanced...engineering" which should "forever testify to the energy, enterprise, and wealth" of New York City.

Socialism: Karl Marx and Edward Bellamy

Wherever industrialism appeared, it drove some people toward extreme solutions of the problems it created—especially toward socialism. Something seemed wrong with a system which produced both idle rich living in palaces and unemployed paupers living in slums. Some were impelled toward socialism by unjust treatment: Eugene V. Debs, for instance, became a lifelong convert after his imprisonment in a Woodstock, Ill., jail during the Pullman strike.

There are many types of socialism, but those with the most impact on the modern world stem

from the writings of Karl Marx, especially *The Communist Manifesto* (1847), and *Capital* (1867–1895). Marx, who wrote with force and buttressed his opinions with great learning, predicted that capitalism was doomed. Fewer and fewer businessmen, he said, would monopolize all wealth, while the mass of the people would

QUESTION • Marxian Communists have failed to gain control of highly industrialized countries, which Marx expected would be the first to fall, and yet they have succeeded in slightly industrialized countries such as Russia and China. Can you find an explanation?

be pushed into the ranks of the proletariat (people without property). Eventually the proletarians, preferring the risk of death at the barricades in violent revolution to slow starvation in the factories and slums, would rise

and overthrow their masters. History, said Marx, had seen continuous class struggles, but that between industrial workers and capitalists would be the last. When the workers won, they would establish a classless society which would continue happily ever after. Marx called on proletarians everywhere to join his crusade: "Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

Marxian socialism enlisted millions of workers in the industrial countries of Europe. In America, however, it gained only a small following, mostly among immigrant groups in big cities. Although these people talked about "the revolution" as though it were just around the corner, and published violent little newspapers with titles like *The Volcano*, they were not much of a threat to American society. Marxian socialism appeals less to the poor themselves than to intellectuals who are alienated for some reason or another from the society in which they live and who are looking for a new creed and cause. In any case, Marxism needs for its nurture widespread economic distress, which has ap-

peared in this country only briefly during periods of severe depression.

More widely read than any of Marx's works was a socialist novel by Edward Bellamy called *Looking Backward, 2000–1887*. This told the story of a nineteenth century American who awoke from a prolonged hypnotic trance to find himself alive in a socialist paradise in the year 2000. By that time all business had been merged into one big trust run by the people themselves. There was work and leisure for all—no poverty, no crime. Bellamy's vision of a socialist utopia made such an impact that his book sold nearly half a million copies, and numerous Nationalist Clubs were founded to advance his ideas. Bellamy had no real program for promoting his ideas, however, and his following drifted into other reform movements.

Henry George and the Single Tax

A third writer with a formula for remaking society was Henry George, whose major work, *Progress and Poverty*, was published in 1879. George attacked the central problem posed by the socialists: Why should the advance of the industrial revolution, with more and more machinery for producing wealth, apparently result in more poverty? George found the answer in the tendency of men to monopolize land and hold it out of use while waiting for a rise in value. Since all wealth comes ultimately from the soil or from under it, the degree to which land is not used is also the degree to which society is poorer than it should be. Also, since land is a "limited commodity"—there being just so much of it—monopolistic landlords can charge excessive rents and thereby drive down wages and business profits.

A believer in private property, George did not propose socialism as a remedy. Instead, he urged what he called the "single tax" on land values. The rate of the single tax would be based not on existing value but on *potential*

value if the land were used efficiently. Thus there would be no profit in keeping land out of use and waiting for a rise; an owner would either have to develop it himself or sell it to someone else who would do so. George argued that this would cause prosperity by promoting maximum productivity and by plowing the profits of the land monopoly back into society. His ideas had great appeal at a time when the American people were beginning to realize that the frontier was closing and when they were dismayed by the growth of monopoly.

Progress and Poverty for a time outsold all other books, including works of fiction. Henry George ran for mayor of New York City in 1886 and came close to winning, even without backing from the Republican or Democratic machines. Single-tax clubs and magazines also spread his ideas. Although the single tax idea was too radical a change to get complete acceptance, it influenced methods of taxation both in this country and abroad.

Probably the basic reason why no radical formula for altering society gained wide support was that Americans were on the whole too prosperous to want change. Even those at the bottom often felt they were better off than formerly. A New England farm boy might prefer drawing wages of a dollar a day for a 60-hour week in a factory to working from dawn to dark trying to scabble a living from a rocky farm. A Polish immigrant might be living with his family in a single room and working in a windowless sweatshop, but for the first time in his life he was wearing shoes; he had also escaped a six-year term of conscription in the Russian army. Furthermore, the United States was so large and had so many different interests that no one idea had universal appeal. Americans wanting to promote their interests worked habitually through political parties. These tried to appeal, by a process of bargaining and compromise, to as many groups as possible.

Activities: Chapter 17

For Mastery and Review

1. Explain the elements of unfairness in each of the following railroad abuses: construction company fees, stock watering, "long and short haul" rates, rebates.

2. Who were the Patrons of Husbandry? Why were the Granger Laws passed? Why did they fail?

3. Why was the Interstate Commerce Act passed? What were its terms? Was it immediately a success or a failure? What was its long-term significance?

4. What phenomena does the quantity theory of money seek to explain? According to the theory, what is the means whereby a government may raise prices or lower them? Define the gold standard.

5. When caught by deflation, why did farmers demand the issuance of greenbacks, and later the free coinage of silver? What were the intent and the effect of the Bland-Allison Act?

6. What were the purposes and the terms of the National Bank Act of 1863? What were the virtues of the national bank system? For what reasons did farmers seek to abolish it?

7. What were the purposes and provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Act? Compare its effectiveness in regard to business organization and organized labor. Why was the law important?

8. Why did Karl Marx predict a socialist revolution? Why did Marxian socialism have little appeal in the United States?

9. Compare, perhaps in parallel columns, the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, and the American Railway Union in regard to organization, purposes, leadership, and success.

10. What efforts were made to improve the appearances of cities and the lot of slum dwellers?

Who, What, and Why Important?

William Dean Howells
stock watering
the Grange
Montgomery Ward & Co.

Munn v. Illinois
Wabash Railroad case
Interstate Commerce
Act

quantity theory
Gresham's Law
Bland-Allison Act
Sherman Antitrust Act
railroad strike of 1877
Knights of Labor
Terence V. Powderly
Haymarket Square riot
AFL
American Railway Union

Pullman strike
real wages
Anti-Saloon League
woman suffrage
Jacob Riis
the Chicago Exposition
Louis Sullivan
Karl Marx
Edward Bellamy
Henry George

To Pursue the Matter

1. Study the decision of the Supreme Court in *Munn v. Illinois*, 1877, to be found in Bragdon *et al.*, *Frame of Government*, pp. 250-257. What did this decision say about the power of government in general and of the states in particular?

2. Are railroads now natural monopolies? How have technological advances changed the situation? Were the Granger Laws fair to all concerned?

3. Read "A Great Monopoly" and "Rockefeller and the Oil Trust" in Arnoff, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 306-311. Then prepare a formal condemnation of Rockefeller's business practices and a formal defense of them. These might be presented as a debate before the class. You may want to go further and read Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, or Latham, *John D. Rockefeller: Robber Baron or Industrial Statesman?*

5. What factors besides the supply of money cause price inflation or deflation? By what means can each be checked or controlled?

6. What makes a locality a slum? Who is at fault? What can be done to prevent or to clean up slums?

7. Read the chapter on Karl Marx in Heilbroner, *The Worldly Philosophers*. What made Marx so persuasive and convincing to so many people?

8. Read in Merrill, *Bourbon Leader: Grover Cleveland and the Democratic party*, and in Ginger, *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene V. Debs*, about the actions of the two men in the Pullman strike. Which man do you favor? Again, here is material for a debate.

Chapter 18

Parties and Politics

*No period so thoroughly ordinary
had been known since Columbus
first disturbed the balance of American society.*

—HENRY ADAMS

The generation following the Civil War saw American politics at their lowest ebb. The ablest men were no longer attracted to public service. It has been pointed out that if you draw up one list of Americans prominent before the war and another of those prominent after it, "You will find that your first list is made up of men engaged in politics, your second of men engaged in business."

Politics became, indeed, a business in which the first requirement was to get into office and stay there, and the principal purpose was too often private gain.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION

At every level of government—local, state, and national—corruption flourished. Many new obligations, such as police protection, water supply, and sewage disposal, were suddenly thrust on ill-paid city officials. At the same time businessmen were eager to get contracts for such services as paving streets, erecting public

buildings, and constructing streetcar lines. The result was a corrupt alliance of business and politics. Almost

*QUESTION • What do
people want most, an honest
government or a helpful
government?*

every major city was dominated by a more or less dishonest political machine, riveted

in power by its control over voting machinery, the courts, and the police. Occasionally the looting of city treasuries became so flagrant that angry citizens became sufficiently aroused to "throw the rascals out," and put in a reform administration. But the reformers usually did not stay long in office. They were amateurs up against professionals. Furthermore, the early municipal reformers were usually interested only in economy and honest administration. They did not grasp, as did the professional politicians, that in a large city there were thousands of people who needed help. The machines made it part of their business to take care of the poor and unfortunate. The loyalty and gratitude they

received in return was a large source of their strength.

The Tweed Ring

A most notorious example of municipal corruption was the Tweed Ring, which gained control of Tammany Hall, the Democratic machine in New York City, in 1868 and managed in three years to steal an amount estimated to have been anywhere from \$45,000,000 to \$200,000,000. Typical of the methods of "Boss" William M. Tweed and his associates was the building of a county courthouse that should have cost \$250,000 and actually cost \$8,000,000. Contractors were compelled to add large sums to their bills and give the extra money to the ring. Businessmen who dared to protest were silenced by threat of higher taxes.

The Tweed Ring was attacked by *The New York Times* and by Thomas Nast of *Harper's Weekly*. *The Times*, resisting threats and bribes, published overwhelming evidence of the ring's dishonesty, and Nast, a great cartoonist, held it up to ridicule. So effective was Nast's attack that Tweed remarked: "I don't care a straw for your newspaper articles: my people don't know how to read, but they can't help seeing them . . . pictures." Aroused citizens, led by Samuel J. Tilden, finally drove the ring from power. Fleeing to Spain, Tweed was brought back and imprisoned.

But Tammany Hall remained in power in New York, and graft continued, although probably never again on quite such a scale as under Tweed. The "best people" held aloof from city hall because politics was "a dirty game." Meanwhile, whatever their motives, the members of the machine were in direct touch with the people. From dawn to far into the night, local leaders were at the service of the people in their neighborhoods:

By these means the Tammany district leader reaches out into the homes of his district, keeps

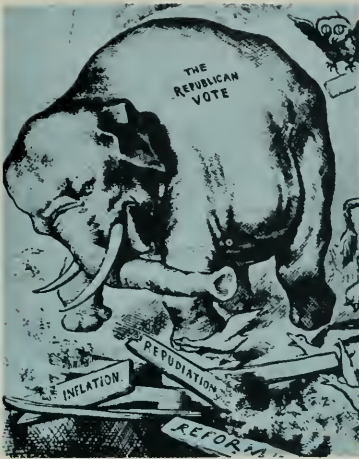
watch not only on the men, but also on the women and children; knows their needs, their likes and dislikes, their troubles and their hopes, and places himself in a position to use his knowledge for the benefit of his organization and himself. Is it any wonder that scandals do not permanently disable Tammany and that it speedily recovers from what seems to be crushing defeat?

Dishonesty on State and Federal Levels

At the state level, politics were nearly as corrupt as in the cities. When Jay Gould controlled the Erie Railroad, he was reported to have spent \$500,000 in bribes during a single session of the New York state legislature. Of the relations between the Standard Oil Company and the government of Pennsylvania an observer wrote, "The Standard has done everything with the Pennsylvania legislature except to refine it."

National politics was less corrupt, on the whole, than local, partly because public attention was focused on Washington. Nevertheless dishonesty was widespread. In 1872 it was revealed that officers of the Union Pacific Railroad, built with federal aid, had formed their own construction company, the *Crédit Mobilier*, and so overcharged the railroad that *Crédit Mobilier* dividends ran as high as 350 per cent. To forestall investigation, the company distributed shares of stock "where it would do the most good" among congressmen. Several prominent men in Congress were involved in this scandal.

By far the worst misconduct occurred during President Grant's administration. Although Grant was personally honest, he seemed unable to distinguish honest men from crooks. Dazzled by wealth, he publicly associated with such men as James J. Fisk and Jay Gould, who reaped millions of dollars from their contacts with the President and his subordinates. People close to Grant—members of his family, his personal staff, and his cabinet—peddled influence and jobs in return for cash. Thus a group of whiskey distillers were able to evade millions



Thomas Nast, of *Harper's Weekly*, was perhaps the most effective political cartoonist in the history of the United States. The elephant as the symbol of the Republican party was his invention, and first appeared in the 1874 cartoon at left. The Democratic donkey, labeled "Copperheads Papers," is here shown kicking Secretary of War Stanton after his death in 1869. This was the first time Nast used the donkey to symbolize the Democratic party, although it had previously been used by others.

of dollars in excise taxes, and a corrupt Indian agent was able to keep his job at a cost of \$40,000 in payments to the wife of a cabinet officer. Grant's brother at one time held four jobs at once, farming out the duties to other men. When the graft in his administration was finally brought to light, Grant wrote that he wanted to "let no guilty man escape," but he later protected those accused of wrongdoing from both investigation and punishment.

There was some improvement in political honesty after the Grant administration, but the spoils system was a constant source of inefficiency, and sometimes of graft. Disputes over patronage poisoned the relationship between the President and Congress and consumed an appalling amount of time. Only the assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed office seeker finally shocked Congress into taking steps to diminish the evil.

THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

In *The American Commonwealth*, James Bryce had difficulty explaining to English readers the characteristics of the major American parties. He could get no consistent answer as to how Democrats and Republicans stood on major issues such as the tariff and railroad regulation. "Neither party has, as a party, anything to say on these issues; neither party has any clean-cut principles. . . . All has been lost, except office or the hope of it." The hard core of each party was a group of professional politicians whose business was winning elections. Their usual tendency was either to avoid issues entirely or to try to appear all things to all men. The humorist "Mr. Dooley" described the ideal presidential candidate as follows:

Wanted: a good, active Dimmocrat, sthrong iv lung an' limb; must be . . . a sympathizer with th'

crushed an' down throdde people but not be anny means hostile to vested inthrests; must advocate strikes, gover'mint be injunction, free silver, sound money, greenbacks, a single tax, a tariff fr rivinoo . . . at home in Wall sthreet an' th' stock yards, in th' parlors iv th' r-rich an' th' kitchens iv th' poor.

The Republican Party

The Republican party had come into power in 1861 with the support of eastern businessmen and western farmers. Each group had its own demands, but they were united in opposition to the spread of slavery. Not only was slavery abolished as a result of the Civil War, but legislation passed during the war fulfilled eastern demands for a high tariff and stronger banks, as well as western demands for free land and federal aid to railroads. Thus the Republicans enjoyed the support of several groups owing it gratitude: freedmen, manufacturers, officers and stockholders of national banks, homesteaders, owners of western railroads. In addition, the Republicans could count on the support of the powerful organization of Union veterans called the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR for short).

The Republicans had a patron saint in Abraham Lincoln, whose birthday they honored by banquets and oratory. Above all, they had immense prestige as the party that won the Civil War. "The party that saved the nation must rule it," they proclaimed. This explains why Republicans kept alive war hatreds by "waving the bloody shirt." It would not be fair, however, to dismiss the Republican party as nothing but a bundle of interest groups attempting to win elections by enmities better forgotten. Its strength came from genuine devotion to the idea of the United States as a nation rather than as a federation of states. A number of its members were inspired by the idealism that characterized the party in its early years; in 1872 and again in 1884, this reform element "bolted" to

the Democrats in protest against political corruption.

The great problem of the Republican party was to keep together its eastern wing, dominated by bankers and industrialists, and its "grass roots" western wing, dominated by farmers. The two groups were likely to break into open warfare over such issues as greenbacks, free silver, tariffs, and banking. Usually, however, they managed to maintain an uneasy alliance for the purpose of winning elections. In general, the Middle West provided the presidential candidates, while the East provided the party funds.

The Democratic Party

The Democrats were so used to being out of office, according to "Mr. Dooley," that when writing their platform they forgot how to say "we commend," but automatically began to "denounce and deplore." The party strength centered in an alliance, formed in Jefferson's day, between Southerners and northern city machines, such as Tammany Hall. Both groups could "deliver the vote." From the end of Radical reconstruction until well into the twentieth century, the Solid South never wavered in its allegiance to the Democrats; New York City was almost as consistent. The Democrats had allies among western farmers, especially when prices were low, and among certain classes of businessmen, such as international bankers and importers who favored a lower tariff. They also attracted men doing municipal business, such as contractors and owners of street railways.

The Democratic party had two patron saints—Jefferson and Jackson. The Democrats claimed to be more concerned with the common man than their opponents, and tended to enlist more support from recent immigrants. However, the party labored under the handicap that wiped out the Federalists after the War of 1812: the charge of disloyalty. Although during the Civil

War most northern Democrats had supported the Union, the party had included a few "Copperheads." It naturally became Democratic strategy to urge that war hatreds be forgotten.

The Democratic party was perhaps more difficult to hold together than the Republican. The northern and southern wings were united in little save opposition to the Republicans. There was little in common between eastern city machines and southern farmers. At the time of the Hayes-Tilden election, conservative southern Democrats abandoned their candidate and arranged with Republican leaders the Compromise of 1877 (see pp. 373-374).

Pressure Groups and Lobbies

Although the Republican party held the upper hand, the Democrats were seldom far out of the running. In four of the eight presidential elections between 1868 and 1896, the difference in popular vote was less than 1 per cent of the total ballot. Hard times tend to hurt the party in power, and when there was a depression, Republican strength dropped. The Panic of 1873 helped to produce a "tidal wave" in the mid-term election of 1874, in which the Democrats wiped out a two-thirds Republican majority.

With the major parties so evenly divided, small changes in voting strength might decide elections. This opened the way for well-organized pressure groups. Lobbyists exerted such pressure that they were called "the third House of Congress." The great corporations regularly contributed to campaign funds, often to those of both parties, regarding such payments as "insurance" against unfavorable legislation. But business groups were not always supreme. Pressure from southern and western inflationists pushed the Bland-Allison Act through Congress in spite of opposition from bankers and bondholders (see p. 431). Similarly the strength of organized labor was seen in immigration

restriction acts, passed over the opposition of shipping companies and employers. On the whole, the different interests within each party were so evenly balanced that they canceled each other out.

FLUCTUATING PARTY FORTUNES, 1877-1893

After the Reconstruction period came to an end, as a recent historian remarks, the federal government was "the epitome of lethargy. It was astonishingly idle." While the country was agitated over such matters as railroad abuses, labor conflicts, and the growth of monopoly, the two major parties spent their time fighting sham battles over petty and often irrelevant issues.

There were several reasons for this divorce between politics and reality. One was the remarkably even division of party strength; seldom was one party in control of the presidency and both houses of Congress. The power of the presidency itself was at a low ebb, so there was little opportunity for strong executive leadership. In Congress itself leadership was fragmented among committee chairmen. But perhaps the most important reason for inaction was the prevailing *laissez faire* philosophy. The federal government did not act because it was supposed to leave things alone.

The administration of President Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-1881) saw a slight but definite rise in both the tone of politics and the power of the presidency. Hayes put Carl Schurz, a noted reformer, in charge of the Department of the Interior, which heretofore had been the happy hunting ground of the spoilsmen. He also forbade the practice of "shaking down" officeholders for campaign contributions. Hayes defied congressional leaders in making major appointments and in refusing to allow Congress to use "riders" (irrelevant amendments) as a means of coercing him into accepting legislation

he disapproved of. He vetoed seven appropriation bills with riders attached, and finally won a clearcut victory.

The Election of 1880

Hayes had won the resentment of a group of Republican machine politicians, calling themselves "Stalwarts," who were strongly opposed to reforming the civil service. At the Republican National Convention of 1880 an attempt by the Stalwarts to nominate Grant for a third term failed, partly because of the long-standing two-term tradition. After a prolonged deadlock, the nomination went to a "dark horse," James A. Garfield, a former Union brigadier general. To blunt the old charge of disloyalty in wartime, the Democrats nominated General Winfield S. Hancock, a hero of the battle of Gettysburg. The intellectual level of the ensuing campaign may be judged by the following excerpt from the speech of a Republican orator:

I belong to a party that believes in good crops; that is glad when a fellow finds a gold mine; that rejoices when there are forty bushels of wheat to the acre. . . . The Democratic Party is a party of famine; it is a good friend of an early frost; it believes in the Colorado beetle and in the weevil.

Garfield won the election with 214 electoral votes to Hancock's 155, but in the popular vote the margin between the candidates was only 9,564 out of over 9,000,000 votes cast.

Civil Service Reform

After a few months in the White House Garfield was shot by a half-crazy office seeker. This tragic event so excited public opinion against the spoils system that in 1883 Congress passed the Pendleton Act, which has been called (with some exaggeration) "the Magna Carta of civil service reform." This law allowed the President to place on a "classified list" federal offices that could then be filled only according

to rules laid down by a bipartisan Civil Service Commission. Jobholders on the classified list were to be chosen on the basis of examinations and were not to be asked to make contributions to party funds. They could no longer be removed for political reasons. Although President Chester Arthur, who succeeded Garfield, was a veteran of machine politics, he supported the Pendleton Act and placed 16,000 officeholders (one-seventh of the total number) on the classified list. He thus initiated a shift from the spoils system to the so-called "merit system."

1884: Honesty as a Political Issue

The major theme of the presidential election of 1884 was honesty in politics. The Republican nominee, James G. Blaine, was a man of great ability and personal charm, but he had never cleared himself of charges that he made money by selling his influence in Congress on behalf of certain railroads. Blaine's nomination was such a defeat for some reformers in the Republican party that they refused to support him. These "Mugwumps" included some of the most respected and influential men in the country, such as Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard, and George W. Curtis, editor of *Harper's Weekly*. The Democrats won Mugwump support by nominating Grover Cleveland, who as mayor of Buffalo and governor of New York had made a reputation for stubborn integrity.

The campaign of 1884 developed into one of abuse. Blaine was portrayed as a "tattooed man," with railroad stocks and bonds indelibly engraved on his skin. Cleveland was attacked because of an indiscretion in his youth. At the close of this unpleasant campaign Cleveland won the election by an extremely narrow margin. He was the first Democratic President since Buchanan. In the congressional elections the Democrats gained a majority in the House of Representatives, but the Republicans retained control of the Senate.

Cleveland in Office

Grover Cleveland was a man with little imagination and rather narrow horizons. Unskillful in political maneuvering, he often met defeat in his relations with Congress. Nevertheless, he did much to restore the prestige of the office of President. "The presidency," he said, "is the people's office." By this he meant that the chief executive alone is chosen by the whole country and can use his influence for the general good rather than for any special interest.

Cleveland's first problem was to deal with Democratic office seekers who swarmed to Washington seeking the fruits of victory after a quarter of a century in the wilderness. If he made appointments on merit alone, he would split his party wide open. If he gave in to the spoilsmen, he would lose the support of the Mugwumps and other independents who played a decisive part in making him President. Cleveland met this situation by compromise. While appointing so many "deserving Democrats" to office that two-thirds of 120,000 federal offices changed hands, Cleveland made every effort to see that the new appointees were qualified for their jobs. Once he wrote a Democrat who recommended an incompetent person for a federal judgeship that "such treason to the people and to the party ought to be punished by imprisonment." Such a letter did not endear Cleveland to machine politicians, but it won him public esteem.

Cleveland entered office ignorant of most national questions, but no President ever put in more study to determine what course to follow. His predecessors, for instance, had signed hundreds of private bills giving pensions to veterans unable to qualify under regular laws. Examining such bills with care, Cleveland found many of them fraudulent. One veteran asked a pension for an injury suffered while *intending* to enlist; the widow of another claimed that her husband died of apoplexy in 1882 as the result



Grover Cleveland worked hard to restore dignity to the presidential office. Although he used the spoils system, he tried to give offices only to the capable.

of a knee injury in 1863. Cleveland disapproved so many private pension bills that his vetoes totaled more than those of all previous Presidents. Seriously interested in saving the public lands for future generations, he compelled cattlemen and lumber companies to return land illegally taken. He also forced land grant railroads to open millions of acres to settlement or to return them to the federal government.

Cleveland and the Tariff

The public question that Cleveland studied most seriously was the tariff. During the Civil War, duties had been raised from an average of 19 per cent in 1861 to over 40 per cent in 1865. These high rates were constantly attacked by those who considered themselves hurt by them—farmers, consumers, shippers, and importers. They were joined by "free traders" who argued that a protective tariff was unwarrantable government interference with normal laws of supply and demand, and was a subsidy paid

to the manufacturer out of the pocket of the consumer. Protection was defended, on the other hand, as a means of developing infant industries and protecting high wage standards of American laborers from competition with cheap foreign labor. Whenever proposals to lower the tariff appeared before Congress, they were thwarted by manufacturers' lobbies.

Shortly after taking office, Carl Schurz asked Cleveland about his ideas on the tariff question. "You know I really don't know anything about it," replied the President. "In my political career as sheriff of Buffalo County, mayor of Buffalo, and governor of New York it has, of course, not been an issue." Asking Schurz to recommend books, Cleveland investigated the problem. He became convinced that the existing tariff system was wrong, and devoted his entire 1887 congressional message to the topic.

The situation prompting action was a mounting surplus in the U.S. Treasury. It was thought inadvisable to use the extra revenues to pay off the national debt, because United States bonds were the basis for national bank notes. Offhand, one might think surplus government revenue, like business profits, a healthy sign. But, as Cleveland pointed out, the government is not in business to make money; a surplus is a sign of over-taxation. If kept in the treasury, the surplus deflated the currency by reducing the amount of money in circulation; if spent, it was an invitation to extravagance. The only cure, said the President, was to revise "our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation." Not a free trader, Cleveland did not propose to abandon protection, but simply to remove duties on goods not produced in this country and to reduce unnecessarily high rates. The President's dramatic effort to lower the tariff utterly failed. A bill embodying his recommendations passed the House, controlled by the Democrats, but the Republican Senate ignored it.

Cleveland had presented his opponents with an issue for the presidential election of 1888. Openly avowing protection for the first time, the Republicans collected a record-breaking campaign fund. "Put all the manufacturers of Pennsylvania under the fire," said a Republican campaign manager, "and fry that fat out of them." The Republicans revived Henry Clay's

name for the protective tariff as the "American system." Renominating the President, the Democrats

QUESTION • How did Harrison win the election of 1888 with a minority of the popular vote?

campaign against unnecessary taxation. As in 1880 and 1884, the result was extremely close. Although winning fewer popular votes than Cleveland, the Republican candidate Benjamin Harrison, who was the grandson of the hero of Tippecanoe, gained a majority in the electoral college.

The "Billion Dollar Congress," 1889-1891

Once in office the Republicans removed the treasury surplus by spending it. In two years the so-called "Billion-Dollar Congress" created a deficit, mostly by handouts to special interest groups. The McKinley Tariff of 1890 dried up revenue at its source by levying prohibitive rates—so high that they kept some foreign products out of the country entirely. Admitting foreign sugar duty free, the McKinley Act gave a bounty of 2 cents a pound to domestic producers. Western support for the tariff measure was won by the passage of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, whereby the federal government undertook to buy four and a half million ounces of silver a month—practically the entire output of the United States.

Additional millions were spent on the improvement of harbors and waterways, coastal defenses, federal buildings, and sorely needed steel ships for the navy. In addition to these

measures, Congress passed the Sherman Anti-trust Act (p. 432) and provided for admission to the Union of North and South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, and Wyoming.

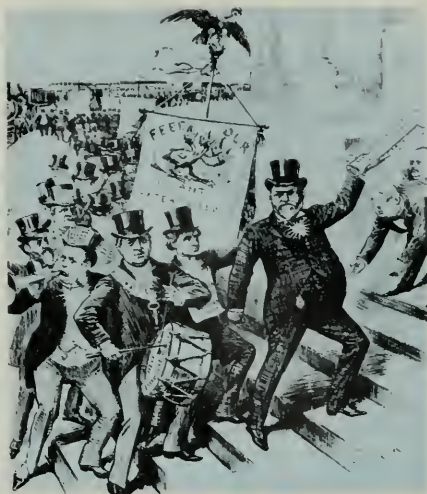
Democratic Landslides

The tariff issue that helped the Republicans to win the election of 1888 proved a boomerang two years later. A sharp rise in cost of living accompanying the McKinley Tariff caused indignation which the Democrats exploited. The congressional elections of 1890 proved a landslide, the Democrats winning 235 seats in the House of Representatives to 88 for the Republicans.

Resentment against the tariff continued in 1892. The Republican claim that high rates protected American wage scales seemed to be refuted by the Homestead lockout (see p. 434). Steel was a highly protected industry and its profits were enormous; yet the labor dispute at the Homestead plant began when the Carnegie Steel Company announced a pay cut. Cleveland and Harrison were again the nominees of their parties, but the decision of 1888 was reversed. Cleveland was elected for a second term by the largest majority since Grant's victory over Greeley in 1872. The Democrats also won control of both houses of Congress.

THE POPULIST PARTY

The election of 1892 was notable because it saw the appearance of the first third party to win electoral votes since 1860. The new organization, the People's or Populist party, was principally an expression of the grievances of the farmer. Ever since the Civil War federal policies had favored industry over agriculture, the city over the country. In spite of clamor for a cheaper dollar, the United States remained on the gold standard, to the advantage of creditors,



This cartoon of the 1890's ridiculed the way manufacturing interests brazenly demanded protective tariffs from congressmen, shown prostrating themselves before the captains of industry.

and farm prices went steadily down, to the advantage of urban consumers. The protective tariff raised the price of the goods farmers bought, to the advantage of manufacturers, but American agricultural staples were sold abroad in an unprotected market. Legislation that apparently favored the agrarian interests proved ineffective. State and federal regulation of railroads had been hamstrung by adverse judicial decisions. The Homestead Act offered free farms to settlers, but the greater part of the public lands actually went to railroads and speculators. When drought hit the Great Plains region in the late 1880's, the farmers were in a rebellious mood and were ready to fight against the discrimination of which they had been victims. "Those who could submit quietly to such outrage," said a western editor, "must be either more or less than men." According to historian Ray Ginger, "two nations" were coming into

being. One of them lay east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio, with outposts in urban areas elsewhere. Here was prosperity and growth, not only in the cities, but among the surrounding farmers who produced diversified crops for urban consumption. The other "nation" centered on the areas that produced cotton, wheat, and silver. There economic distress was widespread, and after the depression of 1893 feeling became so bitter that many thoughtful citizens feared a revolution.

The Populist party originated with two great farmers' organizations, formed after the decline of the Grange: the Southern Alliance, which covered the cotton and tobacco belt, and the Northwestern Alliance, especially strong in the Plains region. Although the two alliances failed to merge, they made similar demands—free silver, more paper money, cheaper credit, government ownership of railroads, and the restoration of railroad bounty lands to the federal government. In the elections of 1890 the

Ignatius Donnelly, Populist



It was the Fourth of July, 1892, in Omaha, Nebraska. "Cheers and yells rose . . . like a tornado from four thousand throats and raged without cessation for thirty-four minutes, during which women shrieked and wept, men embraced and kissed their neighbors . . . and leaped upon tables and chairs in the ecstasy of their delirium. . . ."

Ignatius Donnelly, the author of the Populist party platform which had aroused this response, was a short, "plump, genial Irishman who sounded like a prophet out of the Old Testament." He was at the peak of his career. He liked to strike a Napoleonic pose—right hand thrust into his vest—but his dancing brown eyes destroyed the similarity to the stern French emperor.

Born and educated in Philadelphia, Donnelly, at twenty-five, had gone west in 1856. He made a paper fortune in land speculation in Minnesota and lost it in a year. After he left the Democratic party because he hated slavery, he promptly joined the Republicans. They sent him to Congress for three terms. No reformer then, he sponsored grants to railroads in which he held stock "presented to me without solicitation on my part by the Company. . . ."

Donnelly lost his seat in Congress in 1869, and turned to writing and lecturing as a career, although he never ceased to run for political office, usually without success. He edited a newspaper, the *Anti-Monopolist*, that aired the farmers' grievances and wrote books on subjects as various as the lost continent of Atlantis and the authorship of Shakespeare's plays. He successively joined the Greenback and Populist parties. At the Omaha convention, out of his political experience, literary talent, and sense of outrage, he produced the Populist platform almost single-handedly.

He was badly defeated as Populist candidate for governor of Minnesota in 1892, but later sat in the state legislature. A biographer wrote of him, "He never attacked a small problem if a larger one was at hand; he was happiest when attempting something his contemporaries were sure couldn't be done."

(Thema 8, see p. xli)

Southern Alliance, working through the Democratic party, gained control of five state legislatures. In the Plains region the Northwestern Alliance organized local parties that elected six congressmen from Kansas and Nebraska. These successes encouraged the formation of a new national party. After conferences at Cincinnati in 1891 and St. Louis in February 1892, the People's (or Populist) Party held a national convention at Omaha in July 1892. Although mostly from farm organizations, delegates also represented the Knights of Labor and followers of Henry George and Edward Bellamy (see p. 445). Following the custom of the time, the convention nominated for President a Civil War veteran, General James B. Weaver. But there was veteran, General James B. Weaver. There was nothing customary, however, about the platform. Instead of the usual resounding double talk, the Populists made clear their position and presented specific demands.

The Omaha Platform, 1892

The preamble of the Omaha platform expressed indignation at the existing political and economic conditions, which were, it claimed, bringing the nation "to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin." In the exaggerated terms usual in American party platforms, it condemned political corruption, newspapers dominated by business interests, the mortgage burden, and the condition of labor. Echoing the Declaration of Independence, it referred to the 300 Pinkerton detectives employed by the Carnegie Steel Company in the Homestead lockout as "a hireling army, unrecognized by our laws." The influence of Henry George was seen in the statements that "the land is concentrating in the hands of the capitalists," and that governmental injustice breeds "two great classes—tramps and millionaires."

Turning to money and banking, the Populists deplored the National Bank Act as a means

whereby "the national power to create money" was "appropriated to enrich bondholders." World-wide adoption of the gold standard was characterized as "a vast conspiracy against mankind . . . organized on two continents." The older parties did nothing, said the Omaha platform, but carry on a "sham battle over the tariff." The new party of the "plain people" would once and for all forget war hatreds (a criticism of Republican use of the "bloody shirt"), and devote itself instead to the great task of finding means to cope with "conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of mankind."

The most radical statement in the preamble of the Omaha platform was this: "We believe that the powers of government—in other words of the people,—should be expanded . . . as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify. . . ." In Jefferson's time it had been the agriculturalists who favored *laissez faire* and wanted to reduce the powers of the federal government, while Hamilton, supported by bankers and merchants, wanted to increase the role of government in private business. Now in the late nineteenth century the commercial interests preached the Jeffersonian doctrine, while the farmers wanted to use the power of government to restrain trusts and monopolies.

Attempted Farmer-Labor Alliance

The platform proper opened by declaring perpetual union of workers in field and factory. A farmer-labor alliance was difficult to maintain, however, because the interests of the two groups were at variance. The farmer wanted high prices for food products, the laborer wanted them low. The laborer wanted high wages, while the farmer, who was often an employer, was interested in keeping them down.

The Omaha platform revealed that it was the agriculturalists who dominated the Populist

Was an Agrarian Revolution in Prospect?

Much of this section on "The Emergence of Modern America" deals with the unhappy plight of farmers in an age of industrialization and urbanization—an age when industry was outstripping agriculture, in both productivity and profits. In many farming communities there was such a bitter sense of grievance that there was fear of a revolution. For an understanding of the explosive situation and for explanations of why revolution did not occur, history can turn to the social sciences.

The economist would note that farmers were increasingly in the grip of economic forces beyond their control—middlemen, railroads, bankers, and the variable demands of a world market (see p. 422).

The sociologist would note that farmers developed a strong consciousness of belonging to a separate and isolated group in society, as evidenced, for instance, by the formation of the nationwide organization, the Grange. Furthermore, farmers felt they were losing public esteem. As noted on pages 422-424:

Perhaps the cruelest blow to the farmer was loss of status. . . . In the new urban America, country people were regarded not as the backbone of the nation, but as "rubes," "hicks," and "hayseeds."

The political scientist would stress the fact that federal laws worked to the disadvantage of the farmer (see the first paragraph of the section on the Populist party, p. 455). The political scientist would also concern himself with the way the farmer organized to try to gain control of the state and federal governments through the Grange, the Populist party, and Bryan's "free silver" campaign of 1896. He would also seek explanations for the failures of these movements (see pp. 427-429, 455-459, 460-461).

Ultimately the farmer did not revolt. Why? The economist would point out that after 1896 farm prices rose and for over twenty years there was a period of prosperity. The sociologist would add that the farmers' sense of isolation diminished with improved roads and communications, so that they felt less removed from society as a whole. The political scientist would suggest that the farmers gave up the battle after the Grangers, the Populists, and Bryan's free silver crusade failed; he might also note that gradually the federal government acceded to most of the demands made by farmers—thereby dampening the potential revolutionary ardor of this group. For example, a separate Department of Agriculture was established in 1889 to help meet the farmers' needs.

Try similar analyses of the revolutionary situations in the thirteen colonies in 1775 and in the Southern states in 1860. Why did revolution occur? What factors led to success in one case and failure in the other?

party. The major planks—concerning land, transportation, money, and credit—all reflected the interests of the farmer. The demands of organized labor, such as those for an 8-hour day on government contracts and for immigration restriction, were given a subordinate position. Not included in the platform proper, they were placed among a miscellaneous list of resolutions entitled “Expression of Sentiments.” (See pp. 805–806 for text of Omaha platform.)

The Omaha platform seems less radical in perspective than it did at the time. It approached socialism only in proposing that the government take over railroad and telegraph lines, both natural monopolies; for such action the Erie and other canals provided an American precedent. The Populists proposed not to overthrow the capitalist system, but simply to change the rules. They aimed to achieve their ends not through revolution, but through the orderly process of free elections. The Populist platform reveals an important function of American third parties—to bring to public attention measures that the major parties later adopt as their own. The majority of the Populist demands were later put into effect through either state or federal legislation.

The Populists entered the campaign of 1892 with religious fervor. They adapted revival meeting hymns as party songs. Monster rallies were addressed not only by men, but also by “women with skins tanned to parchment by the hot winds, with bony hands of toil and clad in faded calico.” One of these orators, Mrs. Mary E. Lease, “the Kansas Cassandra,” achieved fame by urging farmers to “raise less corn and more Hell.” The balloting revealed the sectional character of the People’s party. All its 22 electoral votes came from states lying west of the Missouri River. In the South, sympathy with Populist aims was widespread, but there was fear that the new party might divide the Democratic vote and let the Republicans back into

power. Southern sympathizers therefore became “Popocrats”—Democrats with Populist principles.

SILVER VS. GOLD

Cleveland’s second term proved difficult. Inheriting a treasury deficit from the Harrison administration, he had scarcely taken office when the Panic of 1893 burst upon the country. Although Cleveland could not have prevented this disaster, he was held somehow to blame. Furthermore, he managed to antagonize almost every element in his party.

Cleveland’s Second Term

Never popular with machine politicians, Cleveland angered them further by putting 120,000 civil service jobs on the merit system. The President’s hope of lowering the prohibitive duties of the McKinley Tariff faded when a

few Democratic senators joined the Republicans in tacking 633 amendments on a new tariff bill,

QUESTION • A saying of this time was, “The tariff is political dynamite.” Why?

thereby keeping rates almost at former levels. Cleveland let the resulting Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894 become a law without his signature, but denounced the action of the rebellious senators as “a piece of party perfidy and dishonor.”

Cleveland’s use of troops in the Pullman strike was condemned by workingmen. Above all, he antagonized farmers by defending the gold standard. Fearful that the Sherman Silver Purchase Act would flood the U.S. Treasury with so much silver that it could not be redeemed in gold, he called a special session of Congress in 1893 and forced repeal of the law. He was able to do this only with Republican support, since most western and southern

Democrats opposed him. Even after federal buying of silver ceased, the gold standard was endangered because of the difficulty of keeping an adequate gold reserve in the treasury. To obtain the precious metal, the Treasury Department sold United States bonds. In one transaction J. Pierpont Morgan, the most powerful banker on Wall Street, obtained federal bonds so far below their market value that he and the bankers associated with him made \$1,500,000. Western fury at the Morgan bond transaction was unbounded. The gold standard was bad enough, they thought, but to pay bankers to preserve it seemed almost treasonable. More and more, western Democrats turned against the President, became "Popocrats," and demanded that the Democrats favor free silver.

The Free Silver Election of 1896

Meanwhile the Republicans had become more than ever identified with business interests. A dominant figure in the party was Mark Hanna, an Ohio businessman-politician. Big, bluff, low-browed Hanna became, perhaps unjustly, a symbol of the alliance between corporate wealth and politics. Anti-Republican cartoons habitually portrayed him in a suit covered with dollar signs. In 1896 Hanna used his great organizing talents to secure the Republican nomination for his friend William McKinley, on a platform pledging high tariffs and maintenance of the gold standard.

As the election of 1896 approached, the Republicans boasted that they could "nominate a rag-baby or a yellow dog and elect it," because of divisions among their opponents. The Democratic national convention opened with such a bitter fight between Gold Democrats and Silver Democrats that it was almost impossible to keep a semblance of order. Then with dramatic suddenness, the party found a leader when a rather obscure presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, rose to speak.



The unpopular income tax of 1894 was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court because it was a direct tax not apportioned according to representative population.

Bryan combined a romantic devotion to free silver with a personality, voice, and presence which made him literally a spellbinder. He came before the convention, he said, to speak "in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity." The Gold Democrats had expressed the fear that abandonment of the gold standard would hurt business. Bryan accused them of thinking only of *big* business; he wished to speak for a "broader class of businessmen"—small storekeepers, country lawyers, miners, factory workers, and farmers. Brought up on the Plains, Bryan spoke especially for the farm against the city:

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. We reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile plains. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your

cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms, and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

He concluded with this famous passage:

You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns—you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!

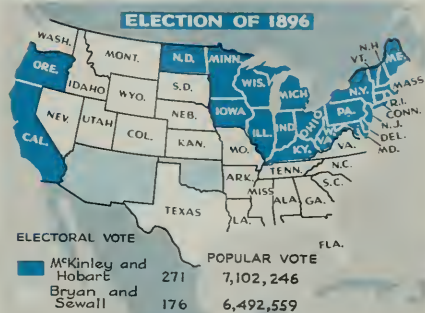
The Cross of Gold speech contained hardly a single factual argument for a bimetallic standard, but was so charged with emotion that it made free silver a crusade, with Bryan as its peerless leader. Although only thirty-six years old, he received the Democratic nomination. The majority of the Populists also agreed to support Bryan, although they nominated a separate vice-presidential candidate. As the Nebraskan traveled 18,000 miles on the most strenuous speaking tour a candidate had ever made, it almost seemed as though he might stampe the country, as he had the convention. At least five million people heard him. Twenty years later, poet Vachel Lindsay remembered the excitement of a Bryan rally:

It was eighteen ninety-six, and I was just sixteen
And Altgeld ruled in Springfield, Illinois,
When there came from the sunset Nebraska's shout
of joy:

In a coat like a deacon, with a black Stetson hat
He scourged the elephant plutocrats
With barbed wire from the Platte.

Among conservatives in the East, "the Boy Orator from the Platte" inspired something approaching terror; even from the pulpit he was denounced as "a mouthing, slobbering demagogue."

In spite of all his efforts, Bryan's cause was doomed. Most large Democratic newspapers abandoned him; the Gold Democrats deserted the party and ran a separate candidate. Collecting an immense campaign fund, Hanna hired thousands of speakers and issued an estimated

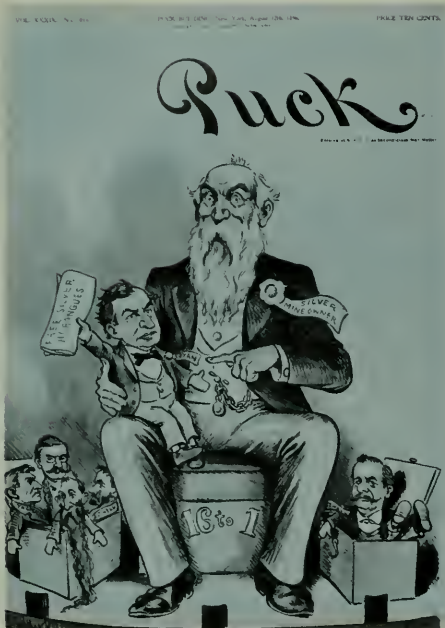


The Solid South, the wheat-growing areas of the Great Plains, and the Rocky Mountain mining states favored Bryan and free silver, while the more prosperous farming states of the Midwest and the industrial states of the East and Midwest voted for McKinley, "the advance agent of prosperity," and the gold standard.



200,000,000 pamphlets to counter the free silver arguments. McKinley, depicted as "the advance agent of prosperity," was helped by the fact that prices of grain and cotton advanced on the eve of election day. The most serious weakness in Bryan's campaign was that free silver was a poor issue on which to base an entire campaign. No one knew what the result of free coinage of silver would be; it would not have ended fluctuation in the value of money, and might have caused a business panic. It had little appeal for industrial laborers, with whose difficulties Hanna and McKinley had genuine sympathy. Bryan had little sense of the complex problems of an industrial society, and regarded the East as "the enemy's country."

The Republicans won the election of 1896 by a decisive margin, carrying all the thickly populated states of the Northeast and Middle West. It was a victory for industry over agriculture, the city over the country, the North and East over the West and South.



This anti-Bryan cartoon suggests that "the Boy Orator of the Platte" was simply a puppet manipulated by silver mine owners, who would make fortunes out of "free silver."

McKinley in Office, 1897

The McKinley administration took office in 1897 under favorable circumstances. Prosperity was returning after three years of depression. The discovery of large gold deposits in Australia, South Africa, and the Yukon put an end to the world-wide specie famine that had been driving prices down. As an ardent believer in protection, McKinley's first important action was to call a special session of Congress to "revise" the tariff. The result was the Dingley Tariff that levied rates even higher than those of the McKinley Act of 1890. American steel companies received additional protection though

they were already able to compete successfully in world markets. Duties were put on foreign paintings and sculpture, although American artists protested that they did not want to be "protected." But the American people did not react as unfavorably to the Dingley Tariff as to that of 1890, perhaps because their attention was drawn from domestic issues to foreign affairs.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

"Our relations with foreign nations today," wrote Henry Cabot Lodge in 1889, "fill but a slight place in American politics, and excite generally only a languid interest. We have separated ourselves so completely from the affairs of other people that it is difficult to realize how large a place they occupied when the government was founded." At the time of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the very survival of the young American republic depended on wise foreign policy. Elections turned on serious disputes over foreign affairs, and diplomacy was in the hands of the ablest men of the country.

During the long period of isolation that began about 1815, however, relations with other countries were considered so unimportant that American diplomacy was at the mercy of party politics. State Department jobs were under the spoils system, and few Secretaries of State had diplomatic experience. Foreign relations were apt to be conducted with an eye to the voters, especially in election years. A favorite maneuver, known as "twisting the lion's tail," was to appeal to the Irish vote by gestures against Great Britain.

In 1888, for instance, Republican senators, trying to discredit Cleveland as pro-English, rejected a treaty with Great Britain concerning American fishing rights in Canadian waters. To counter this move, Cleveland sent Congress a

message urging strong measures against Canada unless the demands of the United States were complied with, treaty or no treaty. The President neither expected nor desired that his recommendations be carried out, but he had to appear as anti-British as his opponents.

James G. Blaine, Secretary of State

As the United States became a great industrial nation with world-wide trade, foreign relations were bound to assume more importance. James G. Blaine was one of the first men to grasp the new situation. Blaine, Secretary of State under Garfield in 1881 and under Harrison from 1889 to 1892, was especially interested in making closer commercial ties with Latin America. He presided over a Pan-American Congress, held in Washington in 1889, which set up a permanent organization that eventually became the Pan American Union. Blaine wanted to increase inter-American commerce by "reciprocity"—mutual lowering of tariff barriers. He labored without much success to get reciprocity provisions into the McKinley Tariff of 1890.

Outside the sphere of Pan-Americanism, Blaine's "spirited" diplomacy was characterized less by wisdom than by the ability to create headlines through belligerent notes to foreign nations. He engaged in a series of hot disputes with Great Britain over the protection of seals in the Bering Sea (1889), with Germany over rights in the Samoan Islands (1889), and with Chile over ill-treatment of American sailors on leave in Santiago (1891). While unimportant in themselves, these incidents dramatized the fact that American interests were expanding far beyond our borders.

Attempt to Annex Hawaiian Islands, 1893

Now that the frontier was closing, would the United States again expand its territory? This question seemed about to be answered in the affirmative when in January 1893, Americans in

the Hawaiian Islands, assisted by the crew of a United States warship, overthrew the native ruler, Queen Liliuokalani. Proclaiming an independent state, they asked to be annexed. The American minister to Hawaii wrote the Department of State: "The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it." President Harrison promptly sent an annexation treaty to the Senate, which did not act before Cleveland came into office in March.

Cleveland immediately withdrew the Hawaiian treaty for re-examination. Eventually he reached the conclusion that the use of American military forces to overthrow the native government as a step toward annexation was a violation of "national honesty." Braving criticism for

hauling down the Stars and Stripes and "turning back the hands of civilization," Cleveland withdrew American troops from Hawaii and attempted, without success, to restore Queen Liliuokalani to her throne.

QUESTION • Was Cleveland right in refusing to annex Hawaii?

The Venezuela Boundary Crisis, 1895–1896

Cleveland's withdrawal from Hawaii implied, however, no unwillingness to assert what he considered legitimate American rights. This was revealed by the Venezuela boundary crisis of 1895–1896. The boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela had been disputed for over half a century. In 1887 and again in 1894, Cleveland suggested submitting the matter to arbitration. Great Britain, with the stronger claim to most of the disputed area, refused these requests. Finally, in July 1895, Secretary of State Richard Olney sent to London a stiff note arguing that British refusal to arbitrate was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and warning that "the United States is practically sovereign on this continent. . . ." After an irritating delay

of several months, Lord Salisbury, British foreign minister, replied that the Monroe Doctrine had no standing in international law, and in any event it had no reference to the Venezuela situation.

Cleveland later confessed that Salisbury's note made him "mad clean through." In December 1895, he sent a vigorous message to Congress asking for \$100,000 to appoint a commission to fix the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary without consulting Britain. The President wrote that he was "fully alive" to the possibility that such a course might mean war. His action met with enthusiastic support in this country while on the other side of the Atlantic it was regarded as "monstrous and insulting." For a few days war seemed imminent. The British fleet was made ready to sail, and American coastal defenses were put under repair. There was talk of invading Canada.

It was not long, however, before "sober second thought" began to prevail. In both America and Britain there was renewed consciousness of the bonds of language, trade, and common inheritance. Furthermore, Guiana was of far less importance to the British Empire than other areas, and early in January 1896, English attention was diverted from Venezuela by a dispute with Germany involving South Africa. Late in the same month Joseph Chamberlain, an English statesman, made a memorable speech in which he asserted that war between England and the United States "would be an absurdity as well as a crime." He hoped the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack would some day float together "in defense of a common cause sanctioned by humanity and justice." The British government then agreed to arbitrate the Venezuela boundary, on terms that made it probable the verdict would favor them, as it did.

Although Alaska and a few Pacific islands had been annexed earlier, the main imperialistic thrust of the United States in the Pacific and Caribbean occurred in 1898.





The Venezuela crisis had important results. The Monroe Doctrine, which once owed its effectiveness to the British fleet, had now been successfully asserted against Britain herself. The crisis served indeed to clear the air as regards Anglo-American relations. A new realization of common traditions and common interests came to outweigh memories of the American Revolution and the War of 1812.

It was apparent that protection of the Western Hemisphere under the Monroe Doctrine demanded sea power, and the Venezuela crisis publicized the fact that the United States had only three modern battleships to pit against the vast British fleet. The crisis popularized the writings of an American naval officer, Captain

Alfred T. Mahan, whose best-known work, *The Influence of Sea Power on History, 1660–1783*, was published in 1890. In this and other works Mahan argued that sea power was necessary for national greatness, and that a state which neglected its navy was courting disaster. At first Mahan had more influence abroad than in his own country. Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany “devoured” his books and instructed his naval officers to read them. In England Mahan was showered with honors. Then he was heeded in the United States. In 1896 Congress voted to add thirteen new ships to the navy. The United States was to become a major naval power. The new fleet was shortly to go into action, not against Great Britain but against Spain.

Activities: Chapter 18

For Mastery and Review

1. What factors made for political corruption in the big cities? Explain the ineffectiveness of municipal reformers. What types of corruption appeared at the state and federal levels?

2. In what ways were the Republican and Democratic parties similar? In what ways did they differ?

3. Explain the remarkable lack of legislative achievement by the Republican administrators who held office for all but eight years between 1877 and 1901. What *did* they accomplish?

4. What were the terms and purposes of the Pendleton Act? How did succeeding Presidents extend its effectiveness?

5. Balance Cleveland's achievements against his failures during his two terms in office. What factors worked against him? Would you call him a successful President?

6. Explain what was behind the Populist revolt. What was different and radical about the Omaha platform? What were the weaknesses of Populism?

7. Why did the election of 1896 arouse passion and fear on both sides? What was the significance of the outcome?

8. What caused the Venezuela Boundary crisis, and how did it affect Anglo-American relations? What was the purpose of “twisting the lion's tail”?

9. What were the features of James G. Blaine's “spirited diplomacy”?

Unrolling the Map

Study carefully the maps showing the vote in Congress on the Bland-Allison Act and the election of 1896, pp. 431 and 461. Explain the sectional divisions in each case—what was similar and what was different? Why?

Who, What, and Why Important?

Tweed Ring
Samuel J. Tilden
Credit Mobilier
“the bloody shirt”
Solid South

lobbyists
Carl Schurz
election of 1884
Pendleton Act
Mugwumps

election of 1888
McKinley Tariff
Sherman Silver Purchase
Act
election of 1892
Omaha platform
"Popocrats"
Panic of 1893
J. Pierpont Morgan
William McKinley

Mark Hanna
William Jennings Bryan
"Cross of Gold"
election of 1896
free silver
Pan American Union
Liliuokalani
Venezuela crisis
Alfred T. Mahan

To Pursue the Matter

1. Test the idea that politics attracted men of less eminence during the generation after the Civil War than during the generation before by making your own lists of ten or a dozen men in each period. This might be done by the class as a whole.

2. Are lobbyists and pressure groups bad for the country? Are they immoral? Should they be (a) left unhampered, (b) regulated by law, or (c) declared illegal?

3. Read about William Jennings Bryan in Arnoff, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 332–333. You might go on to Vachel Lindsay's poem, "Bryan, Bryan, Bryan, Bryan"; try reading it aloud. Was "the Boy Orator of the Platte" a prophet or a shallow demagogue? See Glad, *McKinley, Bryan, and the People*.

4. Consider Bryce's conclusion (p. 449) that neither of the major political parties had "any clear-cut principles." Do you agree? Why or why not?

5. Examine the Omaha platform (pp. 805–806) in detail. How many of the reform measures proposed were substantially enacted into law within the following 25 years? Discuss the implications of the answer to this question.

6. Read the chapter in Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, called "Cleveland and the Venezuela Crisis with Great Britain." What seems to have been Cleveland's motivation in threatening war? How was the Monroe Doctrine involved? Why did Great Britain back down?

7. Were the politics of the Gilded Age as bad as they have often been painted? See Fine and Brown, *The American Past: Conflicting Interpretations of Great Issues*, vol. II, Issue 6.

8. The dirtiest presidential election in American political history was that of 1884. It was also one of the very closest. The sorry tale is told in the August 1962 issue of *American Heritage* and in Josephson, *The Politicos*.

9. One of the fighters in the uphill battle for civil service reform was Theodore Roosevelt, who served for a time as a member of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. See Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, Chapter 10.

THEMES

PART 5

Recurring ideas, concepts, or "themes" run through most of American history and help to give it its unique character. Most of these are either explicit or implicit in each of the nine Parts into which this text is divided. It is useful, however, to select particular themes for illustration, emphasis, and study at the end of each Part.

Surely the immense industrial progress of the period covered in this Part, along with the incredible saga of the opening of the trans-Mississippi West, suggests two themes: "economic opportunity" and "a mobile population" (see pp. xi–xii). Questions for investigation involving these themes might be:

1. What was the connection between cheap steel and the economic development of the trans-Mississippi West? See Webb, *The Great Plains*.

2. Who settled the Rocky Mountain region, and why? See Howard, *Montana, High, Wide and Handsome*.

Special Supplements

- ARNOF, "A Sense of the Past, Part Five.
BRAGDON, McCUTCHEN, and BROWN, "Frame of Government, "The Supreme Court and the Constitution: *Munn v. Illinois*," pp. 245-257.
GANLEY, A. C., "The Progressive Movement: Traditional Reform. (New Perspectives.) A study of political protest against industrialism, with conflicting interpretations.

Specialized References

INDUSTRIAL AMERICA

A. NEVINS, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878*, and A. M. SCHLESINGER, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898*, are first-rate surveys. C. M. GREEN, "American Cities in the Growth of the Nation, is a brief, comprehensive account. R. GINGER, "Altgeld's America, is excellent on late nineteenth-century Chicago. C. TUNNARD and H. H. REED, "American Skyline, is a good survey of American architecture. For an enlightening interpretive essay on the same subject, see J. M. FITCH, *Architecture and the Esthetics of Plenty*. S. HOLBROOK, *The Story of American Railroads*, is a fascinating survey. Business leaders are ably presented in S. HOLBROOK, *The Age of the Moguls*, and in M. JOSEPHSON, "The Robber Barons, which is highly critical. See also T. C. COCHRAN, "Basic History of American Business. H. WISH, *Society and Thought in America*, vol. 2, is a first-rate social history. On how economic growth takes place, see W. W. ROSTOW, "The Stages of Economic Growth. O. HANDLIN, "The Uprooted, is a superb and moving study of how late nineteenth-century immigrants tried to adjust to America. J. F. KENNEDY, "A Nation of Immigrants, is a brief survey.

THE GREAT WEST AND THE NEW SOUTH

W. P. WEBB, "The Great Plains, imaginatively relates environment to social life. On Indian removal, see A. DEBO, *And Still the Waters Run*. T. KROEBER, *Ishi in Two Worlds*, describes the last surviving member of an Indian tribe. E. DICK, *The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890*, tells of

pioneer farm life. L. ATHERTON, *The Cattle Kings*, T. ROOSEVELT, *Stories of the Great West*, and J. F. DOBIE, "The Longhorns, present the cattle kingdom. H. GARLAND, *A Son of the Middle Border*, is a poignant and nostalgic autobiographical account of growing up on a prairie farm. J. K. HOWARD, *Montana, High, Wide and Handsome*, devotes some fascinating chapters to the cattle and mining frontiers. See also J. HUTCHENS, *One Man's Montana*, for a boy's view. R. TAFT, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850-1900*, and "Painters of the Plains," *American Heritage*, December 1954, are both beautifully illustrated.

J. S. EZELL, *The South Since 1865*, has useful chapters on this period, as does W. J. CASH's marvelous study, "The Mind of the South. C. VANN WOODWARD, "The Strange Career of Jim Crow, is a brief and lucid history of southern segregation; WOODWARD's "The Burden of Southern History examines the temper of the region.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

E. F. GOLDMAN, "Rendezvous with Destiny, is an admirable and very readable study of reform from 1870 to the 1940's. R. B. NYE, "Midwestern Progressive Politics, examines that seedbed of reform. R. BRUCE, *Year of Violence: 1877*, and H. DAVID, *History of the Haymarket Affair*, concentrate on the labor movement. On Populism, see S. J. BUCK, *The Agrarian Crusade*, and F. A. SHANNON, "American Farmers' Movements. On the problems of agriculture, see F. A. SHANNON, *The Farmer's Last Frontier*. R. L. HEILBRONER, "The Worldly Philosophers: The Lives, Times and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers, is a first-rate and lively introduction to the so-called "dismal science."

POLITICS AND PARTIES

M. JOSEPHSON, "The Politics, is a long but brilliantly written survey which is unremittingly critical, as are the relevant chapters of H. ADAMS's classic autobiography, "The Education of Henry Adams. R. GINGER, "The Age of Excess: the United States from 1877 to 1914, is a lively survey. S. FINE and G. S. BROWN (eds.), "The American

Past, vol. 2, includes conflicting essays on the Gilded Age. F. G. CARPENTER, *Carp's Washington*, is a reporter's first-hand, lively account of politics in the 1880's. The early chapters of W. A. WHITE, *Masks in a Pageant*, are illuminating on this period. J. BRYCE, *The American Commonwealth*, is a study of American government by a distinguished British scholar. P. W. GLAD, *McKinley, Bryan, and the People*, is a good, brief study of politics in the 1890's. "The Lowest Ebb," in *American Heritage*, April 1957, deals with corruption during the Grant administration; and "The Election That Got Away," October 1960, discusses the Hayes-Tilden dispute.

Biographies

Consult *The Dictionary of American Biography* for lives of prominent men in this as in other periods. Biographies of Presidents include W. B. HESSELTINE, *Ulysses S. Grant, Politician*, and H. S. MERRILL, *Bourbon Leader: Grover Cleveland and the Democratic Party*. On businessmen, see E. LATHAM (ed.), *John D. Rockefeller: Robber Baron or Industrial Statesman?*; W. A. SWANBERG, *Jim Fisk*; and O. LEWIS, *The Big Four—the four builders of the Central Pacific Railroad*.

B. T. WASHINGTON, *Up From Slavery*, is the moving autobiography of the Negro leader. C. VANN WOODWARD, *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel*, one of the best American biographies, is superbly written and illuminating on the farmers' protest movements in the South. J. A. RUS, *The Making of an American*, and M. ANTIN, *The Promised Land*, are works by immigrants. S. GOMPERS, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, 2 vols., is available in a one-volume edition abridged by P. TAFT and J. A. SESSIONS. R. GINGER, *The Bending Cross* (*Eugene V. Debs*), is a spirited biography of the Socialist party leader.

Historical Fiction

O. E. RÖLVAAG, *Giants in the Earth*, tells a gripping story of land-hunger as European immigrants reach the Plains; W. CATHER, *My Antonia*, deals with the struggle of pioneers against adversity on the prairies; E. FERBER, *Cimarron*, describes Oklahoma pioneers and oil.

J. SCHAEFER's *Shane* is based on tensions between cattlemen and nesters; O. WISTER's *The*

Virginian is a romantic novel laid in the Wyoming cattle country. V. GENDRON, *Powder and Hides*, gives an accurate picture of the Plains in the 1870's. P. HORGAN, *A Distant Trumpet*, describes Indians and cavalry in the Southwest.

MARK TWAIN and C. D. WARNER, *The Gilded Age*, use corruption in politics as a theme; A. C. TRAIN, *Tassels on Her Boots*, involves graft in business and the Tweed Ring. HAMLIN GARLAND in *A Spoil of Office* writes of politics in the West; P. L. FORD's *The Honorable Peter Sterling* is based on Cleveland's career; W. CHURCHILL, *Coniston*, tells the story of a political boss in New England; and M. DILLON, *The Leader*, gives a fictionalized picture of Bryan.

A. CAHAN, *The Rise of David Levinsky*, describes a Jewish immigrant who achieves material success, but not happiness, in New York City. E. BELLAMY, *Looking Backward*, was the most popular of the utopian novels.

Basic Books for Part Five

1. CASH, W. J., *The Mind of the South*. New York, Knopf, 1941 (Vintage).
2. WOODWARD, C. V., *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1966 (Galaxy).
3. HOLBROOK, S., *The Age of the Moguls*. New York, Doubleday, 1953.
4. WEBB, W. P., *The Great Plains*. New York, Blaisdell, 1959 (Universal Library).
5. HOWARD, J. K., *Montana, High, Wide and Handsome*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1959.
6. SCHLESINGER, A. M., *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898*. New York, Macmillan, 1954.
7. TUNNARD, C., and REED, H. H., *American Skyline*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1956 (Mentor).
8. HANDLIN, O., *The Uprooted*. Boston, Little, Brown, 1951 (Universal Library).
9. GLAD, P. W., *McKinley, Bryan, and the People*. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1964.
10. HEILBRONER, R. L., *The Worldly Philosophers: The Lives, Times and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers*. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1961.

AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

1850 — 1900



Pierce



Buchanan

WHIG

DEMOCRATS



Taylor



Fillmore



Lincoln



Johnson



Grant

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

(By 1860 the Whig Party had disappeared, many of its northern members joining the new Republican Party. See p. 341.)

REPUBLICANS

1849

1853

1857

1861

1865

1869

1873

TRANSPORTATION

TO TRAVEL 100 MILES TOOK ...



... 13 hours by horse and buggy



... 7 hours by bicycle



... 4 hours by steamship

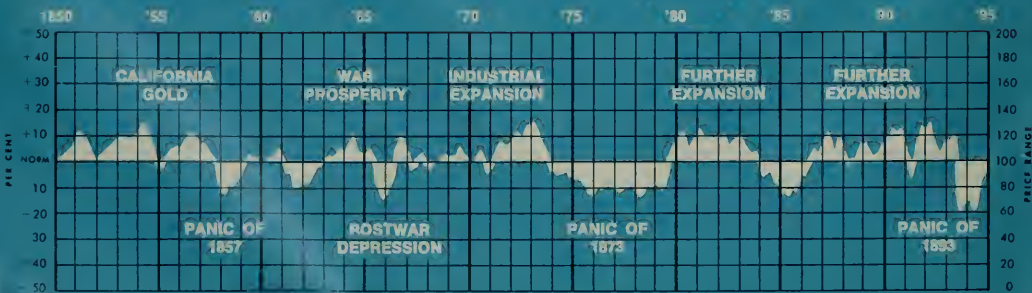


... less than 2 hours by 20th century train

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

Civil War
Education financed through Morrill Act
Industrialization
Increased immigration result of industrial growth
External expansion
Expansion of farming and growth of factories

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY



Presidents and Parties

(Appendix
pp. 792-795)

DEMOCRAT



Cleveland

DEMOCRAT



Cleveland

REPUBLICANS



Hayes



Garfield



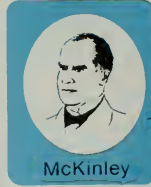
Arthur

REPUBLICAN



Benjamin
Harrison

REPUBLICAN



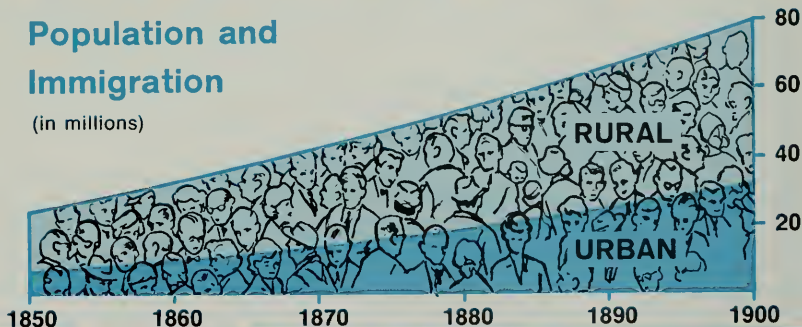
McKinley



1877 1881 1885 1889 1893 1897 1901

Population and Immigration

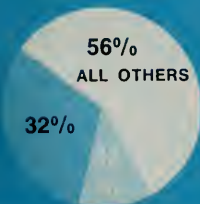
(in millions)



1850

1900

Circles represent all people employed



MANUFACTURING

AGRICULTURE

Continuing Tide of Immigration

Each symbol = 500,000 immigrants





The Library of Congress

Part 6

NEW HORIZONS



IMMIGRANTS ABOARD SHIP

1898—MANIFEST DESTINY OR GREAT ABERRATION?

The year 1898 was a great watershed in United States history. With almost no one foreseeing what was going to happen, this country acquired an overseas empire. It started as "the War for Cuban Independence." It ended with the United States expanding into the Caribbean, extending its frontier six thousand miles across the Pacific to the Philippines, picking up Hawaii and Guam along the way. With its new possessions, the United States also acquired "commitments." Our foothold in Puerto Rico and Cuba brought a commitment to keep order in the entire Caribbean region. Possession of the Philippines gave us a new interest in the affairs of China. Eventually, we committed ourselves to defending equal trading rights in China—the Open Door—and the integrity of China itself. And this commitment ultimately led us to fight Japan in World War II.

Unquestionably, then, the Spanish-American War started a process that tremendously extended the interests and influence of the United States abroad. Was the process inevitable? Was it a new version of manifest destiny? At the time, some thought it the right and duty of the United States to expand overseas. Some historians since then have argued that a great industrial nation was bound to extend its political power to protect its growing trade and overseas investments.

There have also been those who argued that 1898 marked a great aberration—a deviation from proper American foreign policy. It was one thing to free Cuba, but it was a flat violation of the great principles of the Declaration of Independence to gain dominion over other people. And if the purpose of the Spanish-American War was to promote the economic interests of the United States, why in 1897 and 1898 were businessmen so opposed to our getting involved in hostilities that every war scare sent the stock market down? And what business did the United States have meddling in the politics of Asia, in the hope of future markets, with insufficient military power to back up its policies?

Examine the events of 1898 in detail. It may seem that the United States did not need to fight Spain in order to free Cuba and that once we were at war the annexation of the Philippines was no part of our declared purposes and was unnecessary to our military strategy. Suppose the war had not occurred and Cuba had achieved her freedom peacefully. Would that have kept United States political influence out of the Caribbean area? We doubt it. If Dewey's fleet had not been ordered to Manila Bay, would the United States have defended the Open Door and the integrity of China? Perhaps not.



Chapter 19

Imperialism

The Philippines are ours forever: "territory belonging to the United States," as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustees under God of the civilization of the world.

—ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

No man is good enough to govern another without that man's consent.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw a great expansion of the power of the major European nations over "backward" areas. A principal force behind this imperialist movement was the industrial revolution. As factories increased, they produced more goods than were consumed at home and demanded raw materials obtainable only abroad. Imperialism offered new markets and new sources of raw materials. New weapons made easier the subjection of native peoples. Steamships and ocean cables tightened control over distant colonies; they also led to a race to acquire coaling stations and cable bases.

The economic elements behind nineteenth-century imperialism were combined with national patriotism and idealism. Young men were urged to "throw themselves against cannons' mouths for love of England." Many who supported imperialism held to the now-exploded notion that the white race was superior to others and therefore had a "civilizing mission." In a celebrated poem Rudyard Kipling urged the

Anglo-Saxon countries to "Take up the White Man's burden."

Once launched in the 1870's, the imperialist movement resulted in a mad "scramble for empire." In the continent of Africa alone, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Belgium established claims totaling twice the area of the United States.

The United States was late in joining the race for empire. With an abundance of raw materials, an immense home market, and little surplus capital available for foreign investment, this country lacked the economic motives which operated in Europe. The tradition of isolation tended to keep America within its borders. Furthermore, the conquest of "subject" peoples seemed at variance with the fundamental idea of the Declaration of Independence—that people have the right to rule themselves. When the United States did acquire an overseas empire, most of its citizens, including the President, had no premonition of what was coming.

\$50,000 REWARD.—WHO DESTROYED THE MAINE—\$50,000 REWARD.

NEW YORK JOURNAL
AND ADVERTISER. FIFTY EDITION.

NO. 1272. NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1898. PRICE ONE CENT.

DESTRUCTION OF THE WAR SHIP MAINE WAS THE WORK OF AN ENEMY.

\$50,000!
\$50,000 REWARD!
For the Detection of the
Perpetrator of
the Maine Outrage!

\$50,000 CASH!
FURNISHED TO PERSON
WHO
FURNISHES THE
PERPETRATOR OF THIS OUTRAGE AND
ACCOMPLISHES

Assistant Secretary Roosevelt
Convinced the Explosion of
the War Ship Was Not
an Accident.

The Journal Offers \$50,000 Reward for the
Conviction of the Criminals Who Sent
358 American Sailors to Their Death.
Naval Officers Unanimous That
the Ship Was Destroyed
on Purpose.

\$50,000!
\$50,000 REWARD!
For the Detection of the
Perpetrator of
the Maine Outrage!

\$50,000 CASH!
FURNISHED TO PERSON
WHO
FURNISHES THE
PERPETRATOR OF THIS OUTRAGE AND
ACCOMPLISHES

About the only thing certain concerning the *Maine* incident of 1898 is that the Spanish did not do it. But when news of the sinking reached New York, newspapers that rivaled each other in their imaginative recreations of Spanish atrocities laid the blame on Spain.

Although it may appear as though the American adventure into imperialism occurred almost by chance, voices had already been raised in favor of expansion overseas. Thus Alfred Mahan demanded not only the building of a great fleet, but the acquisition of coaling stations and strategic harbors in the Pacific and the Caribbean. A clergyman, Josiah Strong, in a book entitled *Our Country*, wrote that it was the mission of the United States to spread Christianity and civil liberty by establishing colonies. Strong, like other imperialists, borrowed the language of Darwinism to support his arguments: he maintained that the Anglo-Saxons were the "fittest to survive" in the great competition between races for the control of the globe. People of English stock, he wrote, were "destined to dispossess many weaker races, assimilate others, and mold the remainder," until they had "Anglo-Saxonized mankind." Such pseudo-Darwinian notions were preached by

influential historians and political scientists. They were also held by a few important politicians, notably Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts and his close friend, Theodore Roosevelt, President McKinley's Assistant Secretary of the Navy. While the business community was in general opposed to foreign adventures, some American corporations were actively seeking foreign markets. If businessmen could be shown that by acquiring colonies the United States could expand its markets, they could be converted to imperialism. For many businessmen this conversion took place during the Spanish-American War.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, 1898

The Spanish-American War had its origins in Cuba. This last important remnant of the great Spanish empire in America had long been in a chronic state of unrest. Violent rebellion broke

out in 1895 and developed into "one of those dreadful, tragic, hopeless situations that mark the decline or exhaustion of a colonial relationship." The insurgents were not strong enough to take the cities, but carried on bitter guerrilla warfare. They deliberately attempted to devastate the island so that the Spaniards would be glad to withdraw. Spanish attempts at suppression were inefficient and harsh. On both sides there were atrocities. President Cleveland's annual messages to Congress in 1895 and 1896 reveal the difficulties that the Cuban war caused the United States. The rebels were supplied with arms illegally sent from the United States, and it was the task of the executive department to stop this traffic.

Leaders of the Cuban independence movement were often naturalized American citizens who, when captured by Spanish authorities, demanded protection by the United States. American capitalists who had invested between 30 million and 50 million dollars in Cuba, mostly in sugar plantations, wanted the war to end. The plantation owners, doubting the capacity of the Cubans for self-government, often favored the restoration of Spanish rule, but American public opinion was overwhelmingly on the side of the right of the islanders to independence. Although Cleveland preserved strict neutrality in the Cuban struggle, he warned that if "the useless sacrifice of human life" went on, the United States might have to abandon the policy of "patient waiting."

"Remember the Maine!"

McKinley attempted to follow Cleveland's policies. He strictly enforced the neutrality laws and used his influence to prevent Congress from passing a joint resolution recognizing the belligerent rights of the Cuban rebels. The Spanish government, most unwisely, rejected McKinley's efforts to bring hostilities to an end. Meanwhile the yellow press, led by William Randolph



The Battle of Manila Bay, as idealized by an artist from descriptions received by telegraph from Manila. The ships were certainly not so close together, but otherwise it is a good picture of the fleet in action.

Hearst's *New York Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, filled the front pages with exaggerated and sometimes fabricated stories of Spanish atrocities in Cuba. Finally an event occurred that led to war. On February 15, 1898, the United States battleship *Maine*, at anchor in the harbor of Havana, the capital of Cuba, was destroyed by a terrible explosion that killed 260 of her crew. To this day the cause of the disaster is unknown. It is highly improbable that the Spanish were responsible, since the last thing they wanted was American intervention. But the yellow press had no doubts. The *New York Journal* ran a headline "THE WARSHIP MAINE WAS SPLIT IN TWO BY AN ENEMY'S SECRET INFERNAL MACHINE," and published fake diagrams showing just how the deed was done. "Remember the *Maine*!" became the slogan of the day.

The McKinley administration and Hanna and the business interests were reluctant to go to war, and war rumors depressed the stock

market. But a torrential wave of popular sympathy for the Cubans and indignation against Spain mounted until it seemed nearly certain that Congress would soon act on its own. Although at the last moment Spain offered to make almost all the concessions that McKinley asked, on April 11 the President sent a message to Congress requesting that he be empowered to use the armed forces of the United States to pacify Cuba. After a week of debate, Congress by overwhelming majorities demanded that

QUESTION • If the Teller Amendment had not been passed, would Cuba be Communist-ruled today?

Spain evacuate the island. When no reply to this ultimatum was received, the so-called "War for

Cuban Independence" was declared on April 25. By the Teller Amendment, which was included in the ultimatum to Spain, Congress unanimously denied any designs on Cuba and promised as soon as peace was accomplished "to leave the government and control of the Island to the people."

Hostilities in the Caribbean

Once hostilities started, McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers to supplement the regular army, which numbered only 28,000. In answering this call for national service, the South responded as enthusiastically as the North, and three of the four civilians appointed as major-generals were Confederate veterans. Thus the Spanish-American War revealed that "if the war cloud hovered . . . above the country, the former boys in gray would rally as proudly in defense of the Stars and Stripes as did the wearers of the blue."

In spite of incredible inefficiency, 17,000 volunteers and regulars were made ready to sail from Tampa, Florida, by the middle of June. For a campaign in the tropics they were issued heavy woolen uniforms, left over from the

Indian wars; their cartridges were of an out-of-date type; and their rations included inedible meat which the soldiers nicknamed "embalmed beef."

After landing on the south coast of Cuba, the American force advanced on the city of Santiago. Even with poor equipment and confused leadership, the spirit of the American troops was much higher than that of the Spanish force barring their way. The fighting produced a popular hero in the person of Theodore Roosevelt, who had resigned from the Navy Department to serve in a volunteer regiment that he recruited himself. Against heavy fire Roosevelt personally led his "Rough Riders" in a frontal assault on San Juan Hill on the outskirts of Santiago.

Meanwhile, the American navy had not been idle. At the outbreak of hostilities, a squadron of the new White Fleet under Admiral William T. Sampson was given the task of intercepting a Spanish squadron under Admiral Pascual Cervera that was known to have left the Cape Verde Islands in April. There was such fear that Cervera would attack the undefended Atlantic Coast of the United States that eastern seaports demanded naval protection, and there was wholesale cancellation of hotel reservations at seaside resorts. Cervera's ships were finally discovered in Santiago harbor, which was immediately blockaded by Sampson's superior force. Once the American army took the heights overlooking Santiago, Cervera had the choice of surrendering or trying to break the blockade. To save the honor of Spain he took the latter course, and on July 3 his ships steamed out of Santiago harbor. In the ensuing battle all the Spanish vessels were sunk, while American losses were only one man killed and one wounded. Effective Spanish resistance in Cuba ceased with the surrender of Santiago two weeks later. American troops immediately went on to occupy another Spanish possession, the island of Puerto Rico.



The Library of Congress

"That splendid little war." Col. Theodore Roosevelt and members of the Rough Riders cavalry unit, which he organized, pose atop San Juan Hill after charging it (on foot)! For every American who died in battle in Cuba, thirteen more died of disease, most often yellow fever.

The Campaign in the Philippines

Meanwhile American forces won victories on the other side of the globe. When the war started, the McKinley administration had no notion of expanding the territories of the United States. But while he had served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt had been one of a small group of influential men who favored war with Spain as a means whereby the United States might acquire an overseas empire. Whenever John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy, left Washington, Roosevelt took over. In February 1898, he ordered a Pacific squadron stationed in Hong Kong under the command of Commodore George Dewey to sail for the Philippine Islands in case war with Spain broke out. Dewey was expected to prevent a Spanish fleet in

Manila Bay from going to sea. As soon as war was declared, Dewey's fleet set sail; it penetrated Manila Bay on May 1 and soon destroyed an inferior Spanish fleet. During the battle, the cable from Manila to Hong Kong had been cut, so that at first the outside world received only a Spanish report that Dewey had been repulsed. When the truth reached the United States a week later, there was wild rejoicing. Troops were immediately dispatched to Manila, and the city was captured on August 13, a few hours after Spain had agreed on an armistice...

Representatives of the United States and Spain met to arrange peace at Paris on October 1, 1898. The only real dispute at the conference table concerned the Philippines, which Spain was unwilling to relinquish on the ground that

the United States had won only the city of Manila, and that after an agreement to cease hostilities had been made.

To Annex or Not to Annex?

The decisive dispute about the future of the Philippines occurred, however, not at Paris, but in the United States. On entering the War for Cuban Independence, the American people had no idea of annexing territory, particularly a territory six thousand miles from the Pacific coast. McKinley confessed that before Dewey's victory he could not have come within two thousand miles of placing the Philippine Islands on a map. Once he said, "If old Dewey had just sailed away when he smashed that Spanish fleet, what a lot of trouble he would have saved us." Strong feeling developed against acquiring the islands. Bryan and Cleveland, the two leading Democrats, were opposed, as were many influential private citizens, among them Charles W. Eliot and Andrew Carnegie. Prominent Republicans, including Speaker of the House Thomas B. Reed and several senators, fought the annexation as a violation of American tradition.

Eventually sentiment for annexation outweighed opposition. Business interests were won over by the hope of new markets for American goods and new fields of investment. Public opinion

at large was excited by the prospect of acquiring an empire over which the sun never set, or almost never. Patriotism was also

QUESTION • If the United States had refused to annex the Philippines, would we have later fought Japan in World War II?

involved: there was strong feeling against hauling down the Stars and Stripes; especially since some other power, such as Japan or Germany, was likely to step in and take the Philippines as soon as we left.

Finally, McKinley decided that the United States must "take up the White Man's burden." As he later told a delegation of clergymen:

I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight. . . . And one night late it came to me this way— . . . (1) That we could not give them [the Philippines] back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to . . . our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable . . . ; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government—and . . . ; (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them. . . . And then I went to bed . . . and slept soundly.

New Responsibilities and Commitments

Once the McKinley administration decided to acquire the Philippines, it offered to pay for them. Therefore by the Treaty of Paris, signed in December 1898, the United States gave \$20,000,000 for the islands. Spain evacuated Cuba and ceded Puerto Rico, which had been hastily occupied by American troops at the close of hostilities, and Guam, which was important as a way station to the Philippines. Anti-imperialist feeling in the Senate was so strong that the treaty was ratified by only a two-vote margin. A Senate resolution promising the Filipinos eventual independence was defeated only by the tie-breaking vote of the Vice-President.

The new sense of manifest destiny resulted in a change of policy regarding the Hawaiian Islands. As we have seen, Cleveland had opposed a move to annex them in 1893, and in 1897 the Senate rejected an annexation treaty presented by McKinley. But after Dewey won the battle of Manila Bay, the islands acquired a new importance as a stepping-stone to the Far East. They were annexed in July 1898 by a joint resolution of Congress. (See U.S. and Possessions in 1900, pp. 464-465).

The events of 1898 marked a turning point in American history. The United States was suddenly faced with the responsibility of ruling alien peoples who could not be "Americanized" by the usual process of living in the United States. It now held a commanding position in the Caribbean which soon led to a commitment to police the entire area. Possession of the Philippines in turn led to another commitment, the defense of China from external aggression.

PROBLEMS OF AN OVERSEAS EMPIRE

The new possessions acquired in 1898 posed difficult questions. How were they to be governed? Were their inhabitants American citizens? Did colonial goods enter the United States duty free? In addition to such over-all questions, each colony presented its own special problem.

The colony that had the least difficulty in attaching itself to the United States was Hawaii.

Liliuokalani, Last Queen of Hawaii

It was a shame. They had already lived through twelve years of irresponsible monarchy, and the queen had seemed to be different—anxious to reform her playboy brother's kingdom, regal, devoted to duty. But she was about to promulgate a constitution that would put Hawaii back into the mid-nineteenth century. And what could the responsible members of society do but stop her?

Liliuokalani lived amid the faithfully reproduced splendors of the Victorian era. Her throne was red and gold; her throne room was crowded with portraits of earlier Hawaiian rulers, whose gorgeous royal feather standards lined the walls. Her home, Iolani Palace, was a remarkable structure, echoing earlier Hawaiian history. Between its windows on the outside walls were mirrors, reminders of the gifts brought by missionaries to earlier islanders, who were entranced with their own reflections in the "magic glass." Descendants of these missionaries had become prosperous businessmen who now saw their livelihood threatened by the strong-willed queen.

The situation was serious. Hawaii depended on its sugar industry, and the queen was unwilling to allow the planters to retain their voice in the government. Although a reciprocity treaty with the United States had brought them prosperity, the recent McKinley Tariff had made it impossible to compete with Cuban sugar in United States markets. Annexation to the United States would save the sugar industry. But the queen was interested only in restoring the authority of the monarchy.

In 1893 a Committee of Safety, secretly committed to annexation, drove Liliuokalani off the throne. President Cleveland tried to re-establish the kingdom, but the Provisional Government refused to disband, and in 1894 a republic was formed. The queen, accused of complicity in a counterrevolution in 1895, was arrested and confined to her palace. Pardoned later, she went to the mainland, where she lived on an annual pension of four thousand dollars and the income from one of her sugar plantations. Hawaii was finally annexed in 1898; in 1959 it became the fiftieth state admitted to the United States.

(Theme 1, see p. xl)



Between 1893 and 1898 Hawaii had been an independent republic dominated by Americans. Although the inhabitants came from many countries, especially Japan and China, English was becoming the common language. In 1900 Hawaii was made a territory, and the former president of the republic, Sanford B. Dole, was appointed its first governor. The opening of the American market to Hawaiian products such as sugar and pineapples brought great prosperity to the islands. By 1928 trade with the United States had reached the amazing total of \$584 for each inhabitant of the islands.

The change of sovereignty caused more difficulties in Puerto Rico than in Hawaii. The transition from producing for the Spanish market to producing for that of the United States was difficult, and the cultural ties of Puerto Ricans were with Spain and Latin America, not with the English-speaking United States. After a brief period of military rule, Puerto Rico was given an increasing degree of self-government until by 1917 it was granted territorial status and its people were made citizens of the United States. Improved public sanitation cut the death rate in half, and public schools raised the literacy rate. The rapid increase in population, however, tended to outrun the available food supply, and Puerto Rico was far less prosperous than Hawaii. The inhabitants demanded either independence or complete self-rule under the American flag.

The Philippine Insurrection, 1899-1902

The Philippines provided the most difficult problem in colonial administration. The 7,100 islands supported a population of 7,500,000 people, divided into 43 ethnic groups, speaking 87 different languages and dialects. Culturally the Filipinos ranged from primitive peoples in the jungles to highly literate inhabitants in the cities. When Dewey reached Manila Bay, an uprising against Spain had just begun, and Filipino patriots, besieging Manila assisted the

American forces. Once it became apparent, however, that the United States intended to annex the Philippines, a new uprising broke out, led by the able guerrilla chieftain Emilio Aguinaldo. It required over 60,000 troops—four times the number sent to Cuba—and three years of fighting to suppress the Filipino patriots.

Many Americans were distressed to find their country in the same position as Spain in 1895 and England in 1776—at war with a native independence movement. Former Speaker Thomas B. Reed abandoned politics in protest against imperialism and taunted a pro-expansionist by asking how much it had cost to buy Filipinos “in the bush.” The poet William Vaughn Moody wrote bitter verses about expending the blood of American boys to subdue a people struggling to be free.

In 1901, even before the insurrection was suppressed, President McKinley announced that American policy toward the islands would be directed toward the good of the Filipinos. “The Philippines are ours,” said the President, “not to exploit but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government.” In pursuit of this ideal the President sent two commissions, composed of able and well-meaning men, to investigate the condition of the Philippines and set up a civil government.

William Howard Taft, later President of the United States, headed the second commission. Genuinely devoted to the interests of the “little brown brothers,” as he called them, Taft started a program to prepare the Filipinos for self-government and protect them from foreign exploitation. American teachers were brought in to establish public schools. The United States bought out large foreign landowners, and introduced laws designed to keep property in the hands of the natives. Qualified Filipinos were soon brought into the governments; in 1907 an elective legislature was established; and in 1916 the United States promised the Philippines eventual independence.



Public schools were established by American teachers in the Philippines as part of a program of educating the Filipinos in the art of self-government. Spanish-speaking children are shown being taught English.

Did the Constitution Follow the Flag?

The new overseas possessions posed constitutional problems that were summarized in the question, "Does the Constitution follow the flag?" Congress, according to the Constitution, may not levy duties on goods carried from one part of the United States to another. Did this mean that no tariff duties might be laid on goods from American colonies? The Constitution guarantees to all American citizens certain civil rights. Did this guarantee extend to the inhabitants of the new colonies who had no conception of the principles or practices of Anglo-Saxon justice? Did the head-hunting Igorots of the Philippine rain-forest, for instance, have the right to trial by a jury of their peers?

Such questions were appealed to the Supreme Court, which in the "insular cases" decided that the Constitution did not completely apply to overseas possessions. In a confused 5 to 4 decision (*Downes v. Bidwell*, 1901), the court ruled that Puerto Rico was not strictly speaking part of the United States, but was a dependency; therefore Congress might levy tariffs on Puerto Rican products. Other decisions held that inhabitants of dependencies enjoyed full civil rights only if granted them by congressional legislation. Since 1903, however, Congress has granted independence to the Philippines, as well as free trade and an increas-

ing measure of civil rights to other dependencies. Today, therefore, the problem of whether or not the Constitution follows the flag is no longer an important issue.

Cuba and the Platt Amendment

By the Teller Amendment, passed on the eve of the Spanish-American War, the United States pledged itself to withdraw from Cuba as soon as order was restored. After three years of civil war, however, the island was in terrible condition. For the sake of the Cuban people themselves, the United States felt duty-bound to remain and help in reconstruction. For nearly four years Cuba was under military rule directed by General Leonard Wood. The most dramatic achievement of Wood's able and energetic administration was the suppression of yellow fever. An American medical mission under Dr. Walter Reed proved the accuracy of the theory held by a Cuban physician, Carlos J. Finlay: that yellow fever was transmitted by the stegomyia mosquito. In the course of the investigation, American doctors and volunteers deliberately allowed themselves to be bitten by mosquitoes, and some of them died as martyrs to medical progress. A successful campaign to eliminate mosquitoes from Havana was carried on under the direction of Major William C. Gorgas, an army medical officer. By 1901, for the first time

in centuries, there was no yellow fever in the Cuban capital.

Meanwhile the Cubans made progress toward self-government. They held municipal elections in 1900, and in 1901 adopted a constitution modeled on that of the United States. In 1902 American military authority came to an end. Cuban independence was not complete, but was limited by the so-called Platt Amendment which Congress tacked on to an army appropriation bill in 1901. The Platt Amendment governed the relations between Cuba and the United States for thirty-three years. Its most important provisions were: (1) Cuba should not make any treaty with a foreign nation which weakened its independence; (2) it should allow the United States the right to buy or lease naval stations; (3) its public debt should not exceed its capacity to pay; and (4) the United States should have the right to intervene to protect Cuban independence and keep order. These provisions, written into the Cuban constitution and into a treaty with the United States, made Cuba an American protectorate. In 1903 the

United States granted Cuba special tariff favors, especially a 20 per cent reduction of the duty on sugar imported by the United States. This so encouraged sugar production that by 1920 Americans had invested over a billion dollars in the island.

NEW COMMITMENTS IN CHINA

Although American missionary enterprise in China had continued, Chinese-American commerce had slackened since the great days of the tea clippers; in 1893 only 2 per cent of China's trade was with the United States. The acquisition of the Philippines revived interest in business opportunities in China. Manila, it was predicted, would become as important a center for commerce with China as the great British port of Hong Kong.

At the close of the nineteenth century, it looked as though the "Celestial Empire" was to go the way of Africa and be partitioned among stronger powers. The hopeless inefficiency of the imperial government was revealed



The emergence of Japan as an imperial power is satirized by this cartoon in *Puck*. Little did the world know then that in less than forty years Japan would become the greatest power in the Far East. Note the cartoonist's characterization of the various other powers.



The striking way in which the Spanish-American War seemed to commit the United States to action in the Far East is suggested by the detachment of U.S. cavalry to help rescue Europeans in Peking during the Boxer Rebellion. Secretary of State John Hay later tried to prevent China's division among foreign powers.

in 1895 when the recently Westernized Japanese easily defeated the Chinese, annexing Formosa and the Pescadores Islands (see map, p. 715). In 1898 and 1899, Russia, Germany, France, and Great Britain "leased" Chinese ports, some of them for ninety-nine years. It was expected that each "leasehold" would become the center of a "sphere of influence" so that through holding Port Arthur, Russia would dominate Manchuria; through Kiaochow, Germany would control the Shantung Peninsula, and so forth.

Two powers were opposed to parceling out Chinese territory—the United States and Great Britain. The United States feared that it would be unable to cash in on the possession of Manila by enlarging its share of China trade. Great Britain, controlling 80 per cent of the trade,

feared that some of her profits would be diverted to other countries. Early in 1898 the British government sounded out the United States on a joint declaration in favor of the "Open Door"—the preservation of equal trading opportunities in China for all foreign nations. At that time the United States was cool to the idea, but the annexation of the Philippines changed the American attitude.

John Hay's "Open Door" Notes, 1899

John Hay, Secretary of State, was one of the first well-qualified men to hold the position since Hamilton Fish had served under Grant. Hay, who had begun his political career as one of Lincoln's private secretaries, was aware of the importance of foreign policy, and thought

that the days of isolationism must end. He favored a policy of cooperation with Great Britain, and defended the acquisition of an overseas empire. It was therefore natural that he should become interested in defending the Open Door. In September 1899, he sent notes to the major countries having leaseholds in China asking that they keep the ports open to the vessels of all nations on equal terms, levy equal tariffs on imports, and charge equal railroad rates within their spheres of influence. Since none of the nations involved wished to state publicly that it intended to discriminate against the trade of other countries, none chose to dispute these points. Hay immediately announced that the Open Door had been "guaranteed." He was credited in the United States with having achieved a great diplomatic victory.

Hay's achievement was less important than it seemed at the time. His request was "like asking all persons in a room who were not thieves to stand up." The polite but evasive replies to Hay's notes hardly amounted to a guarantee. Furthermore, the notes did not protect China from being carved into spheres of influence where foreign powers had exclusive rights to build railroads and exploit natural resources. Hay's skillful and well-publicized actions were principally designed to popularize the expansionist policies of the McKinley administration; in this they were successful.

The Boxer Rebellion and Second Open Door Notes, 1900

In 1900 a group of Chinese patriots, calling themselves "Fists of Universal Harmony," were so bitterly resentful of foreign interference that they started an uprising with the intention of wiping out the "foreign devils" and their Christian converts. The Chinese government lent secret aid to what came to be called the Boxer movement. The Boxers killed over two hundred foreigners, mostly missionaries and their fami-

lies, and attempted to slaughter the foreign diplomats in Peking. For seven weeks nine hundred foreigners, cut off from the outside world, held out in the Chinese capital. They were rescued by a joint military expedition to which the United States contributed 2,500 troops.

During this crisis, Hay labored successfully to prevent full-scale war against China and to persuade the powers not to use the Boxer Rebellion as an excuse to partition the unhappy country. In July 1900, he again sent identical notes to countries with important interests in China. In these second Open Door notes, Hay went far beyond the first in that he not only urged equal com-

QUESTION • Were the actions of the Boxers defensible?

mercial opportunity, but declared it to be the policy of the United

States to seek a solution that would "preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity." Hay did not ask the other powers to commit themselves, and he gave no guarantee that the United States would back up the policy with force. But later the idea developed that the United States was committed both morally and militarily to defending Chinese integrity, and this ultimately led to war with Japan forty-odd years later.

Hay also used his influence toward scaling down the large indemnity that the Chinese government was forced to pay as punishment for encouraging the Boxers. The American share of the \$333,000,000 that China paid foreign countries was 25 million dollars, an amount that proved more than enough to satisfy all Americans who claimed to have suffered in the rebellion. In 1907, the United States as a gesture of good will toward China returned \$11,000,000, and in 1924, \$6,000,000 more. The Chinese government used the money to educate Chinese youths at American universities.



The Roosevelt Memorial Association

Roosevelt, rushing back from a camping trip, arrived at McKinley's bedside too late to see him alive. The Vice-President's assumption of power was not greeted happily by all members of his own party. Mark Hanna, who had opposed his nomination on the 1900 ticket, feared what the "damned cowboy in the White House" would do. Not yet 43 years old, Roosevelt was the youngest man ever to serve as President. Above, he passes through police lines to reach the house where McKinley's body lay in state.

IMPERIALISM AS A POLITICAL ISSUE

For a few years after the Spanish-American War, imperialism was one of the major issues of national politics. In October 1899, an anti-imperialist congress met at Chicago, attended by delegates from all over the country. The anti-imperialists drew up a platform denouncing the attempt to subdue the Philippines as "open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government." They quoted what Abraham Lin-

coln said about slavery: "No man is good enough to govern another man without that man's consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government, but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism."

The Election of 1900

So widespread was opposition to imperialism that in 1900 Bryan, again the Democratic candi-

date, attempted to make it "the paramount issue" of the presidential campaign. He weakened his case, however, by continuing to demand free silver, which had become a dead issue. The Republicans renominated McKinley for President and for Vice-President proposed Theodore Roosevelt, who, since leading the Rough Riders, had become governor of New York. As far as possible, the Republicans avoided discussion of imperialism, a question on which they themselves were divided. Adopting for their slogan "the full dinner pail," they claimed credit for the prosperity the country had enjoyed during McKinley's administration, and predicted a depression if Bryan were elected. The result of the election was a more decisive Republican victory than that of 1896.

McKinley's Last Speech

In September 1901, six months after his second inauguration, McKinley attended an exposition in Buffalo and made a speech which revealed an intense awareness of America's new position in the world. Heretofore, the President had been considered the "high priest of protective tariffs," but at Buffalo he announced a change of heart, saying:

Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. God and man have linked the nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. . . .

Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously, and our products have so multiplied, that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. . . .

We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We must take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industry and labor.

To meet the new situation the President proposed reciprocity treaties with foreign nations, providing for mutual lowering of tariffs.

McKinley did not live to put his new policy into effect. The day after delivering his speech on reciprocity he was shot by an anarchist, and died a week later. In the newspaper headlines the news of the President's death had to compete with the Vice-President's efforts to reach his bedside. When it was known that the President was dying, Roosevelt was summoned to Buffalo. He was on a camping trip deep in the Adirondack wilderness, and a guide had to be sent out to find him. In order to reach a railroad, Roosevelt drove thirty miles at night by wagon over rough and dangerous roads. When he reached the station, he learned that McKinley was already dead. Just short of forty-three years old, he was the youngest President who had ever entered the White House.

Activities: Chapter 19

For Mastery and Review

1. Explain the forces behind imperialism in the latter part of the nineteenth century.
2. What circumstances led to the Spanish-American War? What were the terms of settlement?
3. In parallel columns, list the arguments for and against annexation of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. What problems were encountered in each place?

4. What was the reaction to imperialism as expressed in American politics? What was McKinley's view on America's new position in the world?
5. Why did the United States hold Cuba under military rule? What was accomplished? What were the terms of the Platt Amendment?
6. What is a sphere of influence? Why was the Open Door policy established? How was it developed? What was the Boxer Rebellion? What was the role of the United States in it?

Unrolling the Map

1. On an outline map of the world, show places connected with (1) *the Spanish-American War*, including Cuba, Santiago, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Manila Bay, Guam; (2) *the Open Door Policy*: Peking, Port Arthur, Kiaochow, Formosa, Shantung Peninsula, Hong Kong, Korea, Manchuria. (See maps, pp. 465, 550.)

2. Study the map on pp. 464 and 465. To what extent had the United States become a world power on whose empire the sun never set?

Who, What, and Why Important?

Cuba	Emilio Aguinaldo
the <i>Maine</i>	William Howard Taft
yellow press	"insular cases"
Teller Amendment	Platt Amendment
Rough Riders	Leonard Wood
Battle of Santiago Bay	Carlos J. Finlay
Commodore Dewey	Walter Reed
Battle of Manila Bay	sphere of influence
"White Man's Burden"	John Hay
Treaty of Paris, 1898	Open Door
Hawaii	Boxer Rebellion
Puerto Rico	election of 1900

To Pursue the Matter

1. Prepare an outline map of the world to show (a) European colonial possessions acquired by 1815; (b) those acquired between 1815 and 1914; and (c) American colonial holdings in 1914. How many of these are still colonies?

2. Irreverent accounts of the Spanish-American War and of Roosevelt's part in it are found in Millis, *The Martial Spirit*, and Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*.

3. Can you reconcile the Teller Amendment with the Platt Amendment?

4. See if "Mr. Dooley's" type of humor appeals to you. Try his account of "Tiddy Rosenfelt's" adventures in Cuba in Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 344-345. If you want to go on, there are two paperback anthologies of Dooley in print: Filler, *The World of Mr. Dooley*, and Hutchinson, *Mr. Dooley on Ivrything and Ivrybody*.

5. The medical research on yellow fever makes a dramatic story. Study it in De Kruif, *Men Against Death*.

6. Re-study the Northwest Ordinance (see pp. 86-88) to see how America provided for governing land and people beyond the original thirteen states. Its text is found in Bragdon *et al.*, *Frame of Government*, pp. 65-87. Why was the precedent set up in 1787 not applied overseas?

7. Using historical examples, clarify the distinctions between (a) colony, (b) protectorate, (c) sphere of influence, (d) mandate, and (e) trusteeship.

8. Come-to-life color can be found in "Prisoners in Peking," in Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 352-354; for a change of pace, try the excerpt just before: "The Jovial Mr. Taft," pp. 349-351.

9. For an interesting exposition of the tide of imperialism that flowed from the war with Spain, see May, *From Imperialism to Isolationism, 1898-1919*, pp. 1-32.

Chapter 20

Theodore Roosevelt and Foreign Affairs

*No nation can claim rights without acknowledging
the duties that go with the rights.*

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT

It was thoroughly characteristic of Theodore Roosevelt to try to reach McKinley's bedside by a dangerous ride through a wilderness. No other President has had such a genius for the dramatic gesture. He preached what he called "the strenuous life." He told young men, "Don't flinch, don't foul, hit the line hard!" He practiced what he preached.

Theodore Roosevelt's interests seemed universal, his energy inexhaustible. Even as President he found time to read prodigiously in many different fields; to play tennis, box, hunt grizzlies, ride horseback, and go on rugged hikes through the woods; to engage in public discussion of such diverse matters as "race suicide" (the declining birth rate), "nature fakers" (writers who told improbable tales about wild animals), simplified spelling (he was a poor speller himself), and changes in the football rules. He continued to be a devoted father to his six children, quite willing to hold up a state dinner for a pillow fight with his sons.

Roosevelt had the magnetism of the true leader. One of his Rough Riders said of him, "If he and I were crossing Brooklyn Bridge and he ordered me to jump over, I'd do it without

asking why." An author who had been to lunch at the White House wrote of his experience: "You go into Roosevelt's presence, you feel his eyes upon you, you listen to him, and you go home and wring the personality out of your clothes." He was the darling of reporters because everything he did was news, and of cartoonists because his big teeth, eyeglasses, moustache, and Rough Rider uniform made him easy to caricature.

Roosevelt's public nickname, "Teddy," suggested a certain childlike quality, and it was true that he had a childish desire not to miss anything, a childish enjoyment of showing off, and sometimes a childish insistence on having his own way. "You must always remember," wrote a friend, "that the President is about six."

ROOSEVELT: THE MAN AND HIS CAREER

The picturesque and sometimes ridiculous aspects of Roosevelt's character tend to obscure his genuine abilities and solid achievement. Although sickly and timid as a small boy, he courageously overcame his handicaps, at first through hunting trips in the Maine woods, later

by boxing, playing polo, and riding the cattle ranges in North Dakota. He started to collect birds and animals as a child, and became a serious naturalist who contributed to scientific journals. His vigorous outdoor life did not prevent him from writing several books and scores of magazine articles on a variety of subjects. Inspired by Francis Parkman (see p. 33), he produced a six-volume work, *The Winning of the West*, which glorified "the hard, energetic, practical men who do the pioneer work of civilization." His eagerness for experience brought him into contact with all kinds of people. Although born to a wealthy and socially prominent New York family, he learned to appreciate and make friends with persons in every walk of life.

Less than a year after he graduated from college, Roosevelt announced that he intended to join the local Republican club and run for office. His friends were shocked and warned that he would have to rub shoulders with his social inferiors, with "saloon-keepers, horse-car conductors, and the like." Roosevelt replied that the people he knew did not belong to the governing class, and the others did; he intended to be one of the governing class. In 1881 he was elected to the New York legislature, and was twice re-elected. In ensuing years he was Republican candidate for mayor of New York City, a member of the United States Civil Service Commission under Harrison and Cleveland, and a New York City police commissioner. McKinley appointed him Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He resigned from this position to help organize the Rough Riders. His popularity as a military hero made him governor of New York in 1898.

Throughout his political career, Roosevelt steered a course somewhat between being a "Muldoon" (straight party man) on the one hand, and a "Mugwump" (an independent) on the other. In the New York legislature he opposed machine politicians and cooperated with

governor Grover Cleveland to promote civil service reform, even though Cleveland was a Democrat. In the 1884 presidential campaign, however, he refused to desert the Republican party, even though he thoroughly disapproved of its candidate, James G. Blaine. "A man cannot act without and within the party," Roosevelt said at the time. "He can do either, but he cannot possibly do both. . . . It is impossible to combine the functions of a guerrilla chief with those of a colonel in the regular army; one has greater independence of action, the other is able to make what action he does vastly more effective." This remark also illustrates Roosevelt's attitude toward reform. He wanted clean

government that should be responsive to the people's needs, but distrusted what

he called the "lunatic fringe" of reformers who were impatient to make over society at once. He could do good, he felt, only by not attempting the impossible.

Use of Presidential Power

Such was the force of Roosevelt's personality that, although faced with no great crisis, he much increased the scope and power of the office of President. Acting on what he called the Jackson-Lincoln theory of the presidency, he claimed the right to do practically anything he thought would benefit the people. "I did not usurp power," he said in his autobiography, "but I did greatly broaden the use of executive power. I . . . caused to be done many things not previously done by the President and head of the departments. In other words, I acted for the public welfare . . . whenever and in whatever manner was necessary, unless prevented by direct constitutional or legislative prohibition. . . ."

There was hardly any method of exerting power that Roosevelt did not attempt. Con-



The Library of Congress

"Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat."
—Theodore Roosevelt, 1910.

stantly urging reform legislation, he "built prairie fires" behind reluctant congressmen by rallying public support for his measures. His speeches, letters, and off-the-cuff remarks to newspapermen made headlines, partly because he was a talented phrase-maker who talked of "race suicide," "the big stick," and "malefactors of great wealth." He made any cause in which he was engaged as dramatic as storming San Juan Hill. "Roosevelt," ruefully admitted one of his critics, "has the knack of doing things, and doing them noisily, clamorously; while he is in the neighborhood the public can no more look the other way than the small boy can turn his head away from a circus parade followed by a steam calliope."

When Roosevelt could not get Congress to act, he often went ahead on his own. When he wanted to send a fleet around the world and Congress would not vote funds, he pointed out

that as commander in chief he had the power to order the fleet anywhere on the globe. If Congress wanted to get it back home, it would have to appropriate the money. When the Senate refused to ratify a treaty with the Dominican Republic, Roosevelt simply continued the arrangement as an "executive agreement." Although unable to persuade Congress to pass legislation to put trusts under new controls, Roosevelt made a name for himself as "Teddy the Trust Buster" by reviving and enforcing the Sherman Act.

Prestige and Politics

When existing powers of the presidency were inadequate, Roosevelt often achieved his ends by using the great prestige of the office. He forced a settlement of the great coal strike of 1902 by persuading miners and owners to arbitrate their differences. He had no legal right to intervene in the strike, but neither owners nor workers could ultimately refuse to heed the President's plea that the public welfare demanded a settlement. To promote cooperation between the federal government and the states in the field of conservation, Roosevelt called a Conference of Governors at the White House in 1908. The governors were under no compulsion to come, but few persons turn down a presidential invitation, so the governors of all the states either came themselves or sent representatives.

Roosevelt owed much of his power to his mastery of practical politics. In the opinion of Grover Cleveland, he was "the most perfectly equipped and the most effective politician thus far seen in the presidency." He did not make Cleveland's mistake of breaking with his party followers. Although sometimes he pushed legislation through Congress by enlisting public opinion, at other times he achieved his ends by personal conferences or logrolling. While he promoted civil service reform, he also consulted

party leaders about many appointments and used patronage to promote both his own political fortunes and measures he favored.

Finally, Roosevelt could rightly ascribe his effectiveness and his immense popularity to the fact that he was doing his best to promote "the common welfare of all our people." His great activity sometimes produced small results, and he sometimes seemed to be charging up the wrong hill, but Teddy won the people's love because they felt he was fighting on their side.

The Battle of Santiago de Cuba saw the end of Spanish naval power in the Americas. The American fleet, bottled up Cervera's fleet in Santiago harbor, defeating the Spaniards as they attempted to leave.

Roosevelt and Foreign Affairs

Although not a trained diplomat, Roosevelt had more knowledge of the outside world than any President since John Quincy Adams. He had crossed the Atlantic several times, spoke French and German, and was informed about foreign countries and their politics. He had numerous acquaintances and friends abroad. Above all, Roosevelt had what he called "large ideas" about the position of the United States in the world. He was resolved that the United



States should be treated like a great power and act like one. His actions were sometimes impulsive, sometimes unwise, but he firmly believed that power imposed responsibility. In the Western Hemisphere, he enlarged the scope of the Monroe Doctrine and secured United States domination of the Caribbean. In the Pacific and Far East, he attempted to keep a balance of power and restrain first Russian, then Japanese, ambitions. He was the first President to interest himself in the peace of Europe.

THE "BIG STICK" IN THE CARIBBEAN

One of Roosevelt's mottoes in foreign policy was, "Speak softly and carry a big stick." The Big Stick was most in evidence in the Caribbean. The acquisition of Puerto Rico and the establishment of a protectorate over Cuba gave the United States new interest in this region. The Spanish-American War revealed the need for a canal through Panama or Nicaragua to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. As Alfred Mahan had foreseen, the building of an isthmian canal would change the Caribbean from a "comparatively deserted nook of the ocean" to one of great strategic importance.

Second Venezuelan Affair, 1902

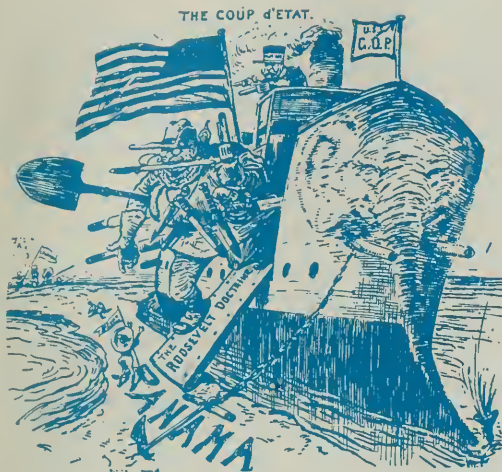
Roosevelt, like Cleveland, defended Venezuela from possible European aggression and strengthened the Monroe Doctrine in doing so. (See p. 463.) In 1901 Venezuela owed money to citizens of several European countries, and Cipriano Castro, the dictator-president, refused either to pay the debts or submit them to arbitration. Roosevelt had little sympathy for Castro. In his annual message of 1901, the President said the Monroe Doctrine did not protect American nations against punishment for misbehavior, but only against loss of territory. Acting on this, Great Britain and Germany, the two principal creditors, blockaded Vene-

zuelan ports in an effort to force payment. This action had been taken after consultation with the State Department, and there was no threat of annexing territory. Nevertheless, the blockade became intensely unpopular in the United States, because the Monroe Doctrine seemed in danger of violation. Feeling was intensified when Venezuelan gunboats were sunk and Venezuelan ports bombarded. The public reaction prompted Roosevelt to urge an end of the blockade and the submission of the dispute to arbitration. Great Britain was quicker to heed the President's warning than Germany. Roosevelt's personal letters reveal that he distrusted the rising German empire, which had the best army in the world and was building a modern navy. The saber rattling utterances of Kaiser (Emperor) William II made German policy appear more bellicose than it was in fact, and Roosevelt had written his friend Senator Lodge that the Germans might take some step in the West Indies or South America "which will make us either put up or shut up on the Monroe Doctrine."

Several years later, Roosevelt told a picturesque story of how he had delivered an ultimatum to the German government in regard to Venezuela: either the emperor accepted arbitration at once or an American fleet under Admiral Dewey would attack the German blockading force. Later research fails to support this dramatic account, which has been called "a product of the Rough Rider's imagination rather than his memory," but apparently Roosevelt did deliver some kind of informal warning. In any case, both the British and the Germans withdrew their fleets. An English newspaper remarked, "the Monroe Doctrine emerges with an immensely increased authority."

The Roosevelt Corollary, 1904

In 1903, Luis Drago, Argentine foreign minister, urged that the use of force in collect-



Among Roosevelt's severest critics was the *New York World*, whose continuing criticism of the Big-Stick policy (left) drove him to prosecute the newspaper for criminal libel—the first time a President had tried this since 1798. (The Supreme Court ruled unanimously in favor of the newspaper.) Below, "A Quiet Day" in the life of Teddy as seen by John T. McCutcheon in the *Chicago Tribune* criticizes Roosevelt's love of game hunting.

ing debts from bankrupt countries be declared contrary to international law. This so-called Drago Doctrine posed a problem for the United States. If the United States opposed Drago and allowed foreign nations to blockade the coasts and bombard the cities of defaulting Latin-American nations, the door was left ajar to further aggression. If the United States followed Drago and forbade forcible collection of debts, it might be pushed into defending financial dishonesty. The United States' reply to the Drago Doctrine was the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. Whenever, said the President in 1904, an American republic was guilty of "chronic wrongdoing," the United States might have to assume an "international police power." To put the Corollary in another way: if the United States forbade European nations the right to collect debts by force, it might have to intervene itself.



The Roosevelt Corollary was first applied in the Dominican Republic. The country was in debt to both European and American creditors, but governmental inefficiency and corruption prevented payment. In 1905, the United States took over the collection of Dominican customs, paying 45 per cent of the proceeds to the

Dominican government and 55 per cent to foreign bondholders. In answer to the charge of imperialism, Roosevelt formally renounced aggressive designs on the island republic. The United States had no more desire for Dominican territory, he remarked, than "a gorged boa constrictor might have to swallow a porcupine wrong-end-to."

According to the Platt Amendment (pp. 483-484), the United States already had the right to intervene in Cuba in order to protect that country from foreign aggression or to preserve life, liberty, and property. In 1906 bitter party rivalry in Cuba threatened to erupt into civil

war. In contrast to his attitude in 1898, Roosevelt had little wish to get involved, but was persuaded to intervene by the threat of anarchy. He established a provisional government under William Howard Taft, with American troops to back him, but urged that interference with Cuban rights of self-government be as gentle as possible. After re-establishing order, the United States withdrew early in 1909.

The Panama Canal Zone, 1903

Roosevelt's most dramatic and debated action in the Caribbean was his acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone in 1903. The United

Gorgas Defeats the Mosquito

Even though they hired Ferdinand de Lesseps, the great engineer of Suez, the French failed to dig a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Yellow fever and malaria made it impossible.

The Americans had learned a lesson. One of the first major assignments went to William C. Gorgas, who was named chief sanitary officer in 1904. He had taken part in the successful Havana battle against yellow fever waged by Carlos Finlay and Walter Reed (see p. 483). Gorgas fought inertia, bureaucratic inefficiency, and confused control among his superiors for three years. Not until 1907 did he get the full support he needed, when George W. Goethals became chief engineer of the entire Panama Canal project.

With Goethals' help, Dr. Gorgas provided a complete health program for a great community of workers, nearly all of whom had to acclimate themselves to the foods, habits, and insect threats of the tropics. Immune himself to yellow fever because he had once had it in Texas, Gorgas threw himself into a fight against three diseases: the plague, yellow fever, and malaria.

With quarantine, fumigation, and extermination of rats and fleas, he defeated the plague. He attacked yellow fever and malaria with a war on mosquitoes. All buildings, houses, and tents were screened. Stricken patients were segregated. Cities, villages, and farms were cleaned up; streets were paved, sewage systems installed, and drinking-water cisterns covered. All standing water, whether in swamps or gutters, was sprayed with an oil containing carbolic acid, resin, and alkali.

The statistics tell of Gorgas' victory. In 1906, 82.1 per cent of all employees in the Canal Zone were hospitalized for malaria at some time during the year. By 1913, the percentage had dropped to 7.6. The lesson taught by Finlay and Reed had been well-learned.

(Theme 7, p. xii)



States and Great Britain had become interested in an isthmian canal in the mid-nineteenth century, as shown by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (see pp. 334–335). No move was made to dig a canal, however, until the 1880's, when a French company made a vain and costly effort to cut through Panama. Early in the 1890's, an American company started to dig a canal through Nicaragua, but they soon abandoned the attempt.

An incident in the Spanish-American War made Americans aware of the strategic need for a canal for shuttling warships between the Atlantic and Pacific. The battleship *Oregon*, ordered from Puget Sound to Cuban waters, was forced to steam 14,000 miles around Cape Horn—three times as far as if there had been a shortcut. If an isthmian canal were to be useful to the American navy, the United States would have to fortify it, but the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty stood in the way. In 1901 the British government agreed to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty whereby the United States might build, control, and fortify a canal, so long as ships of all nations were charged equal tolls.

Immediately, Secretary of State John Hay negotiated a treaty with Colombia for a canal through the Isthmus of Panama. The resulting Hay-Herran Treaty provided for the lease of a zone six miles wide at the cost of a down payment of \$10,000,000 and rent of \$250,000 a year. In August 1903, however, the Colombian Senate unanimously refused to ratify this agreement. The Colombians argued with justification that the payment offered them was too small, since the bankrupt French canal company was to receive \$40,000,000 for a temporary lease and some rusting machinery.

Roosevelt was furious at what he called an attempt by "inefficient bandits" to extort money from the United States. He even considered seizing Panama without a treaty, but that proved unnecessary. On November 3, 1903, a revolution

(financed by agents of the French canal company) broke out on the isthmus, and an independent Republic of Panama was proclaimed. The United States cruiser *Nashville*, which had appeared on the scene the previous day, aided the revolutionaries. On November 6 the United States recognized Panamanian independence. Less than two weeks later the United States and Panama signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, which was similar to the previous Hay-Herran Treaty except that in the new treaty the Canal Zone was enlarged.

Roosevelt defended his Big Stick diplomacy in Panama on the ground that he advanced "the needs of collective civilization" by hastening the building of an inter-ocean canal. But he also

QUESTION • If the Canal had been dug across Nicaragua instead of Panama, what would be the difference today?

said on one occasion, "I took the canal zone and let Congress debate." His action was quite widely condemned in the

United States as a piece of unjustifiable aggression. In Latin America it aroused dislike and distrust of the "Colossus of the North." There was no reason to insist on the Panama route in any case, since it would have been possible to cut a sea-level canal through Nicaragua that would have provided a shorter route between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States.

Building the Canal: Goethals and Gorgas

Once the Canal Zone was acquired, Roosevelt was determined, as he expressed it, "to make the dirt fly." The engineering difficulties involved in cutting through the Isthmus of Panama were enormous, and the public health problem even greater. In 1855 an Englishman wrote of Panama:

"In all the world there is not perhaps now concentrated in any single spot so much foul disease,

such . . . physical and moral abomination. The Isthmus is a damp, tropical jungle, intensely hot, swarming with mosquitoes . . . the home, even as Nature made it, of yellow fever, typhus, and dysentery."

Roosevelt eventually put the digging of the canal under the direction of George W. Goethals, a colonel in the Corps of Engineers, and the direction of public health under the same Dr. Gorgas who had cleaned up Havana. Both men succeeded brilliantly. The canal was completed in 1914, by which time Gorgas had made the Canal Zone one of the most healthful places in the world. In the United States at that time the death rate was 14.1 per thousand; in the Canal Zone, the rate was 6 per thousand.

"Dollar Diplomacy"

Roosevelt's successor, President William Howard Taft (1909-1913), continued his policies, but with a shift of emphasis. Taft's Secretary of State, Philander C. Knox, was interested in active promotion of American business interests abroad, with the slogan, "Every diplomat a salesman." In Latin America this so-called "dollar diplomacy" resulted in increased promotion of United States manufactures (including warships), and in active efforts to increase the investments of American financiers in the area. In furtherance of this policy the United States intervened in Nicaragua in 1911 to put in a government acceptable to the United States, to force it to accept a loan from New York bankers, and to put the customs office under a former United States colonel. Knox declared that the United States did not covet an inch of territory south of the Rio Grande and wished only to exercise "a measure of benevolent supervision over Latin American countries." But the economic imperialism and armed intervention that he fostered increased the unpopularity of the United States in Latin America.

BALANCE OF POWER IN THE FAR EAST

Roosevelt's most perplexing problems in foreign affairs concerned the Far East, an area out of reach of the Big Stick. In the Caribbean his diplomacy was supported by overwhelming force, but the position of the United States in the Far East was weak. Roosevelt called the Philippines the "Achilles heel" of American defense; they were easily vulnerable to attack by Japan. In China, the United States lacked sufficient military power to back up the policies set forth in Hay's Open Door notes of 1899 and 1900. The only real defense of equal trading opportunities in China or of Chinese integrity lay in keeping a "balance of power" between the nations with territorial ambitions in the Far East. "The Open Door Policy," wrote Roosevelt, "completely disappears as soon as a powerful nation determines to disregard it, and is willing to run the risk of war rather than forego its intention."

The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905

China's two closest neighbors were especially threatening. The Japanese, already in possession of the string of islands off China's north coast, thought it their manifest destiny to expand on the Asian mainland. They established a protectorate over the independent kingdom of Korea and had designs on the rich Chinese province of Manchuria. Russia was already established in Manchuria, with a leasehold at Port Arthur and control over Manchurian railroads. The Russians also hoped to move into Korea. (See map, p. 465.) This clash of interests led to the Russo-Japanese War in 1904. In this contest American opinion was at first overwhelmingly pro-Japanese. The czarist government was unpopular here because of its tyranny and persecution of subject peoples. America regarded the Japanese with an almost paternal air because of Commodore Perry's exploits, and

it admired their rapid westernization. Roosevelt himself thought a Japanese victory would keep the balance of power in the Orient. "Japan," he wrote his son, "is playing our game."

To the astonishment of the world, Japan won overwhelming victories over Russia both on land and sea. By the summer of 1905 both countries were ready to make peace, Japan because she was nearing the end of her resources, Russia because of fear of revolution at home. Neither country wished to approach the other directly, but the Japanese secretly asked Roosevelt if he would serve as go-between. After consulting the czar, Roosevelt formally offered to help the warring nations make peace. They accepted the President's proposals, and sent diplomats to a peace conference which met at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in August 1905.

Roosevelt, as he expressed it, had brought the horses to water, but was not sure he could make them drink. Although not present at the peace table, the President indirectly affected the negotiations by persuading the powers to withdraw extreme demands. He induced Japan to give up claims for a money indemnity and Russia to give up the southern half of the island of Sakhalin. By the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan also took over Russian interests in southern Manchuria.

Difficulties with Japan

Although Roosevelt won a personal triumph and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his success in bringing hostilities to an end, the Treaty of Portsmouth had unhappy results. By siding with the Russians on the indemnity question, he caused such ill feeling in Japan that anti-American riots broke out in Tokyo and the American embassy had to be guarded with troops. The ease of the Japanese victory caused fear in America and Europe that the "white race" would be overwhelmed by the "yellow race"; this notion of the "yellow peril"

was played up by the yellow press. On the Pacific Coast, feeling began to rise against Japanese immigration, resulting in discrimination against Japanese children in the public schools. Japan regarded this as an insult. More significant than the tide of ill will, which subsided, was the fact that the recent war altered the balance of power in the Orient. Now it was no longer Russian expansion that was most to be feared, but Japanese. Roosevelt himself feared that there was serious danger of war.

In a rather complicated series of maneuvers, Roosevelt attempted at the same time to soothe Japanese anger, satisfy Japanese ambition, save the Philippines from Japanese aggression, and

show the Japanese that he was not afraid of them. Although the federal government had no power to force a

QUESTION • Which of these purposes were accomplished for the time being? Which permanently?

city or state to change its education laws, the President persuaded the Californians to stop discriminating against Japanese school children. Japan in turn agreed to halt the emigration of laborers to America. This compromise, arranged in 1907 and 1908, was known as the Gentlemen's Agreement.

Regarding the balance of power in the Far East, Roosevelt attempted to avert danger of Japanese expansion toward the Philippines by agreeing to recognize the predominant position of Japan in Korea and Manchuria. At least this is what seems to be the substance of two rather vaguely worded executive agreements, the Taft-Katsura "agreed memorandum" of 1905, and the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908. At the same time, in a truly Rooseveltian gesture, the President attempted to impress Japan with American naval power by sending an American fleet to Tokyo during its journey around the world in 1908.



Secretary of State Elihu Root, by the improvements he made in the organization of the army as well as in the State Department, contributed to American effectiveness in the First World War.

The "dollar diplomacy" of the Taft administration found its reflection in the Far East in efforts by Secretary of State Knox to promote American railroad and financial interests in Manchuria. Finding that American businessmen were being discriminated against in Manchuria, Knox proposed that the railroads in the province be put under international control. Russia and Japan, recent enemies, joined forces to reject this idea. Knox's action was criticized by Roosevelt in a letter to Taft that revealed the basic weakness of the American position in the Far East:

I utterly disbelieve in the policy of bluff . . . or in any violation of the old frontier maxim, "Never draw unless you mean to shoot." I do not believe in our taking any position anywhere unless we can make it good; and as regards Manchuria, if the Japanese choose to follow a course of conduct to which we are adverse, we cannot stop it unless we are prepared to go to war, and a successful war about Manchuria would require a fleet as good as that of England, plus an army as good as that of Germany.

OTHER ROOSEVELTIAN DIPLOMACY

Roosevelt's appreciation of the fact that the United States was "no longer isolated but a member of the family of nations" was shown by his unprecedented effort to avert a European war over Morocco. American attention had been drawn to this turbulent North African state in 1904, when an alleged American citizen Perdicaris and his wife were kidnapped by a bandit named Raisuli. Secretary of State Hay demanded that the Moroccan government return Perdicaris and punish Raisuli. "We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead," he telegraphed. Eventually the Moroccan government produced Perdicaris alive by paying his ransom.

The Algeiras Conference, 1906

The next year American diplomacy became involved in a complicated international crisis. In spite of open door treaties guaranteeing Morocco's independence and equal commercial opportunities for foreign merchants, French influence was increasing and it was obvious that the country might soon become a French protectorate. This threatened to violate an international "Open Door" agreement, to which Germany was a party, that guaranteed foreign nations equal trading rights in Morocco. In March 1905, Kaiser William II disembarked from his yacht at Tangier and declared that he would do all in his power to preserve Moroccan independence. His action was motivated less by concern for German trading rights than by a desire to weaken French international prestige and the alliances that France was making in an effort to "encircle" Germany. War seemed imminent, and it threatened to engulf most of Europe, since Germany was allied to Austria-Hungary and Italy, while France was allied to Russia and closely linked to Great Britain. The situation was relieved when the German emperor appealed to Roosevelt to lend his support to an

international conference on Morocco; the emperor even agreed in advance to accept whatever solution Roosevelt thought fair. Roosevelt was hesitant to break a precedent going back to George Washington's time in order to engage in diplomacy that dealt with a purely European affair. He decided, however, that as a great power the United States had an interest in preserving the peace so long as it did not involve commitment to the use of military power.

At the resulting Algeiras Conference of 1906, the United States, represented by the able diplomat Henry White, proposed an arrangement which was agreed upon by the powers and which possibly averted war. Although the Senate ratified the Algeiras agreement regarding Morocco, it expressed distrust of Roosevelt's rather risky involvement in European politics. The senators passed a resolution saying that ratification was "without purpose to depart from the traditional American foreign policy which forbids participation by the United States in the settlement of political questions which are entirely European. . . ."

International Arbitration

In spite of his reputation for belligerency, Roosevelt supported arbitration as a peaceful means of settling international controversies. International conferences in 1899 and 1907 at The Hague in the Netherlands established a permanent arbitration court and defined the means whereby nations could appeal to it to settle disputes. The United States, which had previously arbitrated more questions than any other nation except Great Britain, was ably represented at both Hague Conferences. During Roosevelt's presidency, two disputes with Canada, one over the Alaskan boundary and the other over American fishing rights at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, were successfully submitted to arbitration. In the Alaskan matter, however, the President aroused Canadian ill will

by making it clear that he would accept no judgment that did not coincide with the claims of the United States, and by appointing as United States representatives to the arbitration commission two noted expansionists, one of whom had often proposed that Canada be annexed.

In 1908 Secretary of State Elihu Root negotiated treaties with twenty-five nations whereby both sides agreed in advance to arbitrate disputes. These agreements were less important than they might have been because either nation could refuse the way of peace if it thought its vital interests, independence, or honor were involved. The Senate also insisted, over Roosevelt's protest, that it must agree in advance whether or not a dispute should be referred to arbitration.

Improvement of the Army and Navy

Military affairs were one of Roosevelt's main interests; one of his friends called him "a perpetual volunteer." Roosevelt argued that diplomacy, even with peaceful purpose, had to be backed by force. On no matter did he press Congress harder than in demanding appropriations for annual additions to our fleet, and he personally directed how the money was spent. Learning that the gunnery methods of the navy were obsolete, he saw to it that the whole system of training was changed. He later claimed that, gun for gun, the fleet was three times as efficient when he left office as when he came in.

There appeared to be less reason to enlarge the army than the navy. It was reduced in size by a quarter between 1901 and 1909, but its efficiency was greatly increased. Elihu Root, who served both McKinley and Roosevelt as Secretary of War, was among the ablest cabinet members in the history of the United States. Under his leadership many weaknesses revealed in the Spanish-American War were removed. Root centralized authority, improved promo-

tions, and tried to arrange for better army-navy cooperation. He introduced the General Staff for over-all planning and the Army War College to provide officers with further training. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War in World War I, called Root the best Secretary of War in American history, and said that without his work "the participation of the United States in the World War would necessarily have been a confused, ineffective and discreditable episode."

A Better Foreign Service

Throughout his political career, Roosevelt had favored civil service reform, and as President he greatly advanced the efficiency of the executive department. He was especially interested in improving the diplomatic corps. During the long period of nineteenth century isolation, the State Department had become a happy hunting ground of the spoilsmen. Diplomatic posts were given as a reward for party service, and wholesale removals followed every change of party fortunes. The foreign service was in such low repute that in 1889 the *New York Sun* suggested it be abolished. But when foreign affairs assumed increasing importance, the United States could not afford such an inefficient system.

On the death of John Hay in 1905, Roosevelt appointed Elihu Root Secretary of State, and Root attempted to improve the efficiency of the State Department as he had improved that of the army. Root had to fight an attitude toward the foreign service that was reflected in a letter he received from a friend: "If there are any nice berths like the Consulate at Bordeaux, France, or at Buenos Aires lying around loose, I might make application for one. I need a rest." Working in cooperation, Roosevelt and Root provided that future appointments to the lower ranks of the diplomatic service be based on examinations set by the Civil Service Commission. Regular promotion was established. Although salaries were low, and the top posts were still under the spoils system, the groundwork was laid for a professional, nonpolitical foreign service.

Roosevelt's unprecedented and sometimes highhanded actions in the fields of foreign relations have often been criticized. Nevertheless, as Walter Lippmann wrote, Roosevelt "grasped the elements of a genuine foreign policy." He tried to make American military power and foreign service adequate for its position in the world, and used diplomacy to advance peace and discourage aggression.

Activities: Chapter 20

For Mastery and Review

1. Prepare a brief character sketch of Theodore Roosevelt, emphasizing elements that made him an unusual man. What effects did his personality have upon politics?
2. What is meant by the Big Stick? Trace the logical sequence from the Second Venezuelan Affair through the Drago Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary to the interventions in Santo Domingo in 1905 and in Cuba in 1906.

3. By what steps did the United States acquire the Panama Canal Zone? What treaty negotiations were involved? What was the reaction in Latin America to American methods?

4. In what respects was our diplomatic position in the Orient weak? How did the balance of power affect the Open Door policy? What were the factors that led to the Russo-Japanese War? On which side did American sympathies lie? Why? What were the terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth? How did this treaty affect the balance of power in the Orient?

5. What were the Gentlemen's Agreement and the Root-Takahira Agreement? What was the Knox proposal concerning Manchuria? What was Roosevelt's criticism of that proposal?

6. What were the events leading to the Algeciras Conference? What part did Roosevelt play in the conference? What was the Senate's reaction to Roosevelt's participation in European diplomacy?

7. Summarize Elihu Root's importance as a diplomat. What arbitration machinery was established to settle international disputes? What cabinet posts did Root hold? With what success?

Unrolling the Map

1. On an outline map of the Caribbean area, locate the following: Cuba, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Colombia, Panama, the Canal Zone, and the Panama Canal. With the completed map before you, discuss in class the strategic relation of the countries listed above to the Panama Canal.

2. On an outline map of the eastern part of the Orient, locate the following: the Philippine Islands, China, Korea, Manchuria, Port Arthur, Sakhalin, the Japanese Islands, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, French Indochina, and Vladivostok. Use the completed map when you discuss the balance of power in Asia, the Russo-Japanese War, and the Treaty of Portsmouth.

Who, What, and Why Important?

"lunatic fringe"	the Oregon
Conference of Governors	Hay-Pauncefote Treaty
"Big Stick"	Hay-Herran Treaty
Second Venezuelan Affair	Republic of Panama
Drago Doctrine	George W. Goethals
Roosevelt Corollary	William C. Gorgas
Santo Domingo	dollar diplomacy
intervention in Cuba	balance of power
Panama Canal Zone	Russo-Japanese War
	Treaty of Portsmouth
	"yellow peril"

Gentlemen's Agreement
Root-Takahira
Agreement

Algeciras Conference
international arbitration
Elihu Root

To Pursue the Matter

1. The quotation on p. 491, "... I intended to be one of the governing class," was taken from *The Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt*. For a longer excerpt, telling of his entry into New York politics, see Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 355-357.

2. With a classmate, plan and present an informal debate on the relative merits of the Drago Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary. You might set up the class as a meeting of the Pan-American Union, and assume that the defender of the Drago Doctrine is a Latin-American diplomat, while the defender of the Roosevelt Corollary is the U. S. Secretary of State. You might then open a general debate. Sources: Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine*, and Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.

3. Study the history of the diplomacy which led to the leasing by the United States of the Panama Canal Zone, with a view to finding answers to such questions as: Was Colombia justified in holding out for a higher price? What do you make of the activities of the French? Were Roosevelt's actions justifiable? What mysteries remain? Sources: Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, and Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.

4. Do you agree with Roosevelt's statement about the relation of force to diplomacy (p. 494)?

5. Discuss arbitration as a means for settling international disputes. Is it feasible? How successful has it been?

6. Was Roosevelt really imperialistic? See May, *From Imperialism to Isolationism*, pp. 26 ff.

7. Was "dollar diplomacy" a paying proposition? Possible sources: Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, and Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine*.

8. Was Roosevelt wise in acting as peacemaker in the Russo-Japanese War?

Chapter 21

The Square Deal and the New Freedom

*A man who is good enough to shed his blood
for his country is good enough to be given a square
deal afterward. More than that no man is entitled
to, and less than that no man should have.*

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT, 1903

*The forces of the Nation are asserting themselves against
every form of special privilege and private control, and
are seeking bigger things than they have heretofore
achieved. They are sweeping away what is unrighteous
in order to vindicate once more the essential rights of
human life . . .*

—WOODROW WILSON, 1912

Theodore Roosevelt's entrance into the presidential office roughly coincided with the beginning of a ferment of reform known as progressivism, or the progressive movement. We will defer until the next chapter an attempt to define this development in detail. Suffice it for now to explain that progressivism operated at both the local and the national level, and that—like Populism—it proposed government control of business in the public interest. Two Presidents were outstanding progressive leaders: Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

ROOSEVELT'S DOMESTIC POLICIES

When Roosevelt was under consideration as Republican candidate for Vice-President in

1900, Mark Hanna warned that there was only one life between "that cowboy" and the White House. McKinley's death made the cowboy President, and there was fear in conservative business circles as to how he would behave. Roosevelt began to fulfill their worst expectations in his first message to Congress. He urged federal legislation to deal with the "tremendous and highly complex industrial developments which went on with ever accelerated rapidity during the latter half of the nineteenth century." In a speaking tour in 1902, he said that he stood for such regulation of business as would insure a "square deal" for capital, labor, and the public at large. Roosevelt thought that the Republican party must move with the times or popular feeling would destroy it, as it destroyed

the Whig party in the 1850's. He argued that the only way to preserve the capitalist system, with which he had no fundamental quarrel, was the way of "conservative reform."

For a time, however, Roosevelt pursued a rather cautious course. He had promised "to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley," and he was warned by Mark Hanna to "go slow." As "President by accident" he felt he had no call to push a general program of reform. But even before being elected President in his own right, Roosevelt showed his hand by attempting to enforce the Sherman Antitrust Act and by intervening in the coal strike of 1902.

The Trust Buster

Roosevelt was disturbed by the power of "the mighty industrial overlords" and their immunity from government control. As we have seen (see p. 432), the Sherman Antitrust Law was a dead letter. A period of rapid concentration of industry reached a climax with the formation of the United States Steel Corporation in 1901. This vast holding company was formed when a syndicate of bankers, headed by J. Pierpont Morgan, bought out Andrew Carnegie at a price of \$250 million and then combined the Carnegie iron and steel properties with others they controlled. Capitalized at nearly one and a half billion dollars, United States Steel controlled more than half the steel production of the United States and was by far the biggest industrial combination the world had ever seen. The American public was appalled by the size of the new venture and by the power that it put in the hands of one man. "Mr. Dooley" expressed the attitude of the times when he described Morgan's ordering an office boy to take some change out of the cash register and run over and buy Europe for him.

Roosevelt was not opposed to big business as such, since he thought it was an inevitable de-

velopment, but he wanted to put it under law. He repeatedly urged Congress to pass laws regulating trusts more strictly. He favored legislation, for instance, that would require full disclosure of corporate financing, with a view especially to preventing stock watering. In response to his pleading, Congress did establish a Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903, but with little power, and an Expedition Act to give precedence in the courts to cases involving the Interstate Commerce Act or the Sherman Antitrust Act; but that was all.

Roosevelt made a reputation as a trust buster by reviving the Sherman Act. In 1902 his attorney general brought suit to dissolve the Northern Securities Corporation, a holding company (see chart, p. 584) formed by railroad magnates and bankers (including J. Pierpont Morgan) to control the three railroad systems of the Northwest. In 1904 the Supreme Court decided that the Northern Securities Corporation violated the Sherman Act and ordered it dissolved. After this success the Department of Justice started more trust-busting suits against corporations than had been brought under the three previous Presidents. In most of these cases the government won. Although trust busting was popular with the public, Roosevelt himself recognized that it was not a particularly effective means of regulating business. It did not prevent monopolies, but only attempted to break them up after they had already been formed. The President was actually less interested in the economic effects of enforcing anti-monopoly laws than in the symbolic effect of making even the most powerful businessmen publicly obey the law.

The Coal Strike of 1902

One of the most prolonged strikes in American history started in May 1902, when nearly 150,000 men walked out of the anthracite mines of eastern Pennsylvania. The strikers had such

real grievances that public opinion tended to be on their side. Wages were low and layoffs frequent; average earnings were less than \$300 per year. Living in cheaply built company towns, the miners were obliged to trade at company stores that charged high prices. They had been organized into an industrial union, the United Mine Workers, by John Mitchell, who had started work in the mines as a boy of twelve. Opposed to revolutionary violence, Mitchell had worked with Mark Hanna, Samuel Gompers, and Grover Cleveland to found the National Civic Federation, an organization devoted to promoting peaceful labor relations. In the strike of 1902, Mitchell offered to submit to two prominent clergymen and a third man of their choice the question of whether the

miners' wages were "sufficient to enable them to live, maintain and educate their families in a manner conformable to established American standards and consistent with American citizenship."

The coal operators hurt their case by extreme unwillingness even to discuss the miners' demands. George F. Baer, principal spokesman for the employers, answered Mitchell's suggestion that religious leaders decide miners' wages by pointing out that "anthracite mining is a business and not a religious, sentimental or academic proposition." Since the operators held such an attitude and the miners were almost 100 per cent behind Mitchell, the strike dragged on with no prospect of settlement. By October the retail price of anthracite had risen from \$5

John Mitchell, Miner



Most labor leaders come up through the ranks, bringing to their office firsthand knowledge of work in mines and factories. Modern leaders have the help of staffs of technical advisers, economists, and statisticians. Unseen, but sitting with the union group at every bargaining session, is the history of labor's defeats: strikes lost through violence and by court injunction, families starving, men killed by lack of safety measures. John Mitchell took this history with him to the White House in 1902.

Against him were all the well-organized anthracite-mine operators. Their mines were located in a small area in Pennsylvania. Relatively few, they had been able to set up agreements on quotas of coal to be mined by each, on wages to be paid, and on prices to be charged the public. Their cozy arrangement benefited from the monopoly on coal transportation maintained by a half-dozen railroads, which also owned coal lands in the area. They believed, as one of them said: "The rights of laboring men would be protected, not by agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom had given control of the property interests in this country."

To such a man, a coal mine was property. To John Mitchell, coal mining was a way of life. He knew the mines. Tall, brawny from backbreaking work with pick and shovel, Mitchell had developed patience. His self-control could resist bitter provocation. Of the angry scene in the White House, President Roosevelt said: "There was only one man who behaved like a gentleman, and it wasn't I."

(Theme 3, see p. xii)

to \$30 a ton. With the threat of a coal famine during the winter months, the public interest demanded that the strike be ended. Appeals for action poured in to the President.

Roosevelt had no power, either by law or by precedent, for forcing the operators and miners to come to an agreement, but he resolved to use the influence of his office to the full. As he later wrote his sister,

I could no mbre see misery and death come to the great masses of the people in our large cities and sit by idly, because under ordinary conditions, a strike is not a subject of interference by the President, than I could sit by idly and see one man kill another without interference because there is no statutory duty imposed upon the President to interfere in such cases.

On October 1, Roosevelt invited representatives of the operators to meet Mitchell at the White House. In a stormy session nothing was accomplished, but public opinion turned even more against the employers, who called Mitchell an "outlaw" and denounced the President for not using the Sherman Antitrust Act against the union. At this point, Roosevelt considered a questionably legal seizure of the mines by federal troops. Before he took such drastic action, a compromise was reached. Elihu Root, the President's representative, and J. Pierpont Morgan, whose banking firm indirectly controlled most of the anthracite mines, held a conference. After it, Morgan put enough pressure on the operators to force them to back down. Morgan's action was apparently prompted

by the fear that the unreasonableness of the coal operators, added to the sufferings of a coal-less winter, would create popular hostility

to business in general. The operators finally

QUESTION • *What should be the powers of government in labor-management disputes where the public interest is affected?*



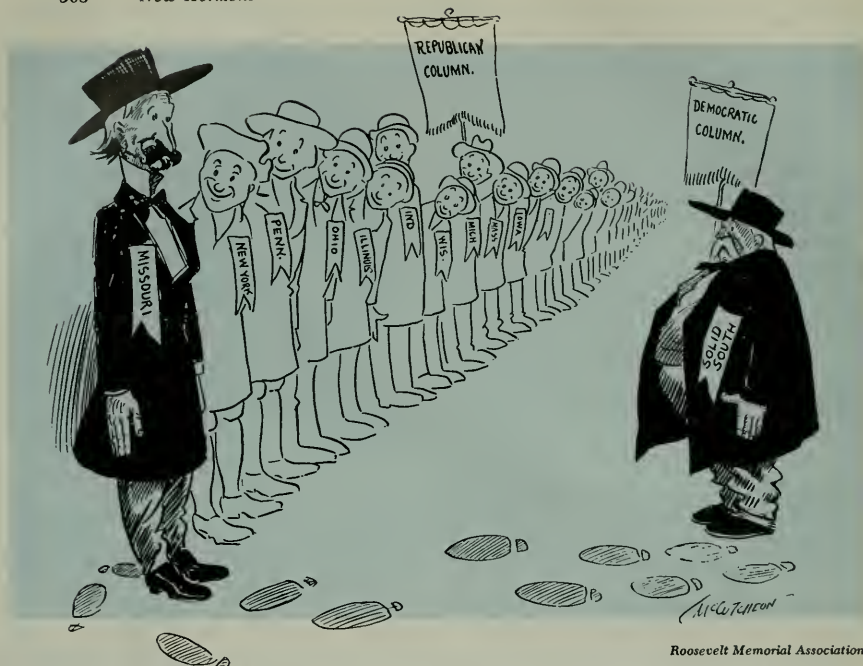
The New York Public Library

A 1900 cartoon shows Roosevelt as a new playmate for President McKinley, the "little boy" of the Trusts. When Roosevelt became President he attacked monopolies, and was called "Teddy the Trust Buster."

agreed to submit the miners' demands to arbitration by a five-man commission appointed by the President. Roosevelt's action in using the prestige of his office and his personal influence on Morgan to settle the strike was recognized in this country and abroad as an important precedent. The *London Times* commented that "the President has done a very big and entirely new thing. We are witnessing not merely the ending of the coal strike, but the definite entry of a powerful government on a novel sphere of operation."

Roosevelt Re-elected, 1904

As the presidential election of 1904 approached, the conservative "Old Guard" of the Republican party was unhappy at the prospect of four more years of the Rough Rider in the White House. The *New York Sun* accused him



Roosevelt Memorial Association

A 1904 cartoon, "The Mysterious Stranger," by John T. McCutcheon, pointed up Missouri's break with the Solid South. Roosevelt won the election by the largest margin obtained since the Civil War. He attributed his success to the "plain people," to whom he promised a "square deal." The election strengthened his hand over Congress, enabling him to get some progressive legislation through that conservatively led body.

of "out-Bryaning Bryan" by "harrying trusts," "bringing wealth to its knees," and "putting labor unions above the law." It seemed possible that Mark Hanna might try to block Roosevelt's renomination, but Hanna died in February 1904. Roosevelt had popular opinion behind him and was, as even his enemies admitted, the ablest politician of the day. Through the use of patronage the President had built up a personal machine within his party. He received the unanimous nomination from the Republican national convention.

Meanwhile the Democrats turned a somersault. They cast Bryan aside and angled for conservative votes by nominating Alton B. Parker, a wealthy New York judge. Parker had no popular following, and antagonized former Bryan followers by defending the gold standard. Roosevelt won by the largest margin since the Civil War. He immediately announced that he would abide by "the wise custom which limits the President to two terms." He attributed his triumph to the "plain people . . . the folk who work hard on farm, in shop, or on the railroads,

or who own little businesses which they run themselves."

Roosevelt's Progressive Legislation

Now President in his own right, Roosevelt strongly urged Congress to pass a number of reform measures. Although failing to pass the more severe antitrust law which Roosevelt demanded, Congress in 1906 enacted the Hepburn Act which provided stricter control of railroads. Popular demand for more effective regulation than that provided by the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 was almost universal. William Allen White expressed prevailing sentiment in a letter to a railroad official: "The railroads cannot name senators, pack state conventions, run legislatures and boss politics generally . . . and then successfully maintain that they are private carriers doing a private business." Some prominent men, including Bryan, proposed that the railroads be owned and operated by the government. Thinking such a step would lead to far-reaching disaster, Roosevelt urged tighter regulation as an alternative.

In 1905 the House of Representatives, by a vote of 346 to 7, passed a bill going beyond the President's recommendations. The Senate, however, was dominated by a clique of wealthy men who were frankly the representatives of the great corporations. On the other hand, Roosevelt also had allies in the Senate, of whom the most well-known was Robert La Follette, a former reform governor of Wisconsin. Many Democrats, under the leadership of "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman, a former "Popocrat" (see p. 458), also favored stricter railroad regulation. As a result of popular support, clever politics, and willingness to compromise, Roosevelt was able to push the Hepburn bill through the Senate 18 months after he urged Congress to act.

The Hepburn Act strengthened the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 in several ways. It abolished the "free pass," which railroads

granted to politicians and other influential people such as newspaper editors. It widened the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission to include express companies, pipe lines, ferries, and sleeping-car companies. Railroad corporations were restrained from operating other businesses (such as coal mining). Most important of all, the Interstate Commerce Commission was granted power to fix rates, although its decisions might be appealed to the courts. Complaints to the commission soon multiplied forty times and a great many rates were lowered.

In 1906, at Roosevelt's urging, Congress passed two laws that protected consumers—the Pure Food and Drug Act and an act providing for federal inspection of meat. The public agitation that was behind this legislation will be described in the next chapter (see p. 533).

Where Roosevelt Failed to Act

In spite of such laws, the legislative achievement of Congress under Roosevelt's leadership was so unimpressive that he was accused of producing "more noise than accomplishment." Although he favored revision of the tariff, he regarded the issue as "political dynamite." He never tried to force action on it, although he occasionally threatened to bring it up unless congressional leaders would agree to support legislative measures in which he had a special interest. With little knowledge of money and banking, Roosevelt never seriously supported long-overdue efforts to make the banking system more stable and the currency system more flexible.

One reason for the failure to produce much-needed reform legislation was Roosevelt's feeling that politics was "the art of the possible." His philosophy of reform was one of gradualism; he was willing to accept half a loaf if he could not get the whole. Furthermore, the Republican leaders in Congress, carry-overs from

the McKinley-Hanna period, were unsympathetic to progressive legislation. The President could persuade them to act only when he had overwhelming public opinion behind him.

Although Roosevelt accomplished less than he seemed to promise, he restored the people's faith in the power of the federal government to serve their interests. By preaching the Square Deal, he promoted the idea that the cure for the evils of unrestrained individualism was not socialism, but moderate reform. Above all, he created a demand for reform. According to a recent historian, "Roosevelt was the best publicity man progressivism ever had."

Roosevelt and Conservation

No cause was nearer Roosevelt's heart than the effort to conserve natural resources. Perhaps his earliest and deepest enthusiasm was for the wilderness. The former national policy, based on the idea that natural resources were inexhaustible, had resulted in colossal waste. Forests had been cut without thought of erosion or future timber needs; cattlemen and sheepherders had been allowed to overgraze grasslands; homesteaders had plowed land that should have remained in grass. Wild life had suffered from such slaughter as wiped out the buffalo herds and the passenger pigeon.

Existing laws designed to preserve the public lands, forests, and mineral deposits were usually not strictly enforced. Nevertheless, a policy of conservation instead of exploitation had begun long before Roosevelt took office. It can be seen in such measures as the establishment of Yellowstone Park in 1872 and in the act passed during Benjamin Harrison's administration giving the President power to withdraw lands from sale and make them National Forests. But no one did as much for conservation as Roosevelt. He encouraged legislation such as the Newlands Act of 1902 which provided for federal aid to irrigation projects. He enforced laws against

illegal occupation of public lands. He more than tripled the area of the National Forests, and his able chief forester, Gifford Pinchot, saw that they were honestly and efficiently administered. Above all, Roosevelt *made conservation popular*. He stimulated interest by his writings, by his vacations in the West, by his constant demand for better conservation laws, and by willingness to use the power and prestige of the presidential office.

When Congress blocked his efforts, Roosevelt enlisted private individuals and promoted state action. In May 1908, he called a national conference on conservation at the White House. It included the governors of all states or their representatives, government foresters, congressmen (including some who opposed the President), and the officers of private associations of naturalists and sportsmen. Results of this conference included the creation of over forty state conservation commissions and of a National Conservation Commission which prepared an inventory of the natural resources of the United States.

Just before leaving office Roosevelt held a North American Conservation Conference, and he even contemplated a world conference. Senator La Follette, often critical of Roosevelt, paid tribute to the "high statesmanship" the President showed in "dinning into the Nation" the idea of conservation. La Follette predicted that future historians would say that Roosevelt's greatest achievement was not the Square Deal, but his leadership in the movement to preserve natural resources for the benefit of the people at large.

The Election of 1908

Like Andrew Jackson (see p. 270), Roosevelt named his successor: His choice fell upon his intimate friend William Howard Taft, who had a distinguished public career as a federal judge, governor of the Philippines, and Secretary of War. With his control of the party machinery

and his mastery of publicity, Roosevelt easily headed off other candidates and arranged for Taft to receive the Republican nomination in 1908. The Democrats, who had fared badly in 1904 with the conservative Parker, went back to Bryan. The Nebraskan made little headway against the man who had Roosevelt's endorsement; he ruefully complained that the Square Deal had stolen his thunder. Taft had little difficulty in winning, although he did not defeat Bryan as decisively as Roosevelt had beaten Parker.

TAFT IN OFFICE, 1909-1913

While Roosevelt set off for a year's hunting trip in Africa, Taft called a special session of Congress to deal with the tariff. This was an issue Roosevelt had avoided, but the Republican platform of 1908 had pledged "revision" of the tariff, and Taft said that this meant revision downwards. Since passage of the Dingley Tariff of 1897, prices had advanced more rapidly than wages, and the resulting "HCL" (high cost of living) was blamed on unduly high rates. There was a common idea, shared by Taft, that high rates encouraged monopoly and increased the profits of monopolistic trusts.

The Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 1909

Congress met in March 1909, and within less than a month the House of Representatives passed a measure providing for substantial reductions in the tariff, without abandoning the principle of protection. Twice before, in 1888 and 1894, the Senate had killed attempts to lower the tariff, and in 1909 it did it again. Under the leadership of Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, over 600 amendments were tacked on to the House bill. Many of these amendments contained jokers designed to conceal higher rates, such as changing a duty on certain small articles from so much "per hundred-weight" to so much "per hundred."



"Taft has the most lovable personality," Roosevelt once said, "I have ever come in contact with . . ." But their beautiful friendship was wrecked on the realities of politics and ambition.

When Aldrich attempted to railroad the amended bill through the Senate, he was met by revolt in his own party. Several Republican senators, nicknamed the "insurgents," used their privilege of unlimited debate to reveal the way Aldrich and his allies carried out the demands of high-tariff lobbyists instead of the popular will. Too late, Taft attempted to persuade the Old Guard leaders to reduce the rates, but they made only slight concessions. The average level of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff was actually higher than that of the Dingley Tariff, but Taft signed the bill. He feared a split in his party, and

Ha ha! you are making up your Cabinet. I in a light-hearted way have spent the morning testing the rifles for my African trip. Life has compensations!

Ever yours,

S. R.

When he wrote this light-hearted note to his hand-picked successor, Roosevelt had little inkling of the difficulties Taft would face as President, and still less any thought that he and Taft would one day become political and personal enemies.

thought the new tariff an improvement. It contained a corporation tax, established a tariff commission to make a scientific study of rates, and provided for some flexibility in rates at the discretion of the President. Taft's action, however, was widely regarded as a betrayal of his campaign promise, especially in the Middle West.

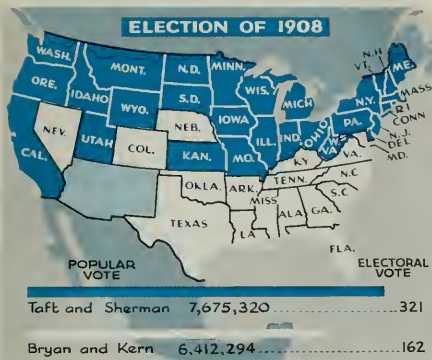
Taft in Difficulty

Taft lost popularity still more after the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy. The Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger, had reopened to private purchase certain waterpower sites and coal land that had been withdrawn while Roosevelt was President. His action was protested by Chief Forester Pinchot, who gave his charges to the press. Ballinger was publicly accused of fraud, but Taft was convinced of his innocence (which has since been established). When he dismissed Pinchot for insubordination, the President was thought an enemy of conservation.

Immediately following the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy came an outbreak of insurgent Republicanism in the House of Representatives; it

took the form of an attack on the speaker of the House, "Uncle Joe" Cannon. The speaker had come to enjoy a power over legislation greater in some ways than that of the President. He appointed all committees; he decided what bills should be referred to which committees; by almost absolute control over debate he could push some measures through without discussion and see that others never reached the floor. Cannon had used these powers to hold up progressive legislation. He had cooperated with Aldrich to raise the tariff rates in 1909, and had long been an opponent of conservation. With the motto "Not one cent for scenery," he had prevented the creation of National Parks and Forests. Finally, in March 1910, a coalition of Democrats and insurgents forced a change in the rules of the House that stripped the Speaker of much of his power.

The attack on Cannon hurt Taft, who in order to keep party harmony had been almost forced to align himself with the Speaker. By signing the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, supporting Ballinger against Pinchot, and backing Cannon, Taft gave the impression that he had "sold the Square Deal down the river." He was described



Although he was but 49 years old, Roosevelt felt he had to keep his promise not to run in 1908. He called in his secretary and said, "We must have a candidate. We better run Taft . . . see Taft and tell him." Taft easily won.

by an insurgent senator as "a large good-natured body entirely surrounded by people who know exactly what they want." Popular indignation was so great that the congressional elections of 1910 resulted in a sweeping Democratic victory.

There was an element of unfairness in the attacks on Taft. He was a man of ability and integrity, and he had genuinely supported Roosevelt. But he lacked his predecessor's gift of dramatizing issues and enlisting public opinion. Furthermore, his theory of the presidency allowed him less freedom of action than his predecessor had assumed. Trained as a lawyer, he was unwilling to break precedents. While Roosevelt claimed the right to do anything not forbidden, Taft used "only those powers expressly authorized by law."

To some degree, however, Taft brought his troubles on himself. As his 300-pound bulk suggested, he was a rather lazy man, and he had a hard time keeping up with the incessant work of the presidential office. He did not really want to be President; his greatest ambition—later fulfilled—was to sit on the Supreme Court. Worst of all, he did not enjoy politics, and it is there-

fore not surprising that he was not a success as a politician.

Progressive Legislation under Taft

In spite of his difficulties, Taft could boast of considerable achievement. He was a vigorous trust buster, who initiated almost twice as many suits against monopolistic business combinations as Roosevelt. During his presidency, Congress passed much progressive legislation, nearly all of it with the backing of the President. In 1910 the Mann-Elkins Act both extended the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission to include telegraph and telephone lines and increased the ICC's powers.

In 1913 a Railroad

QUESTION • With so much progressive legislation while he was President, why was Taft considered conservative?

Valuation Act empowered the ICC to assess the value of American railroads as a basis for fixing fair

rates. Congress established postal savings banks (a former Populist demand) to protect the small depositor, and established the parcel post to help the small shipper. Conservation was promoted by the establishment of the first National Forests in the Appalachians and by a law empowering the President to withdraw valuable mineral deposits from sale. During Taft's presidency, Congress proposed the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments, legalizing a federal income tax and providing for popular election of senators. Both were ratified in 1913. (See pp. 146–147).

Roosevelt and the "New Nationalism"

Meanwhile, Roosevelt re-entered the political arena. In spite of his intention to remain out of politics, he was soon drawn in. With his natural feeling for what the people wanted at any given time, Roosevelt aligned himself with the insurgent wing of the Republican party,

who had started to call themselves "Progressive Republicans" or simply "Progressives." In a speech at Osawatomie, Kansas, during the congressional election of 1910, he preached what he called the "New Nationalism." In words that recalled the Populist platform of the 1890's and foreshadowed the New Deal of the 1930's, Roosevelt said:

We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare. . . . The man who wrongly holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare, who rightly maintains that every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it.

In the New Nationalism speech, Roosevelt outlined a much more radical program of action than he had ever proposed as President. He favored both state and federal legislation which would actively promote human welfare. Attacking the courts for declaring progressive legislation unconstitutional, he suggested that state judges be subject to recall (see p. 530), and that Supreme Court decisions be subject to reversal by popular vote. Expressing distrust of legislative bodies, he said he regarded "the executive as the steward of human welfare." By taking such a stand, Roosevelt became almost in spite of himself the natural leader of the Progressive Republicans.

The Election of 1912

The great question in American politics on the eve of the election of 1912 was whether Roosevelt would run for the presidency. He had said he was out of politics, and this was reinforced by his no-third-term pledge of 1904. On the other hand, he had convinced himself that Taft was unfit; and it was against his nature to sit on the side lines. Senator La Follette, a man of great ability and courage, had the support of many Progressive Republicans, but when

he suffered a temporary nervous collapse, scores of progressives beat a path to Roosevelt's door. In February 1912, on the prearranged petition of seven progressive governors, the former President announced his candidacy. "My hat is in the ring," he said, explaining that his promise not to run for a third term referred to a third *consecutive* term.

There followed a struggle for control of the Republican party that reached its climax at the national convention in June. Conservatives and most of the professional politicians rallied behind Taft. So did many former supporters of the Square Deal who thought Roosevelt too radical or who disliked his running for a third term. Except for some devoted followers of La Follette, the Progressive Republicans lined up for Roosevelt. In states where convention delegates were chosen or instructed in primary elections, Roosevelt was generally the choice of the voters.

The Taft forces had the immense advantage of controlling the party machinery. Of 241 convention seats disputed by Taft and Roosevelt, the convention's Credentials Committee gave 233 to Taft. Elihu Root, chairman of the convention, kept such a tight hold on proceedings that he was accused of driving a steam roller over the Roosevelt forces. When Taft was chosen on the first ballot, Roosevelt charged the Republican party leaders with stealing the nomination. He stood ready, he said, to carry on the battle for progressive principles outside the party.

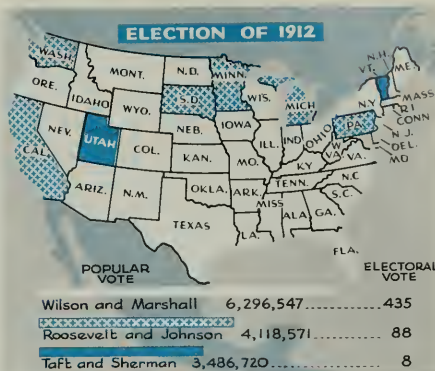
Formation of the Progressive Party

In August a convention met in Chicago to found a new party, which took the name Progressive. The delegates were a curious mixture—college professors, social workers, newspaper editors, former Rough Riders, wealthy men pricked with social conscience, and a few professional politicians who were "getting on the

bandwagon" for their own purposes. The prevailing mood was one of exaltation; the delegates chanted "Onward, Christian Soldiers" and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Senator Albert J. Beveridge, who had followed Roosevelt out of the Republican party, made the keynote address which has been compared to Bryan's Cross of Gold speech (see p. 459). He called on the new party, sprung from the grass roots, to work for a nobler America. The Progressives, said Beveridge, stood for social brotherhood as against "savage individualism," for "a representative government that represents the people," as against invisible government by the corrupt boss and the "robber interest."

The Progressive platform demanded reforms typical of the period—more direct democracy through such means as the initiative and referendum; conservation of natural resources for the general welfare; woman suffrage and the prohibition of child labor; a revised currency system and the introduction of an inheritance tax; and protection of wage workers through safety laws, limitation of hours of labor, and workmen's compensation. The party nominated Roosevelt for the presidency. It immediately acquired a symbol when the former President announced that he felt like a "bull moose."

The Progressive party had ample enthusiasm and a presidential candidate who was the most popular man in public life since Andrew Jackson. It also had abundant campaign funds, supplied by wealthy businessmen who believed that capitalism could survive only if it reformed. But the Bull Moose crusade was a forlorn hope. Most of the Progressives were amateurs with little or no knowledge of practical politics. Party machinery could not be set up in thousands of election districts overnight. All that Roosevelt accomplished by bolting his party was to turn control of the Republican party over to the Old Guard and to insure the election of a Democratic President.



After the defeat of 1912, Roosevelt realized that there was no hope for the Bull Moose party. "There is only one thing to do," he said, "... go back to the Republican party."



WOODROW WILSON AND THE "NEW FREEDOM"

When the Democratic convention met at Baltimore in June 1912, there was discord between a progressive wing, of which Bryan was a member, and delegates representing conservative city political machines. Although disclaiming any desire for a fourth nomination, Bryan was influential in seeing that the Democratic platform was as progressive as that of the Bull Moose party itself. After a protracted struggle, Woodrow Wilson, who had won national fame as a reform governor of New Jersey, was nominated on the 46th ballot, partly through the help of Bryan.

In the ensuing campaign Taft was not active, privately expressing the opinion that Wilson was sure to win. The real battle was between Roosevelt and Wilson. Both men supported progressivism, although under different labels. Wilson countered Roosevelt's New Nationalism with what he called the "New Freedom." Although it was remarked that there was as much distinction between the philosophies of the two candidates as between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, they did in fact differ. The



Both in informal speeches, such as this one under a willow tree in New Jersey, and in more formal addresses, Wilson was able to impress listeners with his sincerity and eloquence. It was said of him that although he could not establish easy communication with individuals, he could be "confidential in a crowd."

New Nationalism was consciously Hamiltonian in outlook. It accepted big business as a fact of life and proposed a more powerful federal government and a strong executive to keep it under control. It proposed to extend federal power in the direction of human welfare. The New Freedom was Jeffersonian in that it advocated use of federal power simply to insure equal opportunities, but not to provide active assistance to individuals.

Roosevelt and Wilson

The personal contrast between the two men was striking. Roosevelt had long been the most prominent political figure in the country. Wilson had been in active politics only three years. Roosevelt, the former Rough Rider, was typed in the popular mind as a fighter, who called

on men to enlist in a war on privilege. Wilson, the former professor, appealed to cool reason. Roosevelt enjoyed mixing with all sorts of people. Wilson was aloof; he once confessed that he would as soon slap a man in the face as slap him on the back. Someone likened Roosevelt to a great national spectacle, like Niagara Falls; people jammed the halls where he spoke, but it is not certain that they came so much to listen as to gape. While lacking his rival's personal magnetism, Wilson proved a most effective campaigner. On the platform his tall, angular figure displayed an ease of manner and his homely face exhibited a warmth frequently lacking in personal relations. From his early teens he had dreamed of swaying men to great purposes by the power of eloquence, and even his enemies admitted that once on his feet he

could be irresistibly persuasive. He somehow knew how to both touch men's conscience and appeal to their reason.

An attempt to assassinate Roosevelt gave him an opportunity to demonstrate extraordinary courage and self-possession. On his way to give a speech in Milwaukee he was shot in the chest by a no-third-term fanatic. Pausing long enough to make sure that his assailant received police protection, Roosevelt insisted on delivering his speech before receiving medical attention. Not seriously wounded, he was later able to resume his vigorous campaigning.

The result of the election fulfilled Taft's prediction. With the Republican party split, Wil-

QUESTION • Would Wilson have been elected if Taft had been his only opponent? If Roosevelt had been the Republican nominee?

son won a large majority in the electoral college, although gaining only a minority of the popular vote.

Roosevelt's popularity and the great demand for reform put him ahead of Taft. Even Debs, the Socialist, polled more than a quarter as many votes as the Republican candidate.

Wilson's Previous Career

Woodrow Wilson had gained national prominence as a foe of privilege and as a person with extraordinary powers of leadership. During eight years as president of Princeton University, he not only raised standards and improved teaching, but also fought social privilege as represented by snobbish undergraduate clubs. As governor of New Jersey he successfully fought the bosses who represented special interests, not the interest of the people as a whole. Under his leadership, the New Jersey legislature enacted an elaborate program of progressive measures.

The extraordinary successes gained by the "scholar in politics" can be explained partly by

the fact that from boyhood he had been ambitious to hold high office. Not only had he trained himself in public speaking, but he had also devoted much of his life to studying the techniques of effective political leadership. A longtime admirer of the British government, he developed the theory that the President, like the British prime minister, should take the initiative in guiding and promoting legislation. The President alone, in his opinion, stood for the interests of the whole nation.

In addition to books on government, Wilson had written a history of the United States and innumerable articles, mostly on political topics. He was well informed on domestic issues, especially the tariff. A Southerner who had lived most of his life in the North, a Democrat who admired Hamilton as well as Jefferson, a scholar who knew the past as well as the present, Wilson was able to see public questions in perspective. As befitted the son and grandson of clergymen, he approached public questions with high idealism.

Wilson's inauguration, like that of Jefferson and Jackson, represented a peaceful revolution on behalf of the common people. As the President rose to deliver his inaugural address, the audience broke through fencing which had been set up to keep them away from the rostrum. Wilson forbade the police to drive them back, saying, "Let the people come forward."

Wilson's First Inaugural

Wilson's First Inaugural Address was one of the shortest and most eloquent ever delivered. No previous President except Lincoln had been more a master of English prose. (See pp. 806-808).

Wilson began by asking the meaning of the Democratic triumph at the polls. His answer was that it was "much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party

for a large and definite purpose." This purpose was clear: it was to do away with the evils which, along with many blessings, industrialism had brought. These evils the President listed as follows: "inexcusable waste" of natural resources, the "human cost" of unrestrained individualism, and the use of government "for private and selfish purposes."

Wilson made clear that he would concentrate on three major reforms: a lower tariff, a new system of banking and credit, and better regulation of business. He also proposed better credit facilities for agriculture, increased conservation, greater protection of the consumer, and social legislation as a matter of "justice, not pity." The President revealed himself as "a progressive with the brakes on" by warning that property and personal rights must be respected. Ridiculing extremists who could take "excursions whither they cannot tell," he said that economic problems would be approached cautiously, "in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom."

Wilson closed by repudiating partisanship and calling on all Republicans to join him in bringing about reform:

This is not a day of triumph: it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. . . . I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

Wilson and Congress

The new President entered office under handicaps. He was a minority President, chosen by only 42 per cent of the voters. Without experience in national politics, he had so little acquaintance with party leaders that he had not met some of the members of his cabinet until he came to Washington for the inauguration. The Democratic party was a loose alliance of local interests not expected to work

well in harness; long out of office, the Democrats lacked men with experience in government.

On the other hand, Wilson enjoyed certain advantages. The election of 1912 showed that most of the people demanded progressive legislation. If the Democrats did not support the President, warned a Congressman, they would "be turned into the wilderness for forty years more." No prominent Democratic leaders opposed Wilson, as Cannon and Aldrich had thwarted Taft. On the contrary, Wilson enjoyed the loyal support of Bryan, the most influential man in the Democratic party, whom he appointed Secretary of State. Above all, Wilson provided consistent, effective leadership. No President before or after him entered office "with clearer ideas of what he wished to do, and how he proposed to do it." He told his cabinet, "Having been chosen the leader of my party, I feel it my duty to lead."

REFORMS IN TARIFFS, BANKING, AND TRUST BUSTING

The President lost no time in embarking on his reform program. Like Taft, Wilson at once called Congress into special session. Breaking a precedent which had stood since Jefferson's time, he appeared in person before Congress and delivered a special message on the tariff. This dramatic action was an example of Wilson's long-standing belief that the President's greatest power lay in focusing public attention on important issues. This "speech from the throne" made the headlines. As Wilson and his wife drove back to the White House, she remarked that Roosevelt probably wished he had thought of it. "Yes," he replied, "I think I put one over on Teddy."

Wilson's message charged that high tariffs had built up "a set of privileges and exemptions from competition behind which it was easy . . . to organize monopoly." Lower rates, he claimed,

In attempting to assess the relative influence of economics on the decisions of political leaders and on the policies of nations, the historian must use data and hypotheses made available by the research of economists and political scientists. For example, note the generalization on page 476 that depends on information furnished by the political scientist and economist: "While the business community was in general opposed to foreign adventures, some American corporations were actively seeking foreign markets."

1. What kinds of data might the political scientist have provided?

Strong protests against imperialism written by businessmen to congressmen, to the President, and to other businessmen.
Editorial comment in business publications and speeches made by businessmen.

What other data might the political scientist have provided?

2. What kinds of data might the economist have furnished?

Graphs and charts showing the changes in U.S. corporations' investments in foreign markets, 1890-1898.
Efforts by U.S. corporations to attract capital for foreign investment.

What other data might the economist have furnished?

3. What hypothesis furnished by the economist serves as a basis for the historian's next statement?—"If businessmen could be shown that by acquiring colonies the U.S. could expand its markets, they could be converted to imperialism."

The business community had no strong moral or political objections to imperialism—their concern was with profits.

Later, on page 480, the authors conclude that: "Eventually sentiment for annexation outweighed opposition. Business interests were won over by the hope of new markets for American goods and new fields of investment. Public opinion at large was excited by the prospect of acquiring an empire over which the sun never set, or almost never."

4. What kinds of data did the authors need from the political scientist before drawing this conclusion?

Tabulations of comments in business publications.
Tabulations of comments in speeches and writings of businessmen.
Tabulations of editorial comments in newspapers and magazines.
Tabulations of letters to the editor.
Comments by public officials in response to letters from businessmen and the rest of their constituencies.

What other data would the historian need?

would help business by putting businessmen under "constant necessity to be efficient, economical and enterprising." Opening the American market to foreign products would at the same time open foreign markets to American goods. Wilson warned, however, against undue haste, making clear that he did not favor removing protective duties entirely.

The Underwood-Simmons Tariff, 1913

The House of Representatives soon passed a bill embodying the President's recommendations. The real fight took place in the Senate, where previous attempts to lower the tariff had foundered (see pp. 453-454, 459, 511), and where the Democrats had only a three-vote majority. Lobbyists swarmed to Washington, and senators were bombarded with letters and telegrams from their home states. Before senatorial opposition had time to crystallize, Wilson made another appeal to the people. In a statement to the press he denounced the "insidious" lobbyists who attempted "to overcome the interests of the public for their private profit." He asked an aroused public opinion to insist that Congress put an end to "this unbearable situation."

The President followed this by personal conferences with Democratic senators and by letters to those who threatened to oppose him. Wilson had once written that the use of patronage to influence Congressmen was "immoral," but he now allowed Bryan and Albert S. Bursleson, his Postmaster General, to satisfy congressmen's demands that federal jobs be filled by "deserving Democrats." Office seekers recommended by senators who voted against tariff reduction obviously would not be "deserving." Under such varied pressure from the executive the Senate voted to accept the House bill with little change.

The Underwood-Simmons Tariff was the first substantial lowering of import duties since 1857. It attempted to fix duties at a level where

costs of production in the United States and abroad would be equalized. It removed protection entirely from industries no longer needing it. Thus steel ingots and barbed wire were put on the free list, since American steel companies had long competed successfully with foreign producers.

A most important section of the Underwood-Simmons Act was the provision for levying an income tax, now legalized by the Sixteenth Amendment. Rates varied from 1 per cent

QUESTION • How do these income tax rates compare with the present pattern?

on incomes over \$3,000 to 6 per cent on those over \$500,000. Originally introduced

merely to make up for losses in revenue caused by lowering the tariff, the income tax became in a very few years the federal government's chief source of revenue.

Weaknesses of the Banking System

While the tariff debate was at its height, Wilson appeared before Congress to introduce the second major item in his reform program: a revision of the banking and currency system designed to provide businessmen with more abundant and more available credit. Like the tariff message, Wilson's speech was so brief and readable that many newspapers published the entire text.

In 1907 a sharp panic had revealed that the American banking and currency system needed overhauling. The collapse of a few business houses and a sudden calling in of loans caused money to "go into hiding" and banks to stop lending. In 1908 Congress set up a National Monetary Commission, headed by conservative Senator Aldrich, to investigate the situation and propose change. After four years of study, the Aldrich Commission reported that the financial organization of the United States was faulty in the following respects:



A short, sharp panic in 1907 caused widespread bank failures and unemployment in the cities. Here workers without jobs stand in line to get bread and soup, which was all that kept them from outright starvation in an age before unemployment insurance or other forms of social security.

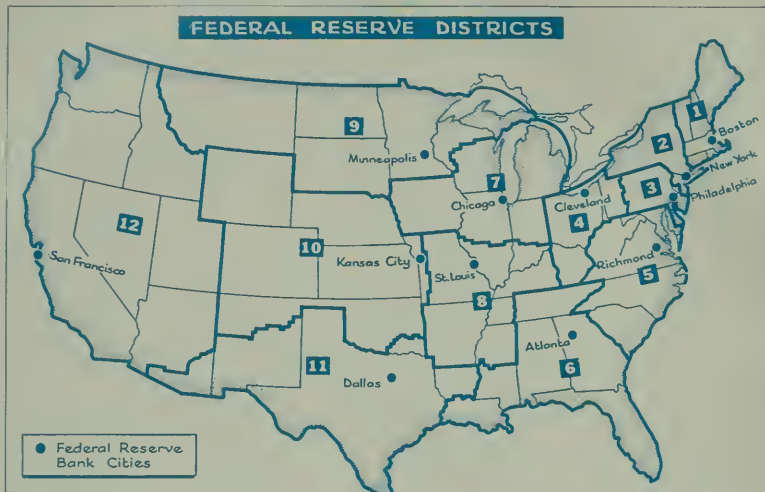
(1) *American banking lacked stability in time of crisis.* There were insufficient monetary reserves and insufficient cooperation between banks.

(2) *The currency was inflexible.* The amount of money in circulation was based on the amount of gold and silver in the treasury, plus the bonds held by the national banks. There was no means of increasing or decreasing the supply of money according to the needs of the country.

(3) *There was no over-all, central control of banking practices.* In other modern, industrial-

ized countries there were central banks, such as the Bank of England and the Bank of France, which directed banking policy. The United States had had nothing of the sort since Jackson destroyed the second Bank of the United States.

(4) *There was too much concentration of bank capital in New York City.* A disproportionate amount of bank capital was centered in Wall Street. Meanwhile other parts of the country, especially isolated rural districts, often suffered from a lack of adequate banking facilities and credit.



By the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, the country was divided into twelve districts, each served by a single "bank for bankers". This arrangement made the banking system more responsive to local needs and less dominated by Wall Street. The Federal Reserve system was designed to check deflation and inflation, by so adjusting the rediscount rate that credit is made cheaper or more costly. Another major function of the reserve banks is to expand and contract the amount of currency in circulation. When a businessman borrows from a bank, the bank rediscounts his note at the district Federal Reserve Bank, which in turn issues new currency backed by the businessman's note. Similarly, when the note is paid off, the currency is withdrawn from circulation. By what criteria do you think the twelve districts were chosen?

The Federal Reserve Act, 1913

While there was little doubt about the ills of the banking and currency system, there was dispute about the cure. Wilson himself complained, "There are almost as many judgments as there are men." Bankers favored a great central bank, privately controlled, like the first and second Banks of the United States. Many progressives, especially Bryan, feared that this would make the "money trust" (as they called it) even stronger. They wanted strict federal control of banking and credit. The bankers, in turn, intensely distrusted Bryan as a "wild man." It was Wilson's difficult task to select a plan which would work and at the same time win

support from both bankers and Bryanites. The plan finally developed by several able congressmen, with Wilson's backing, was called the Federal Reserve Act. Under constant pressure from the President, Congress enacted this into law in December 1913. It was one of the most important and useful pieces of legislation in the history of the United States.

The new system provided for twelve Federal Reserve Banks situated throughout the country (see map, above). All national banks were required to join them and other banks might also do so. The Federal Reserve Banks did not deal directly with individuals but instead serviced member banks. These "banks for

bankers" concentrated reserves, so that individual banks could be supported in time of temporary difficulty such as a "run." They provided for local needs and made it easier to move funds from one part of the country to another.

Local banks had frequently lacked funds to provide for perfectly sound loans to businessmen and farmers. Stores and factories had closed, and crops had rotted for lack of funds to pay for harvesting. The Federal Reserve Act greatly improved this situation by providing for a new form of "flexible" currency known as Federal Reserve notes, issued in response to business needs. The new money was put into circulation when local banks needing cash brought businessmen's promissory notes to Federal Reserve Banks and received Federal Reserve notes in return. For this service the Federal Reserve Banks charged a small fee called a "rediscount."

When a Federal Reserve Bank thus bought promissory notes, it could print and issue more paper money, with those notes as part of the security, or collateral, protecting the value of the currency. When the notes were paid up and the money came back to the Bank, it would retire the currency. The amount of money in circulation was also controlled by raising or lowering the rediscount rate. Raising the rate discouraged banks from lending and "contracted" the currency; lowering the rate encouraged lending and "expanded" the currency. Thus currency and credit in any Federal Reserve district expanded or contracted according to the economic needs of each region.

The Federal Reserve Act provided for a compromise between private and public control. The Federal Reserve Banks themselves were privately owned, and a majority of their directors were elected by the member banks. Over-all control of the Federal Reserve Banks was in the hands, however, of a seven-man Federal Reserve Board appointed by the President. Thus the

center of financial power was moved from Wall Street to Washington.

On the whole, the Federal Reserve Act was successful in providing the United States with a banking system responsive to the needs of a great industrial nation. It succeeded in its first great test during World War I when it assisted industry to expand and helped the federal government to finance the war effort.

The Clayton Act, 1914

Less than a month after signing the Federal Reserve Act, Wilson asked Congress to pass a more effective antitrust law than the Sherman Act. Denying any desire to interfere with legitimate business activities, the message proposed various methods of preventing "the indefensible and intolerable" abuses of private monopoly. Late in 1914 Congress passed the Clayton Act which forbade the following practices that destroyed competition or closed the door to new business concerns:

(1) *Ruinous price-cutting*, such as when a large company deliberately sold goods at a loss to drive weaker competitors out of business.

(2) "*Tying*" contracts, whereby a purchaser of goods from a particular company had to agree not to trade with its competitors.

(3) *Inter-corporate investment*, by which a company bought part ownership in a rival concern.

(4) "*Interlocking*" directorates between large corporations and banks, whereby the same men acted as directors in many different companies. (In 1913 a congressional investigation revealed that the eleven partners of the firm of J. Pierpont Morgan held over sixty directorships in banks and business concerns.)

The Clayton Act contained two sections apparently favorable to trade unions. As has been noted, the Sherman Act, by forbidding conspiracies in restraint of trade, had proved more effective against labor unions than against business

monopolies. In the Danbury Hatters' case, fought out in the federal courts from 1903 to 1915, a union had been ruined financially by being forced to pay triple damages to a business concern whose product had been boycotted. To discourage such use of antitrust laws the Clayton Act stated that "nothing in the antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor . . . organizations." Ever since Debs had been jailed for contempt in the Pullman strike (see p. 439), labor unions had protested the use of court injunctions forbidding strikes and boycotts. In answer to their protests, the Clayton Act forbade federal courts to issue injunctions against peaceful strikes, picketing, boycotts, or union meetings.

Because of loose wording and unfavorable interpretation by the federal courts the Clayton Act was not effective. Thus the protection of labor unions from suits under the Sherman Act was limited only to unions when pursuing their "legitimate" purposes. It was up to the courts to define "legitimate." And injunctions might still be issued when "necessary to prevent irreparable damage to property or to a property right," which again left a large loophole for conservative judges.

Wilson's Changing Philosophy

With the passage of the Clayton Act the legislative program that Wilson had originally promoted was complete. In accordance with the principles of the New Freedom, he had changed the rules and attempted to see that the rules of competition were made more fair. He had resisted such efforts to go farther as the passage of a federal child labor law or the establishment of federal credit agencies to provide farmers with cheap loans.

But after the passage of the Clayton Act, Wilson approved a law that revealed that he was being pushed toward more active intervention of government in the economy. This

was an act establishing a Federal Trade Commission to investigate and regulate business practices. The commission was given power to order companies to "cease and desist" from unfair conduct. Although in practice the activities of the commission were mild, the idea of establishing such a regulatory commission was borrowed from Roosevelt's New Nationalism.

Other legislation revealing a shift toward the more active role for government that Roosevelt had advocated was passed during the latter part of Wilson's first term. Twelve regional Federal Farm Loan Banks were established and endowed with public funds in order to provide loans for agriculture at rates not to exceed 6 per cent. A Federal Highways Act gave federal funds to states for road building; the law, which revealed the growing importance of the automobile, was designed to help farmers get their produce to market. Reversing his earlier stand, Wilson supported the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act that prohibited the employment of children under fourteen in factories producing goods for interstate commerce. The Adamson Act, passed under threat of a nation-wide tie-up in transportation, established an 8-hour day for railroad workers.

Not since Hamilton's financial program in the opening years of the Republic had so much constructive legislation been passed so quickly. Sometimes keeping Congress in session through hot summer months, Wilson had supplied a skillful and dynamic leadership not previously surpassed by any President in time of peace. Chauncey Depew, a noted conservative Republican, said that for a man regarded as a mere theorist, Wilson had accomplished "the most astonishing practical results."

Wilson's achievement as an architect and promoter of progressive legislation was later all but forgotten. It was obscured by adventures in foreign affairs that ended in tragedy for him and for the world.

Activities: Chapter 21

For Mastery and Review

1. Concisely describe the major elements in Roosevelt's Square Deal program.

2. Why did Roosevelt select Taft as his successor? What problems did Taft encounter as President?

3. What did Roosevelt mean by New Nationalism?

4. Why did Roosevelt decide to run for office again in 1912? Why did he not receive the Republican nomination? Who composed the Progressive party?

5. What were Wilson's qualifications for the presidency? Describe his personality. What were the major points of his inaugural address? On entering office, what were his handicaps and advantages?

6. What was Wilson's position on the tariff? By what techniques did he force his views on Congress? What did the Underwood-Simmons Tariff do?

7. What were the faults of American financial organization in 1913? Summarize the structure and operation of the Federal Reserve System. What was done to provide cheaper credit for farmers?

8. What were the purposes and provisions of the Clayton Act? What other legislation of the Wilson administration aided labor and farmers?

9. What shift in Wilson's political philosophy occurred during his first term in the White House?

Who, What, and Why Important?

trust-busting	Progressives
Department of Commerce and Labor	election of 1912
Northern Securities Corporation	Underwood-Simmons Tariff
coal strike of 1902	income tax
Hepburn Act	National Monetary Commission
Pure Food and Drug Law	Federal Reserve Act
Meat Inspection Act	Clayton Act
conservation	Federal Trade Commission
election of 1908	Danbury Hatters' Case
Payne-Aldrich Tariff	Federal Highways Act
"Uncle Joe" Cannon	Keating-Owen Act
Mann-Elkins Act	Adamson Act

To Pursue the Matter

1. No President has ever provided the country with such fun as did "Teddy." To find out why this was so read about him in *Our Times*, by Mark Sullivan, a newspaperman who knew Roosevelt well. A few especially recommended chapters are: in vol. II, "A Dude Enters Politics"; in vol. III, "Teddy"; and in vol. IV, "Thru!" *Our Times* also portrays Roosevelt, the master politician in action, as, for instance, when he dealt with the coal operators in the strike of 1902 (vol. II, Chapter 24) or battled for federal meat inspection and pure food laws (vol. II, Chapter 27).

2. Assess Roosevelt's successes and failures in the field of conservation. See Harbaugh, *Power and Responsibility: The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, Chapter 19.

3. One of the most disputed actions in Roosevelt's career was his bolting the Republican party in 1912. Possible ways of bringing out the drama of his action: (a) A debate on the topic, "Resolved: That Theodore Roosevelt stands condemned before the bar of history for wrecking the Republican party"; (b) Turn the class into a mock 1912 Republican Convention, with all members delegates and some playing special roles, such as Roosevelt himself, the presiding officer, Elihu Root, Robert La Follette, and so forth. There is an abundance of material on this convention in biographies of Roosevelt; see Kelly, *Fight for the White House*, and White, *Autobiography*.

4. How did the progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt differ from that of Woodrow Wilson? See the chapters on the two men in Ganley, *The Progressive Movement*.

5. Compare the birth of an unsuccessful crusade with "A Day of Dedication" in Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 379-381.

6. What were the causes and circumstances of the Panic of 1907? Would the Federal Reserve System have prevented the panic? Some light is shed on this question in "J. P. Morgan, 'One-Man Federal Reserve,'" in Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 384-387.

7. Why were so few laws enacted during Roosevelt's presidency?

Chapter 22

The Progressive Movement

In this widespread political agitation that at first seems so incoherent and chaotic, there may be distinguished upon examination and analysis three tendencies. The first is found in the insistence by the best men in all political parties that special, minority, and corrupt influence in government—national, state, and city—be removed; the second tendency is found in the demand that the structure or machinery of government, which has hitherto been admirably adapted to control by the few, be so changed and modified that it will be more difficult for the few, and easier for the many, to control; and, finally, the third tendency is found in the rapidly growing conviction that the functions of government at present are too restricted and that they must be increased and extended to relieve social and economic distress.

—BENJAMIN PARKE DE WITT, 1915

The reform legislation passed during the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations was a manifestation at the national level of a widespread feeling that many aspects of American society were in crying need of improvement. For all of America's wealth and progress, many thoughtful observers saw much that alarmed them.

CAUSES FOR ALARM

Millions of American laborers were underpaid and overworked. Wages of industrial workers averaged \$10 to \$12 for a 60-hour week, with recurring periods of unemployment. Women garment workers sometimes received as little as 50 cents for a twelve-hour day. The

accident rate in factories and on the railroads was appalling, and there was no provision for compensating the men, women, and children who were injured. According to an estimate made in 1904, 10 million people were "underfed, underclothed, and poorly housed." Systems of relief for the poor were meager and unsystematic.

At the other end of the scale were men rich beyond the dreams of avarice, who thought nothing of asking forty guests to a dinner that cost \$250 per plate, men who owned great yachts, baronial palaces, private railroad cars, and summer retreats covering thousands of acres. But it was not so much the wealth of the new plutocrats that was alarming as their power. Not only were the great corporations be-

yond the reach of government, but they dominated it. At every level—federal, state, and municipal—could be seen what the Kansas editor, William Allen White, called “the alliance between government and business to the benefit of business.”

The spectacle of insolent wealth at one extreme and sullen poverty at the other made many men fear revolution. This feeling was dramatized by one of the most widely read poems ever written by an American, “The Man with the Hoe,” by Edwin Markham, published in 1899. In describing Jean François Millet’s famous painting of a desperately tired peasant resting on his hoe in the fields, Markham uttered a bitter protest against those who brutalized men by exploiting them. By asking two rhetorical questions the poet issued a solemn warning:

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
How will the Future reckon with this Man?
How answer his brute question in that hour
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?

SOURCES OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

As if in answer to Markham’s warning, much that was wrong with American society was righted by the progressive movement¹ that was at its height during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century. This was misnamed because there was not one movement, but many. Progressivism had so many sources and ran through so many channels that there was hardly an aspect of American life not touched by it. Its leaders included former Populists and Grangers, labor union officials, settlement house workers, crusading authors and editors, prohibitionists, naturalists and foresters, municipal and civil service reformers, and politicians. Some were enlightened businessmen, including two partners of J. Pierpont Morgan. In general, progressivism, like the earlier Jeffersonian and

Jacksonian agitation, was inspired by the basic principle of the Declaration of Independence: the preservation or creation of equal opportunity. The progressives aimed to destroy privilege, by which they were apt to mean the corrupt partnership of private interests and political bosses.

Relation to Populism

Progressivism owed a good deal to the Populist movement; indeed, William Allen White said that the progressives “caught the Populists in swimming and stole all their clothes except the frayed undergarments of free silver.” Most of the demands found in the Omaha platform of 1892 (see Appendix, pp. 805–806) were enacted into law during the progressive period. But Populism had been an agrarian movement that rather ineffectively sought allies in the cities. The Populists had not asked for active help from government (except in regard to regulation of railroads and telegraph lines) so much as for changes in the rules to give farmers an even break. But now in the cities there was a strong sense that government must play a more active role:

A philosophy that called for “leaving things alone” . . . seemed either unreal or hypocritical in the cities. . . . The wage earner had to look to the government to make sure that the milk bought for his baby was not watered or tubercular; he had to look to government to regulate the construction of tenements so all sunlight was not blocked out. If only God could make a tree, only the government could make a park.

The progressive leadership was different from that of the Populists, in that it was not drawn so much from victims of existing conditions as from men in comfortable circumstances

¹ Note that “progressive” and “progressive movement” are not capitalized here. “Progressive” with a capital “P” refers to several minor political parties that have taken this label, especially to the Progressive party that nominated Theodore Roosevelt for the presidency in 1912.

who sympathized with the sufferings of others. This could be seen in the way many Catholic priests, Jewish rabbis, and Protestant ministers preached the new "social gospel": that religious bodies should devote themselves to improving society as well as to ministering to the spiritual needs of their congregations. As was pointed out (see p. 442), men and women of various religious faiths had started settlement houses in city slums. In the progressive period they were pioneers in such activities as slum clearance and agitation for legislation limiting hours of

QUESTION • *Should religious leaders take an active, militant part in reform movements?*

employment and forbidding child labor. The National Council of the Churches of Christ, representing 32 denominations, was founded in 1905 and pledged itself to support a program of social reform. In every large city the Salvation Army, which had been founded in England, provided food, lodging, and hope for the despairing and destitute. How broad was the appeal of the social gospel was shown by the success of *In His Steps*, written by Charles M. Sheldon, a Kansas minister. This novel, which in dramatic terms asks the question, "What would Jesus have done about it?", was published in 1896 and eventually sold over 20 million copies.

Pragmatism

The universities provided another breeding ground for reformers. Many men, both in and out of academic life, were profoundly influenced by the philosophy known as pragmatism, especially connected with the name of William James of Harvard. Pragmatism can perhaps be summarized as follows: "For human purposes, whatever promotes human welfare is true enough." It was in the spirit of pragmatism that men in the social sciences such as economics, sociology, and public law studied human insti-

tutions with the idea that they might be improved. Henry B. Adams, head of the famous department of history, politics, and economics at Johns Hopkins University, told his graduate students, "By the instrumentality of scholars great improvement of society is to be made." From Johns Hopkins came such notable men as Woodrow Wilson and Newton D. Baker, a reform mayor of Cleveland, who later served as Wilson's Secretary of War.

An academic figure who attained great influence and high position was Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., son of a well-known literary figure and a veteran of the Civil War. Early in his career, while a lecturer at the Harvard Law School, Holmes applied the pragmatic method in a book entitled *The Common Law*. Human law, he claimed, was not a sacred set of principles, never to be changed, but a social instrument that must be adapted to changing needs. When Theodore Roosevelt later appointed him to the Supreme Court, Holmes helped to write his legal views into the Constitution, often by his famous dissenting opinions which were followed by a majority of the justices only after he had retired.

During the progressive era the greatest victory for the view that in deciding a case justices should consult present facts as well as ancient precedents was that of *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), involving an Oregon law limiting the number of hours women might be employed. Previously the Supreme Court had declared similar legislation to be unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment, on the ground that it interfered with workers' "liberty" (see p. 144). Louis D. Brandeis won the case for the state by preparing a brief that produced abundant evidence that long hours had evil effects on women's health. During Wilson's administration, Brandeis joined Holmes on the Supreme Court. The famous phrase "Brandeis and Holmes dissenting" often revealed their

differences of opinion with their more conservative colleagues.

The Muckrakers

Victories over "the system," or "invisible government," as progressives called the business-boss alliance, were possible only because an indignant public insisted, and continued to insist, that it was "time for a change." A group of authors whom Roosevelt nicknamed "muckrakers" helped to inspire this indignation and to keep it alive. Although the muckrakers wrote for popular magazines with very wide circulation, they were usually not hack writers, but intelligent men and women profoundly disturbed by the abuses they discovered. In her *History of the Standard Oil Company*, Ida Tarbell described how that company obtained special favors from railroad companies and politicians. In *Following the Color Line*, Ray Stannard Baker revealed the patterns of discrimination in both the North and the South. Lincoln Steffens revealed shocking graft in city after city. Steffens decided that the people most responsible for corruption in politics were not the politicians themselves, but those who wanted special favors from government. These favors might be franchises, persuading enforcement officers to "look the other way," or "pull" with judges or police; they all involved the idea of privilege for "insiders."

Some muckrakers were novelists who put their criticisms of existing conditions into fictional form. In *The Octopus*, Frank Norris told how railroads lorded it over wheat farmers in a rich western valley. *Coniston and Mr. Crewe's Career* by Winston Churchill (the American novelist) described political corruption in New England. Booth Tarkington's *The Gentleman from Indiana* recounted an honest man's struggle with a political boss and with organized crime.

The pure food and meat inspection laws passed in 1906 during Theodore Roosevelt's



By revealing horribly unsanitary conditions in meat-packing plants Roosevelt raised such a clamor for reform that a reluctant Congress passed a meat inspection law to end the abuses.

administration demonstrated the effectiveness of the muckrakers. Articles in *The Ladies' Home Journal* and *Collier's Weekly* revealed that so-called patent medicines were generally useless and sometimes contained dangerous drugs. The American Medical Association joined the crusade against such preparations, as well as against the adulteration of food by preservative chemicals. Federal regulation was opposed by some senators, who declared it unconstitutional to interfere with the "liberty" of a citizen to poison himself. Nevertheless, a combination of presidential pressure and widespread demand proved irresistible, and the Pure Food and Drug Law was enacted. A similar law was inspired by the best-selling novel *The Jungle*, by Upton Sinclair, which portrayed horribly unsanitary conditions in slaughterhouses. When Roosevelt learned that many of Sinclair's charges were true, he became, as Mark Sullivan has written, "all act." He overwhelmed opposition to federal inspection of meat by threatening to publish the most sensational findings of a committee which had secretly investigated the abuses. Within a

short time Congress passed a Meat Inspection Act.

The findings of the muckrakers were borne out by sober investigations. The most famous of these occurred in 1905 when Charles Evans Hughes, a brilliant young lawyer, probed life insurance companies in New York. Hughes revealed that officers and directors of some of the largest insurance companies in the country ran a sort of spoils system, voting themselves huge salaries, appointing members of their own families to well-paid positions, buying securities from firms in which they had an interest, paying a United States senator (who was also a director) \$20,000 a year for "legal services," and spending hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to influence state legislators. As a result of this investigation, New York passed laws to control the activities of insurance company officials and to protect the interests of the policyholders. Hughes gained such popularity that he was elected governor of New York and was launched on a distinguished political career.

DIRECT DEMOCRACY

The achievements of progressivism at the national level that were described in the last chapter were less far-reaching than those at the local level. It was more difficult to create nationwide demands for reform than to organize effective campaigns on a smaller scale. The federal government was also difficult to prod into action. The Senate, chosen by boss-dominated state legislatures until 1913, was a highly conservative body. In the House of Representatives the dominating figures such as the committee chairmen and the speaker were usually men highly resistant to change. The Supreme Court was somewhat less conservative than in the 1890's, but it was usually suspicious of the extension of federal power into new areas, as it demonstrated when it declared unconstitu-

tional a federal law providing workmen's compensation for railroad workers in 1908 and a federal child labor law in 1918. Partly because of the attitude of the courts, most of the evils described by the muckrakers—child labor, municipal corruption, and industrial accidents, for instance—were outside the constitutional sphere of the federal government.

At the local level the variety of reform during the progressive period was so extraordinary that we can only indicate its general character. The progressives had an optimistic faith in the intelligence and good will of the people at large. "The cure for the evils of democracy," they said, "is more democracy." A number of arrangements were introduced to reduce the power of political bosses and provide for direct democracy.

(1) **The direct primary.** Progressives claimed that the prevailing system of nominating candidates for office by boss-ridden party conventions allowed voters only to choose between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. The direct primary, first used in Wisconsin, took the nomination of party candidates away from conventions and gave it to the voters in a special election held in advance of the regular election.

(2) **The initiative, referendum, and recall.** The initiative and referendum, which originated in Switzerland, were both designed to give the people a direct voice in legislation. The initiative permitted a certain proportion of the voters, say 15 per cent, to force action on a particular issue. The referendum was a means of submitting political issues to a yes-or-no vote of the people. By the recall, voters gained the right to remove from office an elected official who no longer enjoyed their confidence by holding a special election.

(3) **Corrupt practices laws.** These laws limited the amount of money that candidates and their supporters might spend in elections, and also regulated campaign contributions,

Two suffragettes demonstrate before an audience of indifferent males in New York City. The Nineteenth Amendment, passed in 1920, gave all women the right to vote. It was a reward for the many services women had performed in World War I.



especially by corporations. Elihu Root, who himself had made a fortune as a Wall Street lawyer, explained the need for such legislation in a speech to a New York State Constitutional Convention:

Great moneyed interests are becoming more and more necessary to the support of political parties, and political parties are every year contracting greater debts to the men who can furnish the money to perform the necessary functions of party warfare ... [we must] prevent ... the great aggregations of wealth from using their corporate funds, directly or indirectly, to send members of the legislature to these halls in order to vote for their protection and the advancement of their interests as against those of the public.

(4) **New types of municipal government.** In many cities, elective offices were so numerous that the voter could not exercise intelligent choice, nor could he fix responsibility for graft, extravagance, and inefficiency. The structure of municipal government was often so unwieldy that it required a boss to provide unified direction. A flood that nearly wiped out Galveston,

Texas, in 1900 helped to start a new type of city government. In the crisis the citizens of Galveston gave the job of running the city to a commission of five men, elected by the voters at large.

This commission plan proved so successful that it was widely copied. From it developed the city-manager plan, whereby an elected city council employs a trained manager to run the government, just as in private industry company directors hire a superintendent to run a factory. The early city managers were often engineers, because much of the business of running a modern city—such as sewage disposal, water supply, and paving streets—was technical in nature. By 1912 over two hundred cities had adopted commission or city-manager plans.

(5) **Women's suffrage.** The progressive movement advanced the cause of women's suffrage. It was difficult to argue that the people should have a wider say in the government and

QUESTION • Do more elective offices and more frequent elections mean more real democracy?

The tenement below, having an air shaft only 28 inches wide, was permissible under New York law before 1901. Later building codes regulated the size of rooms, required that all rooms be lighted and ventilated, and made provision for running water and fire escapes. The building at right is not good, but it did represent a great advance over previous conditions.



not count women as people, especially since they were taking more and more jobs in industry, office work, and education, as well as playing a prominent role in reform movements. By 1914 eleven states, all west of the Mississippi, had granted women full suffrage. In the East the suffragettes were successful in publicizing their cause by holding dramatic parades and circulating monster petitions.

(6) **Direct election of senators.** The United States Senate had long been known as a "rich men's club." James Bryce remarked in the 1880's that some men became senators because they were rich, while a few were rich because

they were senators. Chosen by state legislatures for six-year terms, the senators could often ignore public opinion. The constitutional arrangement often handicapped local government, because whenever there was a senatorial election coming up, state legislators were apt to be chosen on the basis of which candidate they favored rather than on how they stood on local issues. As early as 1892 the Populists demanded election of senators by direct popular vote. During the progressive period the demand became so great that in 1913 the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution provided for direct election of senators (see pp. 146-147).

CONTROL OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

As Theodore Roosevelt's career as a "trust-buster" revealed, progressives were resolved to put business under the law and to regulate it for the public welfare. At all levels of government they pushed through legislation toward this end.

Equalization of Taxation

Through their control over lawmaking agencies, great corporations had often been able to evade their share of taxation. Robert La Follette, governor of Wisconsin from 1900 to 1905, found that, in terms of market value of

their property, railroads paid the state less than half as much as did other businesses. He forced through laws to tax railroad property on an equal basis, and his example was followed elsewhere. Theodore Roosevelt, when governor of New York, had led a similar movement to tax public service corporations on the value of their franchises. The movement toward more equal taxation reached the federal sphere when in 1909 Congress first taxed corporation profits. In 1895 the Supreme Court in a 5-to-4 decision had declared the income tax unconstitutional, but the Sixteenth Amendment (see p. 146), ratified in 1913, empowered the federal government to levy such a tax.

Regulation of Public Utilities

The progressive period saw the passage of a great deal of state legislation, along the lines of the former Granger laws, to regulate public utilities such as street-car lines and electric-light companies. Many states set up public service commissions with the power to control the rates charged by public utilities and sometimes to regulate the way they were financed. Doubtful of the effectiveness of regulation, some cities bought out private owners and ran public utilities directly; by 1915 all but one of the thirty-six largest cities owned or operated their own waterworks. At the national level, the progressives, as we have seen, urged stricter regulation of trusts, railroads, and banks.

Protection of Consumers

A basic principle of common law that Americans inherited from England was *caveat emptor* (let the buyer beware). This meant that if a purchaser bought worthless oil stock, a spavined horse, bread made of sawdust, or patent medicine consisting of coloring matter and water, he had no one but himself to blame. During the progressive period, a new attitude began to make itself felt. It was argued that consumers

had no means of knowing when food was adulterated, meat prepared under unsanitary conditions, children's soothing syrup dosed with opium, or medicine mislabeled. Such frauds not only injured consumers, but also penalized those who produced honest products and marketed them honestly. Therefore laws were passed at both the federal and local levels to provide for inspection of food, penalize fraudulent producers, forbid the use of certain drugs in patent medicines, and insist on accurate labeling. Still another protection for consumers were city building codes which forbade some of the worst features of the former tenement houses by providing for legal minimums regarding light and air, fire escapes, size of rooms, and sanitation.

Protection of Wage Earners

A grim feature of the advance of industrialism was the employment of children in factories. Although children started to work on farms almost as soon as they could walk, the work itself was often varied and healthful, as well as being part of normal family life. In factories, however, the work was monotonous, the conditions were often unhealthy or dangerous, and the children were under the unfeeling discipline of strangers. Factory children were often denied the opportunity for schooling.

A National Child Labor Committee was formed in 1904 to promote the legal abolition of child labor. A book by John Spargo, *The Cry of the Children*, revealed "conditions which might well shame a civilized people into action." In the textile industry more than one-eighth of the employees were less than sixteen years old, and some children entered cotton factories at the age of seven or eight. In the anthracite industry thousands of "breaker boys" were hired at the age of nine or ten to pick slag out of coal, being paid 60 cents for a ten-hour day. The nature of the work was such that breaker boys acquired permanently bent backs, and

often crippled hands as well. Public opinion was so stirred that by 1914 every state but one had fixed a minimum age for employment; most of them had established other controls as well. In 1916 and again in 1919 Congress passed laws seeking to forbid child labor in factories producing goods for interstate commerce, but both were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Meantime Congress had established the Children's Bureau as a branch of the Department of Labor. The Children's Bureau has little or no power, but by investigation, persuasion, and the publication of excellent pamphlets it has helped immensely to improve the well-being of American children.

Until the twentieth century, the victims of industrial accidents had little or no protection. They often could not afford doctors' bills and could seldom save enough to tide themselves over a period of convalescence without great deprivation. During the late nineteenth century, countries as far removed as Germany and New Zealand had introduced workmen's compensation, also called employers' liability. Such legislation required employers to insure their workers against accidents. If a worker was injured, he received medical and hospital care plus compensation for lost wages. In the United States, agitation for workmen's compensation was so great that forty-two states had provided for it by 1921. Such legislation not only helped workers after they had been injured, but also reduced industrial hazards. Since employers paid lower insurance premiums if they lowered their accident rate, it was to their self-interest to introduce safety devices and to train their laborers to be careful.

Child labor and workmen's compensation laws were only two of the many types of legislation designed to reduce the hazards and insecurity of employment. Other legislation provided for better factory inspection, for regulation of working conditions for women,

for limiting the hours of labor, and for the abolition of crowded, unsanitary sweatshops. The frontier tradition of self-reliance was so strong, however, that the United States did not go so far in the direction of social security legislation as many European countries which had already passed laws providing for unemployment insurance and old-age pensions.

OTHER REFORM MOVEMENTS

The spirit of reform expressed itself in many other ways. It resulted in playgrounds and dental clinics for children; in the founding of the Boy Scouts, the Campfire Girls, and the Girl Scouts; in juvenile courts and reform schools to care for young delinquents. Americans began to have second thoughts about looting their land, with the result that both the states and the federal government passed laws providing for conservation of natural resources and for great public recreation areas. Private charities multiplied and increased their usefulness. One of the greatest medical feats in history was the successful campaign by the Rockefeller Foundation to eradicate hookworm in the rural districts of the South.

Educational Advances

The early twentieth century was a period of such advance in education that a European observer remarked that "children reign supreme in the United States." In elementary grades the school year was lengthened and the curriculum enriched by the introduction of music, drawing, and manual training. The number of students in high schools doubled; on the average, a new high school building was completed every day in the year. Under the influence of the philosopher John Dewey, a few schools began to abandon a rigid, traditional curriculum and rote learning in favor of studies that related to modern society and methods designed to enlist

the natural inquisitiveness and creativity of the individual child. At the college level, Columbia built up a great school of education; Wisconsin was a leader in making universities serve a wider public through extension courses and traveling lecturers; Princeton, under Woodrow Wilson, introduced the "preceptorial system" which supplemented lectures with small informal discussion groups.

In the field of adult education, a picturesque and important development was the growth of "Chautauqua." It started as a summer lyceum by the shores of Chautauqua Lake in western New York. It became so popular that it was copied all over the country, often by traveling tent shows playing one-week stands. Millions of people crowded the circus tents in thousands of small towns to hear a variety of cultural offerings—Shakespearean readings, choruses, orchestras, preachers, lecturers, and politicians. "Chautauqua Week" was a great event to men, women, and children in isolated rural communities. Still another contribution toward alleviating the loneliness of farmers' lives was the institution by the Post Office Department of rural free delivery service. In the days before radio and television it meant much to farm people that at last they could get magazines and daily papers delivered to their door.

Farm Cooperatives

The agricultural prosperity of the early twentieth century was promoted not merely by high agricultural prices, but by various ways in which farmers learned to conduct their business more efficiently. The Granger and Populist movements had taught farmers useful techniques of organization. These were put to direct practical use in the development of producers' cooperatives that undertook functions previously performed by farmers themselves or by middlemen—food processing, storing, transporting, and marketing. In dairying, for instance, cooperative

creameries pasteurized milk, made butter and cheese, and carried the products to city wholesalers in refrigerator cars. Cooperatives both increased the efficiency of farming and returned to the farmer a larger share of what the consumer paid for his produce.

The Advance of Temperance

The temperance movement made great gains during the progressive era. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the American Anti-Saloon League, both well-financed by voluntary contributions, carried on unremitting propaganda against the evils of alcohol and of the saloon. The Anti-Saloon League became a force in politics by throwing support to candidates on the basis of their attitude toward prohibition. The position of the opponents of prohibition was weakened by the admitted evils of the saloon and the notorious tie-up between saloonkeepers and corrupt politicians. The temperance forces won so many local victories that by 1914 nearly half the people of the United States lived in "dry" territory. Twelve states had passed statewide prohibition laws and nearly all the rest had provided for local option (see p. 289).

The Socialist Movement

During the progressive period the socialist movement gained strength. In 1912 Eugene V. Debs, polled over 900,000 votes. Even at this high point the Socialist party gained less than one-sixteenth of the total ballot. But for several reasons, the socialist movement had an importance greater than its numbers might seem to warrant. Socialist ideas were widely circulated by popular authors such as the Americans Jack London and Upton Sinclair, and the Britishers H. G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw. Although very few of the progressives were socialists, they owed much of their success to the widespread feeling that reforming capitalism was the only alternative to abolishing it.



Eugene V. Debs was again Socialist candidate for the presidency in 1912. The nearly one million votes he received were still only 6 per cent of all votes cast.

Edward Bellamy's novel *Looking Backward* (see p. 445) had made socialism seem an attractive alternative to the existing industrial society, and his influence was reinforced by other writers, of whom the greatest was the Russian novelist and Christian Socialist, Leo Tolstoy. An influential American Christian Socialist was Walter Rauschenbusch, whose widely read book, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), argued that the Kingdom of God on earth would come only when a socialist society based on brotherly love had taken the place of *laissez-faire* capitalism based on competitive desire for gain.

The organized socialist movement was not based as much on the teachings of the Bible as on the works of Karl Marx. By the twentieth century, Marxian socialists were active in all western countries. They tended to divide into two groups. Some Marxists believed that socialism could be introduced gradually into capitalist society through piecemeal reforms finally gained through the ballot box. Others thought the only way to cure capitalism was to abolish it.

When the American socialists split at the

close of the nineteenth century, the majority joined the moderate faction led by Debs. He argued that in a free country the socialists could abolish capitalism and establish a "co-

QUESTION • How do you account for the small popularity of socialism in America?

operative commonwealth" by voting themselves into control of the government.

Pending the time when they gained power, the moderate socialists favored many reforms supported by the Populists or progressives, such as a graduated income tax, women's suffrage and public relief for unemployed persons.

Radical Socialism

Opposed to the Debs following was a radical group led by Daniel De Leon, a brilliant, intolerant Marxist revolutionary. He preached that gradual, piecemeal reform was worse than useless because it would make capitalism tolerable and workers would never be driven to rebellion. De Leon denounced reformers as sentimentalists, moderate socialists as "traitors to the working class," and Samuel Gompers as a tool of Wall Street. He repudiated existing trade unions as agencies of compromise with capitalists. Instead, he proposed to organize all workers into great industrial unions that would eventually take over the means of production. Yet, paradoxically, he was against violence.

Debs and De Leon briefly cooperated in the founding of a new labor organization, the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905. The IWW repudiated both of them, however, and instead followed leaders who preached "revolutionary activity" in the form of violence and sabotage. The IWW first gained strength in western mining towns and lumber camps, where the frontier tradition of lawlessness still



The shocking conditions of tenements, as shown in the picture at left taken by Jacob Riis in the 1890's, and growing awareness of the ill effects of child labor, as suggested in the picture of the "Breaker Boys," caused many to turn to organized efforts to do away with child labor and slum conditions.

Social Problems that Stirred the American Conscience

The growing awareness of the plight of the Negro led to the formation of the NAACP in the early 20th century. The NAACP New York office is shown below.



persisted. It went on to attempt to organize those outside the protection of existing labor unions: migrants, immigrants, and unskilled workers. Wherever the IWW appeared, there were strikes, and often violence, which were repaid in kind by deputy sheriffs, company police, and private vigilante groups. Yet although the "Wobblies," as they were called, made headlines and actually won a few strikes, their membership never began to approach that of the non-revolutionary unions. The movement lost ground when its leaders opposed American participation in World War I and disintegrated during the "red scare" that followed the war.

FAILURES OF PROGRESSIVISM

Eventually any wave of popular emotion subsides; so it was with progressivism. Muckraking became a journalistic formula, and the public grew tired of scandals. Many of the democratic reforms did not work out as planned, partly because the advocates of direct democracy had too optimistic a faith in the public's continuing interest in politics. Too frequent elections promoted voter indifference. Sometimes as few as 10 per cent of the eligible voters took part in primary elections. In any case, primary elections were apt to weaken party discipline and responsibility by taking the selection of candidates out of the control of the party organization. The new machinery for centralizing control of municipal government was no insurance against boss rule. After "throwing the rascals out" and setting up a commission or city-manager plan, the citizens of a town often lost interest and let the rascals back into power again. Public ownership of public utilities sometimes proved inefficient, as well as a fruitful source of patronage and graft.

Furthermore, the benefits of progressivism were unequally distributed. The middle class leaders of the movement feared labor unions scarcely less than trusts, and manufacturers organized effectively to prevent unionization, often with the active cooperation of local courts and police. The principal advance of labor during this period was among the minority of skilled workers. The real wages of unskilled workers actually dropped, since it was a period when the prices they paid for commodities increased more rapidly than their rates of pay.

Treatment of the "New Immigrants"

A factor that depressed the wage scale was a great flood of immigrants, averaging a million a year, the majority from southern and eastern Europe. This "new immigration" caused alarm not merely among native laborers, who saw it as a threat to their livelihood, but among those who feared them simply as aliens. The new immigrants were more strange to established American custom than were the "old immigrants" from northern and western Europe, and they had to face discrimination, both by law and by custom.

QUESTION • Where do immigrants come from today? Are they subjected to similar discrimination?

This even reached such ridiculous lengths as the passage of state legislation forbidding the teaching of foreign languages in schools. Pressure from labor union leaders and organizations such as an Immigration Restriction League induced Congress in 1897, 1913, and 1915 to pass laws requiring a literacy test of immigrants. Presidents Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson vetoed all three, always on the ground that illiteracy was a reflection of lack of opportunity rather than lack of ability. Finally, however, such a law was passed over President Wilson's veto in 1917.

Frustration for the Negro

The most conspicuous failure of progressivism was in regard to the Negro. Since the close of Radical Reconstruction in 1877, the place of the Negro in the South had evolved into a pattern of settled inferiority—in other words, of “white supremacy.” This development did not take place at once. During the 1880’s, visitors to the South from the North and from Europe were impressed by the way Negroes and whites mingled in public facilities such as streetcars, theaters, and soda fountains. A Negro newspaperman, returning from the North to his birthplace in South Carolina in 1885, found less discrimination in traveling and

eating arrangements than in New England. The conservative whites, often former planters, who dominated southern politics for a time were quite ready to give Negroes a dignified, although subordinate, place in southern life. In return, the Negroes generally voted for the “quality folk” in elections. But in the decades before and after 1900, there were successful efforts, varying in degree from state to state, to segregate Negroes both by law and by custom and to deprive them of political rights. Segregation extended to “virtually all forms of public transportation, to sports and recreations, to hospitals, orphanages, prisons, and asylums, and ultimately to funeral homes, morgues, and

Jane Addams, Social Reformer

While on vacation in Madrid in the spring of 1888, a frail, small, well-to-do young American woman suddenly hit on a strange plan. Taking her inspiration from Toynbee House, a social settlement house in the East End of London, she decided that she would go to a large city, find a place in the middle of the poorest district, and begin to live as a neighbor and friend to the very poor. By doing this, Jane Addams hoped to find a way to broaden the applications of democracy. She believed that to limit the concept of democracy to the eighteenth-century idea of political equality would not answer the growing needs of late nineteenth-century industrial America.

Returning to the United States, she founded Hull-House, on South Halsted Street in the immigrant section of Chicago. There she blazed a trail of social responsibility to the community. Out of the experiences of Hull-House came the first juvenile court in the United States, the first public playground in Chicago, pensions for mothers, the start of industrial medicine, and the union label. Jane Addams’ interests extended far beyond Hull-House to gaining suffrage for women, ending child labor, and establishing collective bargaining in labor disputes. She helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. From 1914 on, she was prominent in the movement to end war, winning the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1931. Perhaps her greatest achievement was the fact that thousands of women were moved by her example of moral leadership to enter actively into the life of the community. Three years before her death in 1935, she summed up her goals: “To marshal the moral forces capable of breaking what must be broken and building what must be built; to reconstruct our social relationships through a regeneration of the heart; to repair a world shattered by war and sodden self-seeking; to establish moral control over a mass of mechanical achievements.”

(Themes 5 & 7, see p. xli)



cemeteries." At the same time, Negroes were not only deprived of the franchise by various devices, but were also barred from holding office, sitting on juries, and serving as policemen. They were even forbidden to reside or as much as spend the night in some counties in the deep South. The practice of white supremacy was enforced not only by law but by intimidation, which took its most extreme form in lynching and other forms of mob violence.

The subordination of Negroes in the South was accomplished with little protest from the North. The average white in the North was ready to accede to the southern "solution" for the race problem, partly through indifference, partly because it seemed the price of reunion of the sections, and partly because he was inclined to be affected by the pseudo-Darwinism of the day and to believe that Negroes were racially inferior. While the cruder forms of keeping the Negro in "his place" were not practiced in the North, colored people were generally restricted to ill-paid occupations and an inferior social status. Their children were often sent to segregated schools, where they often received inferior education.

The Supreme Court reflected prevailing opinion by refusing to hold that segregation by state law was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the court held, with only one judge dissenting, that a Louisiana law that required railroads to provide "separate but equal" railroad accommodations for Negroes was constitutional. The "separate but equal" doctrine was later upheld with regard to schools and other enterprises serving the public.

Founding of the NAACP

These unhappy experiences explain a shift in Negro leadership during the progressive era. At the turn of the century, the most influential Negro leader was Booker T. Washington, a

former slave who had worked his way up from abject poverty and had founded Tuskegee Institute in eastern Alabama in 1881 to train Negroes in agricultural and industrial skills: Washington urged Negroes to accept the idea that they could not make the jump to equality with whites at once. They must first undergo a period of subordination while they learned skills, acquired property, and developed habits of thrift and industry. Washington was even willing to accept segregation of Negroes during this tutelage. But as the Negroes' lot not only failed to improve but often got worse, some turned from the moderate counsels of the head of Tuskegee to other men.

The most prominent new leader was W.E.B. DuBois, a brilliant, highly-educated Negro born in Massachusetts. He insisted that Washington was doing the Negroes harm by acquiescing in injustice. Instead of training for industrial jobs as "hewers of wood and drawers of water," DuBois proposed to give the ablest Negro children, the "Talented Tenth," the finest possible education so that they might better lead their fellow Negroes from bondage. Where Washington was willing to wait, DuBois wanted immediate action now. He was one of the organizers, along with John Dewey, Jane Addams, and others, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909 and dedicated to the proposition that all Negroes should gain the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution of the United States.

The progressive era closed with the entrance of the United States into World War I, and Americans turned from reforming their own society to a fruitless crusade "to make the world safe for democracy." For all its shortcomings, the progressive movement had protected the weak, curbed the strong, enriched men's lives, promoted equality, and averted revolution by restoring faith in the processes of democracy.

Activities: Chapter 22

For Mastery and Review

1. For what reasons did thoughtful men fear a social revolution in the early years of the twentieth century?
2. From what sources did the progressive movement grow? Who furnished the leadership? How was it like Populism? How different? What was the "social gospel"? How do you define pragmatism? How did it affect progressivism?
3. Who were the muckrakers? List seven (include John Spargo) and the area on which each concentrated.
4. Summarize each of the six applications of direct democracy enumerated in this chapter.
5. In what ways did the progressives seek to regulate business for the public welfare? Explain each. How did progressivism affect (a) the use of natural resources, (b) education, and (c) agriculture?
6. Assess the benefits and failures of progressivism.
7. Trace the development of "white supremacy" in the South from 1877 to 1914.
8. What were the bases of socialism in America? Why did it fail?

Who, What, and Why Important?

U.S. Steel Corporation	public utilities
"The Man with the Hoe"	city building codes
progressivism	child labor
William James	workmen's compensation
Muller v. Oregon	temperance movement
Oliver Wendell	John Dewey
Holmes, Jr.	Chautauqua
muckrakers	Immigration Restriction
Charles Evans Hughes	League
direct democracy	Plessy v. Ferguson
initiative, referendum,	NAACP
and recall	William DuBois
corrupt practices laws	Booker T. Washington
city managers	moderate socialism
Sixteenth Amendment	Daniel De Leon
Seventeenth Amendment	IWW

To Pursue the Matter

1. Ganley, *The Progressive Movement*, offers you greater length and depth than this chapter is permitted. Why does Ganley use the term "traditional reform"?
2. Many of the muckraker volumes have been reissued in paperback; many may also be found in public libraries. Weinberg and Weinberg, *The Muckrakers*, is a useful anthology. Individuals might report on the findings of any of the great muckrakers. They might also ask themselves this question: How far, if at all, are conditions better now? If better, why? If not, why not?
3. What elements of direct democracy have survived? Which ones are visible in your community? Are they effective? How do you account for the successes and the failures?
4. Investigate democracy in Switzerland, New Zealand, and Australia, and summarize the democratic practices found there and borrowed by America.
5. Investigate the work of the Rockefeller Foundation in its fight against disease. You might also examine efforts of the Rosenwald Foundation.
6. Were the failures of progressivism due basically to (a) lack of adequate leadership, (b) lack of enough education, (c) human nature, or (d) other causes?
7. Walter Lippmann, one of the nation's leading political commentators, examined the progressive movement in *Drift and Mastery*, published in 1914. An interesting excerpt from that book, entitled "The Muckrakers," may be found in Arnoff, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 364-366.
8. Westin, "The Case of the Prejudiced Doorkeeper," and Woodward, "The Case of the Arkansas Traveler," in Garraty, *Quarrels That Have Shaped the Constitution*, are fast-paced accounts of what was behind the Supreme Court cases that upheld the segregation of Negroes. The lone dissenter, Justice John Marshall Harlan, was a former slaveholder. On what grounds did he base his dissent? What is the position of the Supreme Court today?

THEMES

PART 6

Recurring ideas, concepts, or "themes" run through most of American history and help to give it its unique character. Most of these are either explicit or implicit in each of the nine Parts into which this text is divided. It is useful, however, to select particular themes for illustration, emphasis, and study at the end of each Part.

This Part surely suggests a rather recent theme of American history, "world-wide responsibility," and also one that goes back to the very first settlements, "concern for the welfare of others." So:

1. Why did the United States "take up the white man's burden" in 1898? See May, *From Imperialism to Isolationism, 1898-1919*.

2. "Reforms don't just happen. First, some persons have to get angry. Then they must agitate and get other people angry. Then the angry people form a pressure group with enough leverage so that officials decide that they will lose more votes by inaction than by promoting legislation to remove abuses." Does this pattern fit the facts of the progressive period? See Ganley, *The Progressive Movement: Traditional Reform*.

READINGS

PART 6

Special Supplements

ARNOF, **A Sense of the Past*, Part Six.

MAY, E. R., **From Imperialism to Isolationism, 1898-1919*. (New Perspectives.) A depth study of the developing power of the United States on the world scene, with conflicting historical interpretations.

GANLEY, A. C., *The Progressive Movement: Traditional Reform* (New Perspectives.) A study of political protest against industrialism, with conflicting interpretations.

States and China; and R. HOFSTADTER's essay, "Manifest Destiny and the Philippines," in D. AARON (ed.), *America in Crisis*. The Spanish-American War is treated in F. B. FREIDEL, **The Splendid Little War*, and "The Needless War with Spain," *American Heritage*, February 1957. An older, more thorough study, critical of the war, is W. MILLIS, *The Martial Spirit*. R. B. CONSIDINE, *Panama Canal*, is a popular account of the building of the Canal. E. MAY, *Imperial Democracy*, argues that the U. S. drifted into world power.

Specialized References

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

G. F. KENNAN, **American Diplomacy, 1900-1950*, is a brief, lucid, critical, and persuasive analysis by a prominent diplomat. Another comprehensive analysis, highly critical for different reasons, is W. A. WILLIAMS, **The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*. More specialized are D. PERKINS, **A History of the Monroe Doctrine*; J. PRATT, **Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands*; J. K. FAIRBANK, **The United*

Many of the books cited in the bibliography for Part Five, p. 468, are also relevant to this period. G. E. MOWRY, **The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900-1912*, A. S. LINK, **Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917*, and H. U. FAULKNER, *The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914*, are good surveys of the progressive movement. M. SULLIVAN, *Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925*, is a breezy panorama by an ex-muckraker. W. LORD, **The Good Years: From 1900 to the First*

World War, is a popular social history. S. P. HAYS, **Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914*, is a brief, penetrating analysis. R. HOFSTADTER, **The Age of Reform from Bryan to F.D.R.*, uses sociology to examine brilliantly the Populists and the Progressives.

W. RIORDAN, **Plunkitt of Tammany Hall: A Series of Very Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics*, is a brief, often funny, but basically serious defense of machine politics by a leading practitioner of it; the paperback edition includes a penetrating introduction by A. MANN. Writings of the muckrakers—opponents of men like Plunkitt—are collected in A. and L. WEINBERG (ed.), **The Muckrakers*. F. P. DUNNE's **The World of Mr. Dooley* and **Mr. Dooley on Everything and Everybody* are selections from one of America's greatest and most penetrating political humorists. J. RUS, **How the Other Half Lives*, and J. ADDAMS, **Twenty Years at Hull House*, describe the conditions that helped produce the Progressive Movement. F. KELLY, *The Fight for the White House*, describes the election campaign of 1912. W. E. B. DuBois, **Souls of Black Folk*, written in 1905, remains one of the best books on the Negro in America; it strongly disputes the views of Booker T. Washington. A special interest of the Progressive Movement is discussed in E. FLEXNER, *A Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States*.

Biographies

Biographies contain much of the best material on the Progressive Movement. H. F. PRINGLE, **Theodore Roosevelt*, is an excellent biography, and J. M. BLUM, **The Republican Roosevelt*, is a fine analysis of Roosevelt's presidency. W. H. HARBAUGH, **Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, is particularly good on conservation. On Woodrow Wilson, see J. A. GARRATY, *Woodrow Wilson*, and J. M. BLUM, **Woodrow Wilson and the Politics of Morality*. R. W. LEOPOLD, *Elihu Root and the Conservative Tradition*, describes an important member of McKinley's and Roosevelt's cabinets. L. STEFFENS, *Autobiography*, 2 vols., is excellent on the muckrakers, and W. A. WHITE, *Autobiography*, is excellent on the Progressive Movement; both are superb books. Two great Supreme Court

justices are treated in A. T. MASON, *Brandeis*, a thorough study, and C. D. BOWEN, **Yankee from Olympus* (Justice Holmes), a semifictional biography. R. M. LaFOLLETTE, **LaFollette's Autobiography*, is by the great progressive leader from Wisconsin.

Historical Fiction

E. MARKHAM's *The Man with the Hoe* is a poem demanding social reform; U. SINCLAIR's **The Jungle* and F. NORRIS's **The Pit* are muckraking novels, the one about meat-packing and the other dealing with speculation in food. Not one of the muckrakers as such, T. DREISER includes much social criticism in **The Financier* and **The Titan*. M. DUBERMAN, **In White America*, is a moving play, consisting wholly of excerpts from historical documents, on Negro-American history in this and other periods. In H. ALLEN, *San Juan Hill*, a young man joins the Rough Riders.

Basic Books for Part Six

1. KENNAN, G. F., **American Diplomacy, 1900-1950*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1961 (Mentor).
2. MILLIS, W., **The Martial Spirit*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, n.d. (Viking).
3. HAYS, S. P., **Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957.
4. RIORDAN, W. L., **Plunkitt of Tammany Hall: A Series of Very Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics*.
5. MOWRY, G. E., **The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900-1912*. New York, Harper, 1958 (Torchbooks).
6. PRINGLE, H. F., **Theodore Roosevelt*. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1956 (Harvest).
7. LINK, A. S., **Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917*. New York, Harper, 1954 (Torchbooks).
8. GARRATY, J. A., *Woodrow Wilson*. New York, Knopf, 1956.
9. BLUM, J. A., *The Republican Roosevelt*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954.
10. WEINBERG, A. and L. (eds.), **The Muckrakers*. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1961 (Capricorn).



Part 7

CRUSADE AND DISILLUSION



PRESIDENT WILSON IN PARIS, 1918.

MOODS

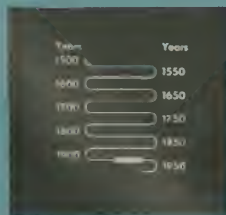
Perhaps there is no more vivid experience in life than the sudden remembrance of things past. What brings this on is hard to say—sometimes a sound, such as a distant train whistle or the song of a bird; sometimes a smell, such as the scent of lilacs or a wood fire. For a moment you remember what it was like to be three years old and reaching up for the hand of a grown-up, or six and getting water up your nose at your first swimming lesson.

In the history of nations, as in the lives of individuals, different periods have characteristic moods. The progressive period of the early twentieth century was one of high purpose. The delegates to the Bull Moose convention in 1912 chanted "Onward Christian Soldiers," and Woodrow Wilson called his inaugural "a day of dedication." The spirit carried on into the World War: America was joining in a crusade to "make the world safe for democracy." And there was the poignant gaiety of the doughboys singing "Over There" as they marched to the ghastly slaughter on the Western Front.

With the coming of the twenties, there was an abrupt change. A new mood of disillusionment was reflected in two war plays, "No More Parades" and "What Price Glory?" The cynics' prophet, magazine editor H. L. Mencken, never tired of ridiculing the great American "booboisie." Craze came and went: flaggpole sitting, marathon dances, Florida real estate, mah-jongg. The United States had emerged from the World War the wealthiest nation on earth, caught up in an ever-rising spiral of prosperity, and "two cars in every garage" was a 1928 campaign slogan. This was the "jazz age," its pursuit of pleasure evoked by its popular songs "Fascinating Rhythm," "I Want to Be Happy," "Ain't We Got Fun."

But the mood changed again, from "Just Around the Corner" (there's a rainbow in the sky) to "Brother Can You Spare a Dime?" With the Great Depression, the light-heartedness of the twenties shifted to something the country as a whole had never experienced before—bleak fear and despair. Thousands of men stood in lines for a bowl of soup and a crust of bread—while farmers were burning unsalable surpluses of wheat and corn. Self-respecting men, with no jobs and savings gone, sold apples on street corners. Life had a nightmarish quality—as though the country were under a spell, or had been attacked by invisible Martians.

And then there was "Happy Days Are Here Again," the Democratic campaign song in 1932. It conjures up one of the most loved and most hated figures in American political history, Franklin D. Roosevelt, with his New Deal and his "firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."



Chapter 23

The First World War

Governments and individuals conformed to the rhythm of the tragedy, swayed and staggered forward in helpless violence, slaughtering and squandering on ever-increasing scales, till injuries were wrought to the structure of human society which a century will not efface, and which may conceivably prove fatal to the present civilization.

—WINSTON CHURCHILL

As Wilson's First Inaugural Address showed, his attention on taking office was focused entirely on domestic issues. About such matters as the tariff and banking he was well informed; he also had the assistance of experts such as Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, principal author of the Federal Reserve Act. In foreign affairs, however, he was personally less well equipped, and he had few experienced advisers. William Jennings Bryan, his Secretary of State, had no training in diplomacy. The permanent staff of the State Department was composed largely of Republican appointees whom Wilson suspected, with some reason, of lack of sympathy for his policies. The top diplomatic posts were filled, as usual, with political appointees; Bryan also appointed scores of untrained "deserving Democrats" to lesser posts.

WILSON'S FOREIGN POLICY

On the day he took office Wilson remarked to a friend that it would be the irony of fate if his administration had to deal much with foreign affairs. As it turned out, he was soon confronted with difficult and complex foreign problems that involved the fate of the whole world.

"A New Note in International Affairs"

Whatever his handicaps, Wilson was resolved, as one of his biographers has written, to "strike a new note in international affairs" and to see that "sheer honesty and even unselfishness . . . should prevail over nationalistic self-seeking in American foreign policy." Both he and Bryan were opposed to imperialism, to the Big Stick, and to war. They believed that the United States should exert leadership in the world by the force of moral example.

Wilson repudiated dollar diplomacy during his first fortnight in office. During the Taft administration, a group of American bankers had been urged to join those of other countries in making a loan to the new Chinese republic. To insure repayment it was proposed that the finances of the Chinese government be put under the supervision of foreign "advisers." In March 1913, representatives of the American bankers came to Washington and asked whether the government would give them support. Wilson refused on the ground that such interference with Chinese sovereignty was "obnoxious to the principles upon which the government of our people rests."

Bryan's principal activity as Secretary of State was the negotiation of "cooling-off" treaties

between the United States and more than a score of foreign nations. Countries signing these agreed not to go to war for a year after a matter of dispute was referred to a fact-finding commission. There was no requirement that the findings of the commission be accepted; the idea was simply to give time for war fever to subside.

In a dispute with Great Britain over tolls on ships using the Panama Canal, Wilson revealed his determination that the United States should scrupulously observe its international obligations. As the Canal approached completion, Congress passed a law in 1912 exempting United States coastwise shipping from tolls. Great Britain protested that this was a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty which guaranteed equal rates for ships of all nations. In 1914 Wilson appeared before Congress and in a very short message urged that exemption for American ships be repealed. His principal argument was that out of self-respect the United States should act in such a way as to "deserve our reputation for generosity and for the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation." Congress followed Wilson's advice, even though his opponents accused him of "cringing before the British throne."

"Moral Imperialism" in Mexico

On entering the White House, Wilson faced a diplomatic crisis in regard to Mexico. In 1911 the Mexicans overthrew Porfirio Díaz, a dictator who had repressed his people for thirty years, while granting to foreign investors the right to exploit his country's rich mineral resources. Díaz was succeeded by Francisco Madero, an idealist sincerely devoted to the interests of the people of Mexico. But shortly before Wilson's inauguration Victoriano Huerta, a "strong man," seized power, and the deposed Madero was murdered, presumably on Huerta's orders. Now the question was: should the United States recognize

a murderous usurper as lawful ruler of Mexico? It had generally been our policy to recognize any established government without passing judgment on how it gained power. American capitalists, who had invested a billion dollars in Mexico, favored Huerta because, like Díaz, he would keep order. Other nations with large Mexican investments, notably Great Britain, lost little time in recognizing the new ruler.

In devising a Mexican policy, Wilson again repudiated dollar diplomacy. He intended to favor "the submerged eighty-five per cent" of the Mexican people, "struggling toward liberty," over the privileges of foreign investors. Convinced that without support by the United States "the unspeakable Huerta" would be overthrown, Wilson refused him recognition and attempted to prevent him from obtaining arms. The President called this line of action "watchful waiting."

This policy ran into all sorts of difficulties. Mexico had plunged into civil war. Scores of American lives were lost in the resulting disorder, and millions of dollars' worth of American property was destroyed. Wilson's policy was distrusted in Latin America as an unwarranted interference in Mexican affairs. In April 1914, United States naval forces, attempting to enforce the arms embargo, clashed with Mexican troops and seized the city of Vera Cruz. War seemed imminent.

At this point Wilson made a gesture that temporarily lessened Latin-American distrust of the "Colossus of the North." Resisting clamor for war, the President accepted an offer from the ABC Powers (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile) to mediate the dispute between the United States and Mexico. At a conference at Niagara Falls, the ABC Powers supported Wilson in advising that Huerta must go. He soon went into exile, and Venustiano Carranza, the candidate favored by the United States, was recognized as lawful ruler.

A meeting between Pancho Villa (center) and General Pershing (right) at a time when it appeared that Villa had no ill will toward the United States. Later he raided the United States and Pershing chased him fruitlessly in Mexico.



Mexico's troubles were still not over. Peasant armies under the guerrilla leaders Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa ravaged large areas; robbery and banditry were commonplace. In 1916 Villa raided the United States, murdering innocent citizens in Columbus, New Mexico. Immediately Wilson sent 6,000 United States troops under General John J. Pershing across the border in pursuit. The expedition not only failed to catch the Mexican chieftain, but was resented by Mexicans of all parties. War threatened again, but fortunately, neither Carranza nor Wilson wanted it. Eventually the American troops were withdrawn, and Mexico was left to her own devices. Although Wilson's Mexican policy was well intentioned, it won the United States no friends. The English ridiculed his attempt to "shoot the Mexicans into self-government." Latin Americans regarded his "moral imperialism" with no more favor than the Big Stick diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt.

Although Bryan and Wilson were opposed in principle to dollar diplomacy, their Latin-American policy, outside of Mexico, differed little from that of the previous Republican administrations. Following the example set by Roosevelt, the United States exercised an "international police power" in the Caribbean.

United States marines were sent to preserve order and set up stable government in Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. In 1917 the United States expanded its naval control over the Caribbean area by purchasing Denmark's strategically valuable Virgin Islands.

OUTBREAK OF WAR IN EUROPE

By 1914 there had not been a general European war for nearly a century and none between major powers since 1870. Many people thought that Western nations had abandoned war, save for skirmishes between whites and "natives" on the fringes of empire. Yet suddenly, between July 28 and August 4, 1914, Europe plunged into one of the bloodiest and most costly struggles in all its long history.

How did this appalling event occur? We cannot answer with certainty. It is generally agreed, however, that two basic forces bringing about the First World War were nationalism and imperialism. The basic morality in nationalism was "my country right or wrong." There was no higher political authority than the nation; there was no higher object of earthly devotion. A nation had to be prepared to defend both its territory and its "honor." In the late

COMPETITION FOR EMPIRE IN THE PACIFIC, 1914



nineteenth century the major European countries also felt impelled to express their national virility by joining the "scramble for empire." (See p. 550.) They rapidly extended their power into less developed areas, especially Asia and Africa. Out of this process developed bitter international rivalries. Thus, for many years Great Britain attempted to "contain" Russian aggression along a great arc extending from Turkey through Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, and northern China. During the same period, the expansion of the French empire in Africa brought risk of war with Italy over Tunis, with Great Britain over the Sudan, and with Germany over Morocco.

Added to the tension over these imperial rivalries was the long-standing French desire for *revanche* (revenge) against Germany for the defeat suffered in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. There was also a complicated situation in the Balkan peninsula, the "tinderbox of Europe," where newborn nations such as Serbia and Bulgaria clashed with each other and with the decaying Ottoman and Austrian empires.

Although the foregoing rivalries failed to produce a major European war between 1870 and 1914, they created great fear. And fear produced a great armament race, as each country strove to increase its powers of "self-defense." The armament race in turn produced not only more fear, but a situation in which the military leaders, who thought in terms of how best to fight a war, tended to take over from the diplomats, who generally hoped to prevent it.

Perhaps the principal reason why the First World War came when it did, as well as why it came so suddenly, was a system of rival alliances. The Triple Alliance, created by the German statesman Otto von Bismarck, drew together Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. France became alarmed at her diplomatic isolation. The British feared growing German com-

petition for trade, colonies, and naval supremacy. Therefore, France and Britain arranged a partnership known as the Entente Cordiale (cordial understanding). The defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War removed most of Britain's fear of Russian rivalry. Gradually there emerged the Triple Entente that grew into an alliance between France, Russia, and Great Britain. The great powers attracted smaller countries as "satellites." Thus, Germany and Austria had Bulgaria and Turkey on their side, while Serbia was tied to Russia.

The danger of this situation was that in any international dispute, no matter how trivial, opposing governments might call on allies for support and bring on a general war. This happened in 1914. When a fanatical Serb patriot assassinated Austrian Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo, Austria demanded reparation from Serbia and was backed by her ally Germany. Serbia was backed by Russia, and Russia by France. The British government was too closely tied to France and Russia to be effective in its efforts for peace. Quickly the military leaders took over from the diplomats, and each army strove to strike first. As Austrian troops invaded Serbia, German armies advanced on Paris through defenseless Belgium, and the "Russian steamroller" headed slowly for Berlin. Great Britain at once joined France and Russia. In 1915 Italy joined the Allies (France, Russia, Great Britain) against the Central Powers (Germany, Austria, Turkey).

NEUTRALITY

As Europe plunged into the abyss, Americans rejoiced in their traditional isolation and in the protection of the Atlantic Ocean. President Wilson said that this was "a war with which we had nothing to do." Besides issuing the customary Neutrality Proclamation, he warned Americans to be "impartial in thought

as well as in action." But people inevitably took sides. Many of the eight million Americans of German descent supported their former fatherland. Many Irish-Americans, motivated by traditional hatred for Britain, also favored the Central Powers. In general, however, American opinion was on the side of the Allies. This stemmed partly from a sense of common heritage with Great Britain. There was also strong sentiment for France, reflected in the lines:

Forget us, Lord, if we forget
The sacred sword of Lafayette.

Even stronger than sentiment for either Britain or France was that *against* Germany. This feeling had been stimulated by various incidents, by the sabre-rattling statements of Kaiser William II, and by a movement known as Pan-Germanism. The Pan-Germans preached that the Germans were to dominate the world; they glorified war. The vague anti-German sentiment that existed in America even before the war was crystallized by Germany's unprovoked invasion of Belgium in August 1914, and by the harsh treatment of the Belgians after that event.

Partiality for the Allies was strengthened by propaganda. Both sides used it, but German propaganda was clumsy and unconvincing, while that of the British was extremely skillful, especially in accusing the Germans of wholesale atrocities in Belgium.

Violations of American Neutral Rights

In the early years of World War I, as in the period before the War of 1812, the United States had the largest share of neutral trade and suffered serious violations of its neutral rights. The British were the first to break established international law as they clamped a tight blockade on the Central Powers. They planted mines in the North Sea, forced American ships into English ports for inspection, limited trade with neutral countries such as Denmark, opened

American mail, and put food on the list of contraband materials not to be exported to Germany. The British blockade was so effective that trade between the United States and the Central Powers shrank to less than 1 per cent of its prewar level. Meanwhile exports to the Allies : nearly quadrupled. For their very survival the Allies needed American war materials and food. The prosperity of the United States in turn came to depend on war orders. The economic tie with the Allies became even closer when American citizens bought over two billion dollars' worth of French and British bonds.

Serious as British violations of American neutral rights were, they were less maddening than those of Germany. To meet the challenge of the British blockade and to starve Britain into submission, the Germans relied on a new weapon, the ocean-going submarine. The so-called "U-boats" were deadly when they attacked without warning, but they broke long-established rules of warfare which provided that unarmed ships should not be sunk without providing for the safety of passengers and crews. In the years 1914-1917, approximately 200 Americans lost their lives on Allied ships torpedoed by U-boats.

"Waging Neutrality"

In meeting violations of our neutral rights, Wilson took much the same position as had Jefferson during the Napoleonic wars. Like Jefferson, he detested war, yet was not a pacifist. He attempted both to avoid hostilities and to "wage neutrality" by insisting on American rights. During the early months of the war, most of his protests were directed against England. These were not particularly effective, partly because Walter H. Page, the American ambassador in London, was strongly pro-British, as were some of Wilson's closest advisers, and partly because submarine warfare soon created tension with Germany.



Although American lives were lost when the British liner *Lusitania* was sunk by the Germans, some Americans insisted that "Real Patriots Keep Cool." Wilson himself said that the United States was "too proud to fight," a statement for which he was ridiculed.

The first difficulties over U-boats occurred in February 1915, when the German government announced that ships approaching Britain and France might be torpedoed without warning. Immediately, Wilson said he would hold Germany to "strict accountability" for loss of American lives or property. The full horror of unrestricted submarine warfare was brought home in May 1915, when the British liner *Lusitania* was torpedoed off the coast of Ireland. The 128 Americans who were drowned included 37 women and 21 children. Many along the eastern seaboard, including Theodore Roosevelt, thought that America should go to war, or at least break off relations with Germany. But many others thought that Americans taking passage on ships of nations at war did so at their own risk. Wilson steered a middle course. He refused to take extreme measures against Germany and incurred ridicule by saying that the United States was "too proud to fight." On the other hand, he sent note after note insisting that the German government safeguard the lives of non-combatants in the war zones. During the *Lusitania* crisis, Bryan resigned as Secretary of State, because he thought Wilson's firm insist-

ence on neutral rights would lead to war. Bryan's point of view was so widely shared that early in 1916 Congress was on the point of forbidding Americans to travel on the ships of belligerent nations. Wilson managed to prevent this move, arguing that if we gave up any rights, "many other humiliations would certainly follow."

Late in March 1916, Wilson's policy was severely tested when a U-boat torpedoed the French passenger ship *Sussex*, with resulting injury to several Americans. Although his closest advisers favored breaking off relations with Germany at once, Wilson chose to issue one last warning. He demanded that the German government immediately promise to abandon its methods of U-boat warfare or risk war with the United States. At this time Germany hoped for a great victory at Verdun that would defeat France in a few months; on the eastern front German arms were already close to victory. Germany therefore gave in to Wilson's demands, promising, with certain conditions, to sink no more merchant ships without warning, and offering compensation to Americans injured on the *Sussex*. This *Sussex* pledge enabled a Democratic senator to boast that Wilson had "wrung

from the most militant spirit that ever brooded over battlefield an acknowledgment of American rights and agreement to American demands."

The Election of 1916

As the presidential election of 1916 approached, there were strenuous efforts to reunite the Republican party. Roosevelt was not happy in the Progressive party. It included too many impractical reformers of the type he had nicknamed the "lunatic fringe"; it had even less chance of winning in 1916 than four years earlier. Roosevelt hoped that the Republicans might heal the feud of 1912 by nominating him; instead they chose Charles Evans Hughes, who resigned from the Supreme Court to run. Roosevelt nevertheless refused to run as a Progressive, thus killing the party he had founded. The question still remained whether those who had voted for the Progressive ticket in 1912 would return to the Republican fold or whether they would vote for Wilson.

The Democrats enthusiastically renominated Wilson. In the ensuing campaign they pointed with pride to their candidate's extraordinary suc-

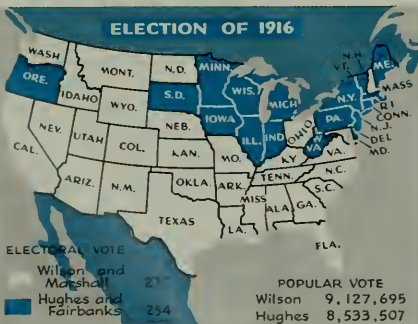
cess as a legislative leader; they also coined the effective slogan, "He kept us out of war." On domestic policy the Republicans were divided between the Old Guard, who opposed reform, and former Progressives, who favored it. In foreign affairs the Republicans "played both ends against the middle": some denounced Wilson for being too easy on Germany, while others rebuked him for being too friendly with Britain.

The election was one of the closest in history. On the night of election day even the Democratic *New York Times* conceded a Republican victory. But later it became apparent that Wilson had performed a political miracle by gaining a majority in the electoral college without the support of the three most populous states, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. The Republicans could have won by carrying California, but lack of cooperation between Old Guard and Progressive Republicans lost Hughes the majority by a small margin. Wilson swept rural America even more completely than Bryan had in 1896, and by adding the vote of just one important industrial state, Ohio, he was able to gain re-election.

AMERICA ENTERS THE WAR

During the 1916 election campaign Wilson never personally claimed that he could guarantee to keep the United States neutral. By repeatedly holding Germany to "strict accountability" for the loss of American lives caused by submarines, he left himself small margin of choice should the German government decide to resume unrestricted submarine warfare. "Any little German lieutenant," he told his Secretary of the Navy, "can put us into war at any time by some calculated outrage." The only sure way to keep America out of the war was to end it. As head of the only great power still at peace, Wilson felt it his responsibility to bring the warring nations together. On December 18, 1916, he asked them to state their peace terms.

Compare this map to that of the Bryan-McKinley presidential race of 1896 (see page 460). What was similar and what was different in the two elections? Why did Bryan lose and Wilson win?





WAR! SAYS WILSON; BIG ARMY WANTED

FIRST OF
U.S. ARMED
SHIPS IS
'U' VICTIM

LATEST
EARLY MORNING
NEWS

President's call to Congress to throw all nation's resources against German autocracy.

President's call to Congress to throw all nation's resources against German autocracy.

500,000 MEN NEEDED AT ONCE; AID TO ALLIES WITHOUT LIMIT

President Calls on Congress to Throw
All Nation's Resources Against
German Autocracy

WASHINGTON, April 2.—The address of the President follows:
"Gentlemen of the Congress:
I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious chances of policy to be

Here Is American Congress
War Declaration Resolution

WASHINGTON, April 2.—The President has called Congress into extraordinary session to pass a resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government

CONGRESS RALLIES TO STIRRING PLEA OF NATION'S CHIEF

Amid Scenes of Wild Enthusiasm

An effective Democratic slogan in the Wilson-Hughes presidential race of 1916 had been, "He kept us out of war." Yet only five months after election day, here was Wilson calling for war on Germany "amid scenes of wild enthusiasm." What had happened in the meantime?

Both sides answered with demands that their opponents would accept only if completely defeated. After receiving these replies, Wilson gave a notable speech to the Senate on January 22, 1917, arguing for "peace without victory." A victor's peace, he said, "would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last."

German Declaration of Unrestricted Submarine Warfare

The Germans soon destroyed Wilson's hope of acting as mediator. During the previous year, German armies had failed to win victory at Verdun, and had later suffered heavy losses in the four-month battle of the Somme. Time was running out, as the British blockade began to cause severe shortages, even starvation. To answer this, the submarine fleet was increased. The leaders of the German navy promised to starve England into submission in five months if U-boats were allowed to sink on sight. Even

if this violation of the Sussex pledge drew America into the war, it was assumed that the United States could not raise an army and transport it to Europe before the Allies collapsed. Therefore, on January 31, 1917, the German government announced that vessels in waters near Great Britain, France, and Italy might be sunk without warning.

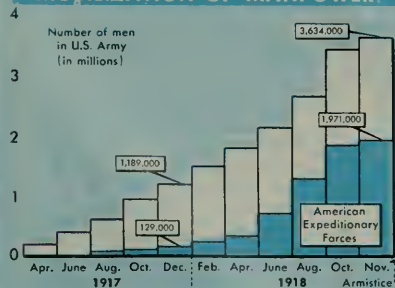
Wilson now felt he had no choice; on February 3, 1917, he broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. When goods piled up in Atlantic ports because ships feared to sail, he asked Congress for power to arm American merchant ships. This measure passed the House by 403 votes to 13, but was blocked in the Senate by a filibuster of twelve senators. The President refused to be bound by the effort of "a little group of wilful men" to make "the great government of the United States helpless and contemptible." Acting under a law of 1797, he armed merchant ships with guns manned by navy crews ordered to shoot submarines on sight.

UNITED STATES IN WORLD WAR I — ON LAND



The United States army under General Pershing played a minor role in stopping the German drives of 1918, but went fully into action only in the last months of the war. The very existence, however, of a million fresh American troops in France, and more to come, helped to kill the German will to continue hostilities. Neither the Germans nor the Allies had expected that the United States could create an army so rapidly or that it would fight so well.

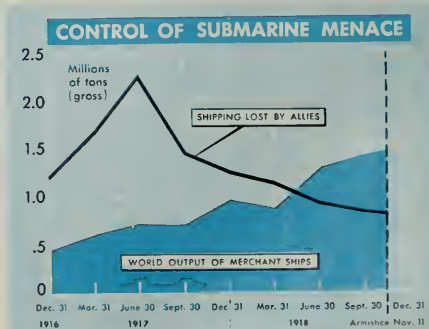
MOBILIZATION OF MANPOWER

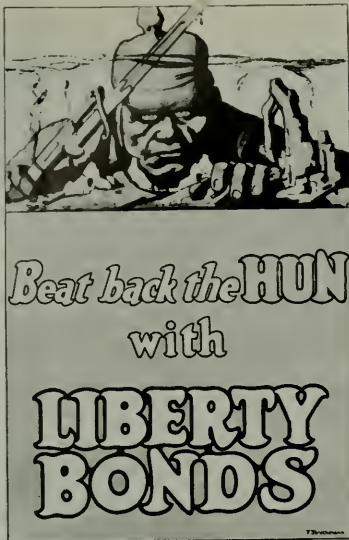


UNITED STATES IN WORLD WAR I — AT SEA



When the Germans declared unrestricted submarine warfare in January 1917, they knew that they might goad the United States into war. But they expected that the U-boats could prevent American supplies and troops from reaching Europe. So effective, however, were anti-submarine measures that not a single troopship was lost on the way to Europe. In addition to the activities shown on these pages, about 14,000 American troops were sent to Russia in 1918-1919.





Anti-German feeling in World War I, whipped up by propaganda agencies, went to such ridiculous lengths as banning Beethoven from symphony concerts.

Meanwhile, antagonism toward Germany mounted. On March 1 it was revealed that the German foreign minister **Arthur Zimmermann** had cabled the German minister to Mexico instructing him in the event of war to arrange an alliance, holding out to Mexico the hope of recovering Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. On March 12 an unarmed American merchant ship was sunk without warning, followed by three more on March 19. Two days later Wilson called for a special session of Congress to consider "grave questions of national policy."

Wilson's War Message

At one o'clock of the morning Congress was to meet, Wilson asked his friend Frank Cobb, of the *New York World*, to the White House. He said that he had "never been so uncertain about anything in his life" as about going to war. "Is there anything else I can do?" he asked. Cobb answered that Germany had thrust war

upon us. The President agreed, but said he feared the effects of war on American life. "Once lead this people into war," the President predicted, "and they'll forget there ever was such a thing as tolerance." It was with a heavy heart that on April 2 he addressed Congress.

In one of the most eloquent speeches ever delivered in the Capitol, Wilson asked Congress to declare war on the German Empire. He distinguished between violation of our neutrality rights by the Allies and by Germany, pointing out, "Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. . . . The present German submarine warfare is a warfare against all mankind." The President insisted, however, that our quarrel was only with the "military masters" of Germany; he expressed "sincere friendship" toward the German people.

QUESTION • *Did Wilson have any alternative to the agonizing decision to call for war on Germany?*

Maintaining that the United States had "no selfish ends to serve," Wilson enlisted the American

people in a crusade for a better world. We were glad to fight, he said, to make the world "safe for democracy," to insure "the rights and liberties of small nations," and to promote a world organization of free countries that would "bring peace and safety to all nations."

Four days after Wilson's message, Congress declared war on Germany by the overwhelming margins of 82 votes to 6 in the Senate and 273 to 50 in the House.

THE WAR ABROAD

When the United States entered the war, the Allies seemed in danger of defeat. In April 1917, John Jellicoe, first lord of the admiralty, said that Britain's outlook was desperate. U-boats were sinking ships at a rate that threatened to wipe out the entire merchant tonnage

of the world; the British Isles had only a two-month supply of food. Late in 1917 the Italians suffered a severe defeat at Caporetto. After the Russians overthrew the Czarist government in March 1917, their military effort slackened. When the Bolsheviks seized power in November, Russia stopped fighting entirely, thus releasing German armies for service on the western front. By the severe Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918, Russia was forced to give up immense areas, in which the Germans set up

puppet governments. The conquered territory included the Ukraine, one of the richest grain-growing areas in the world; from it the Germans hoped to obtain food to relieve the severe shortages caused by the British blockade.

The Allies did not expect that the United States would give much help in the actual fighting. Not until 1916 had Wilson been persuaded to support plans for military preparedness, and by the spring of 1917 these had not been developed very far. Including both regulars and

On April 6, 1917, the Congress of the United States declared war on the German empire.

Nearly twenty years later congressional investigating committees tried to find out why. Did the makers of munitions press war to increase their profits? Did international bankers promote American intervention to protect their investment in government bonds issued by the Allies? Was Wilson carried along by the pro-English sympathies that he shared with some of his closest advisers? Or was the whole thing a result of the decision to insist on outmoded "rights of neutrals" on the high seas?

At the grass-roots level there was enthusiasm for the war, if little understanding of just how the United States got in. Americans became convinced that they were on the side of good, destined to destroy evil and somehow to create a better world.

The four million "doughboys" (the GI's of World War I) were suddenly torn from civilian life and sent to training camps that consisted of flimsy barracks set in seas of mud in winter and dust in summer. They were issued uniforms and shoes that seldom fitted, two scratchy blankets each, and a mess kit. At first there was a shortage of weapons, and infantrymen drilled with wooden guns, while artillerymen used logs.

A million doughboys were packed into the ill-smelling holds of transports and shipped to France, often before their training was completed. In France there was apt to be more training, and then at last men were moved up toward the front lines in the famous French "40 and 8" boxcars (40 men and 8 horses). Finally they marched into the hell of trench warfare, singing as they went, for these were the last American armies that regularly sang on the march. The songs they sang—"Over There," "K-k-k-katy," "Pack Up Your Troubles," "Keep the Home Fires Burning," and "Mademoiselle from Armentières"—bring back a poignant memory of young men who somehow kept their spirit and sense of humor in unhappy situations.

The Doughboys



(Theme 10, see p. xii)



Soon after U.S. entry into the war, a citizen army was trained and moved to French battlefields. The American Expeditionary Force was assigned its own sector of the Allied front. "Over the top" from the trenches meant a plunge into enemy fire and into a tangle of barbed wire strung across "no man's land."

National Guardsmen, the United States had only 200,000 soldiers; of these less than 25,000 were ready to take the field. The army possessed only 1,500 machine guns, 55 obsolete airplanes, and no heavy artillery whatever.

Forging an Army

In the face of this discouraging outlook, the United States mobilized at a speed which astonished both friends and foes. Supported by his able Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, Wilson insisted that troops should be raised by a draft on the democratic principle of "a universal obligation to serve." Opponents of conscription said that it was "un-American" and that it would "Prussianize" the country. Champ Clark, speaker of the House of Representatives, remarked that in Missouri, where he came from, people thought there was "precious little difference between a conscript and a convict."

Nevertheless, the President's will prevailed, and in May 1917, Congress passed the Selective Service Act that made all men between twenty-one and thirty liable for military service. In June, nearly 10 million young men quietly registered for the draft. There was no such resistance to conscription as occurred during the Civil War; this was perhaps because the registration was carried on entirely by civilians at ordinary centers of civilian life such as schools and town halls. Draft liability was eventually extended to all men between eighteen and forty-five, and 2,800,000 were chosen for service. Another million were supplied by volunteers.

Housing and training this vast number of men required the building of 32 camps, each able to shelter over 40,000 men. In spite of great difficulties in equipping them, the camps soon came to resemble small cities, with running water, electric light, amusement centers, librar-

ies, and hospitals. After preliminary training averaging six months, the troops went abroad for further instruction before being sent into battle. Nearly two million men reached France before hostilities ended. This vast new reservoir of manpower was in itself an important cause of victory; it lowered German morale and raised that of the Allies. In *Testament of Youth*, Vera Brittain, who served as a nurse behind the British lines, described her first sight of American troops as follows:

I was leaving quarters to go back to my ward, when I had to wait to let a large contingent of troops march past . . . though the sight of soldiers marching was now too familiar to arouse curiosity, an unusual quality of bold vigour in their swift stride caused me to stare at them with puzzled interest.

They looked larger than ordinary men; their tall, straight figures were in vivid contrast to the undersized armies of pale recruits to which we had become accustomed . . . Had yet another regiment been conjured out of our depleted Dominions?

Then I heard an excited exclamation from a group of Sisters behind me.

"Look! Look! Here are the Americans!" . . .

The coming of relief made me realize how long and how intolerable had been the tension, and with the knowledge that we were not, after all, defeated I found myself beginning to cry.

Victory on Land and Sea

In the spring and early summer of 1918, Germany made a last desperate attempt to win victory in the West and came uncomfortably close to success. A drive starting in March nearly drove through the British lines; another in June threatened Paris. American troops helped to stop the advance. They especially distinguished themselves in a counterattack at Château-Thierry, less than fifty miles from the French capital. The tide turned in mid-July as Marshal Ferdinand Foch, supreme commander of all Allied armies, ordered a great counter-

offensive. General John J. Pershing, leader of the American Expeditionary Force, insisted on a separate American army with its own sector of the front. The Americans were assigned the sector north and east of Verdun. In mid-September, 550,000 "doughboys" won an overwhelming victory in wiping out the St. Mihiel salient. Then a still larger force drove toward the key city of Sedan through the best defended portions of the German lines. By early November, the Americans had almost reached their objectives and were preparing to advance into Germany. British and French forces met with even greater success. When the Armistice was signed on November 11, the Allies were advancing everywhere.

Meanwhile, American naval forces practically merged with the British in war against the submarines. The invention of the depth charge provided a new weapon. Its effective use demanded hundreds of patrol vessels in the sea lanes to watch for U-boats and to convoy ships. In addition to 79 destroyers, the United States sent abroad 170 small "sub-chasers," plus a variety of former yachts, tugs, and fishing boats. "Almost any craft which could carry a wireless, a gun, and depth charges was boldly sent to sea." By the end of 1917 the number of U-boat victims was cut in half. Not a single loaded troop transport was sunk on the way from America to Europe. In 1918 the United States navy took the principal part in laying an anti-submarine mine barrage nearly three hundred miles across the North Sea. This went far toward bottling up the U-boats entirely.

THE HOME FRONT

To raise and equip vast armies, to increase the size of the navy elevenfold, to keep munitions and food flowing to the Allies required a profound reorganization of American life. "It is not an army that we must shape and train for



Museum of the City of New York

A poster put out by the Food Administration urges citizens to conserve food. The self-denying frame of mind was one of the reasons why it was easy to push through the Eighteenth Amendment establishing national prohibition in 1918.

war," said the President, "it is a nation." In preparing for "total war" the United States enlisted not only fighting men, but industries, labor unions, railroads, farmers, and housewives.

Mobilization of Industry, Labor, and Agriculture

Since modern war is a battle of production, the most obvious need was to gear American industry to the war machine. Soon the entire economic life of the country was under the control of various federal agencies. The most powerful of these was the War Industries Board, which had charge of purchasing for both the Allies and the United States. Under the driving leadership of Bernard Baruch, a Wall Street speculator, the War Industries Board attempted "to operate the whole United States as a single

factory dominated by one management." Enlisting the ablest business brains in America as "dollar-a-year men," Baruch set up an organization that converted factories to war production, determined priorities of raw materials, and fixed prices.

Cooperating with the War Industries Board were several agencies that took over especially critical areas of American economy. The Fuel Administration conserved coal and oil by means as diverse as introducing daylight saving time and reducing the work week of factories not in war production. The Railroad Administration took over the railroads from private management and ran them as a single system. Former President Taft served as co-chairman of the War Labor Board (WLB), which sought to prevent labor disputes. In return for the promise of labor leaders not to call strikes, the WLB raised wages to a point where they would "insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort," insisted on equal pay for men and women, and guaranteed unions the right to organize. Plants refusing to obey the WLB were taken over by the government, while workers threatening strikes were told they would be denied employment in any war industry or put into the army. Under governmental encouragement wages rose rapidly, and trade unions increased their membership.

The war agency that most affected civilian lives was the Food Administration, directed by Herbert Hoover, who had achieved fame in organizing relief for Belgium. With the slogan "food will win the war," extraordinary efforts were made to reduce consumption and increase production. Housewives were urged to "Hooverize" by "serving just enough" and planning for Wheatless Wednesdays or Meatless Mondays. To increase wheat production a federally financed Grain Corporation guaranteed farmers first \$2.00, then \$2.26 per bushel, and in 1918 bought the entire American wheat crop.

Financing the War

The World War was costly beyond all expectation. By 1919 the federal government had spent about 33 billion dollars, of which 10 billion went to the Allies as loans. About a third of the money was raised by taxation, the rest by borrowing. The income tax was increased to a basic 12 per cent on incomes of \$4,000 or more, with rates running up to 77 per cent on incomes over \$1,000,000. Heavier burdens on corporations included an "excess profits" tax, designed to return war profits to the government. Excise duties were levied on items as varied as theatre tickets, chewing gum, and phonograph records.

To borrow over twenty billion dollars, the government sold four issues of Liberty Bonds, plus a postwar issue of Victory Bonds, direct to the people. Bonds were issued in denominations as low as \$25, with War Savings Stamps for as little as 10¢. Through posters, rallies, volunteer salesmen, "Liberty Loan sermons," and persuasion by employers, the purchase of bonds was made a test of patriotism. Even children were enlisted and urged to put their pennies in War Savings Stamps. Twenty-one million people, more than a fifth of the nation's population, subscribed to the Fourth Liberty Loan.

Control of Opinion

Since so much depended on voluntary civilian cooperation, the government undertook to "sell" the war. A Committee on Public Information was set up under George Creel, who described his job as "the world's greatest adventure in advertising." Creel mobilized advertising men, commercial artists, authors, songwriters, actors, orators, and motion picture companies. Millions of pamphlets explained such matters as the causes of the war and American war aims. The effect of this flood of propaganda was to reinforce Wilson's idea that the war was a crusade. While this probably heightened the war effort, it also helped to produce the very

intolerance that Wilson dreaded. Congress passed the Espionage and Sedition Acts, designed to prevent spying and disloyalty. These were so severe that they silenced opposition to the war. The Postmaster General was given authority to ban newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets from the mails at his discretion. Under these laws hundreds of people were imprisoned, sometimes even for opinions expressed in private conversations. Men were even jailed for criticizing the Red Cross or the YMCA.

Although they were enforced with unnecessary vigor, the Supreme Court upheld the principle of the Espionage and Sedition Acts in a decision written by Justice Holmes. "When a nation is at war," said Holmes, "many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to the effort that their utterance will not be endured. . . ." Holmes refused, however, to support punishment when there was no "clear and present danger" of hurting the United States, or when the accused were apparently being jailed for unpopular political beliefs.

An unhappy result of enthusiasm for the war was persecution of Americans of German ancestry. Wilson's insistence that we were "the sincere friends of the German people" could not stand against posters displaying Germans as bloody-handed "Huns." Anti-German feeling went to such ridiculous lengths as banning the teaching of the German language in schools and abandoning public performance of music by Beethoven, Schubert, and Wagner. There were super-patriots who even insisted that sauerkraut should be called "Liberty cabbage."

Increase in Presidential Power

As in the Civil War, there was a huge increase in the power of the President. Instead of acting independently of Congress, as did Lincoln (see pp. 358–360), Wilson insisted that Congress formally grant him whatever emer-

gency powers he thought necessary. By a series of laws, notably the Lever Act of 1917 and the Overman Act of 1918, the President was not only given control over agriculture and industry, but allowed to set up or reorganize government agencies at his discretion. Such bodies as the War Labor Board were created by him without even senatorial ratification of their top officers. Thus Wilson had greater authority than any previous President. It was understood, however, that these extraordinary powers were granted only "for the duration," and that with the return of peace the President and Congress should resume their normal constitutional relations.

The entrance of the United States into World War I has often been condemned as an unwise departure from the isolationist tradition of the Founding Fathers. It would have required, however, almost superhuman restraint on the part of the American government and American people to remain neutral; had they done so, a German victory might have imperiled national safety. The war effort has been deplored because it vastly increased the power of government and led to a spirit of intolerance. All sacrifices in money and blood, all restrictions on personal freedom, might have been justifiable if victory had led to a just and enduring peace. But such was not to be the case.

WILSON'S PEACE PROGRAM

Although Wilson did all in his power to crush Germany, he never ceased to think ahead to the peace that would follow victory. His peace program was crystallized in the Fourteen Points, published in January 1918. The President hoped to enlist public opinion everywhere in support of this charter for a new world order. The Fourteen Points may be summarized under three headings:

(1) *Abolition of general causes of war* (points 1-5). This section advocated open instead of secret diplomacy; freedom of the seas; reduction of trade barriers; disarmament; and an impartial adjustment of colonial claims, giving consideration to the needs of native peoples.

(2) *"Self-determination" for Europe* (points 6-13). This upheld the right of peoples to live under a government of their own choice. Thus Poland was to be an independent state; France was to get back Alsace-Lorraine; and in the Balkans new boundary lines were to be drawn on the basis of nationality.

(3) *"A general association of nations"* (point 14). The idea of an international organization to prevent war was centuries old, and it now had an immense appeal because of the obvious failure of the balance of power. Wilson made it the cornerstone of his program.

Although based on "the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities," the Fourteen Points bristled with practical difficulties. Some of the questions raised were: Would nations agree to disarm? How was it possible to be "impartial" in assigning colonies? How to draw boundaries in areas that contained people of different nationalities? Would nations surrender enough sovereignty to a world organization to make it effective?

Words as Weapons

Whatever the objections to Wilson's program, it helped to shorten the war. Using words as weapons, the President deliberately drove a wedge between the German people and their government. He offered "a place of equality among the nations of the world" to Germany once it had thrown off the yoke of its "military masters." His promise of "self-determination" stimulated revolts among the subject peoples of the Austrian Empire. His speeches, showered behind enemy lines from airplanes, weakened the will to fight. When the German gov-

crops. In many cases the AAA actually created distress, since by reducing acreage it lessened the demand for agricultural labor and for tenants. AAA payments, for instance, enabled owners of cotton plantations to buy new farm machinery, with the result that tenants were "traced off the land."

Dust Bowl

The New Deal had to cope with a terrible disaster that struck the Great Plains in 1934 and 1935. During World War I, prices had tempted farmers to grow wheat and cotton in the former grazing lands west of 98° longitude (see map, p. 9). Plows and harrows broke up the deep, tough sod that had previously prevented erosion and conserved moisture in this semi-arid region. When the years 1933-1935 proved unusually dry, there was danger that the region would become a desert. Terrible dust storms carried away topsoil in such quantities that even on the Atlantic seaboard the sun was obscured by a yellow haze. The water table of parts of the Plains region sank so low that deep wells ran dry. Between 1934 and 1939 an estimated 350,000 farmers emigrated from the "dust bowl." To take care of immediate distress, Congress provided funds so that dust bowl farmers could get new seed and livestock. On a long-term basis, the Department of Agriculture dealt with the dust bowl by helping farmers to plant 190 million trees in shelter belts, which cut wind velocity and retained moisture. Farmers were also encouraged to restore the Plains to what they had been in the days of the cattle kingdom and earlier—a grazing region.

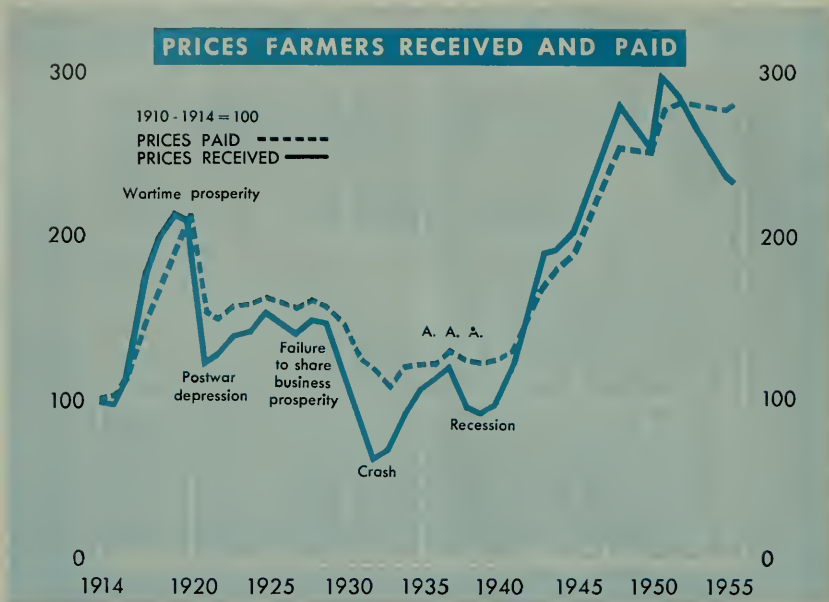
There was much criticism of the New Deal farm program. Many farmers did not like being told how much they could plant. Deliberately creating scarcity when people were hungry seemed immoral. The benefits of the AAA were unequal. On the whole, though, the New Deal provided more direct assistance to farmers than

to any other group in the population. Hundreds of thousands of families were saved from bleak poverty and despair.

INDUSTRY AND LABOR

The principal measure whereby the New Deal tried to promote the recovery of industry was the National Industry Recovery Act of June 1933, which Roosevelt hailed as "probably . . . the most important and far-reaching law ever passed by the American Congress." It proposed a partnership of business, labor, and government to attack the emergency of hard times. Much of its inspiration came from the United States Chamber of Commerce which in 1931 proposed a "national economic council" to balance production with consumption and to prevent cut-throat competition. If permitted to combine to control standards and prices, asserted the Chamber of Commerce, industry could keep up wages and insure workers against accidents, sickness, and old age.

The law provided that representatives of management and labor draw up "codes of fair competition." These were based on the notion that one of the primary causes of the depression was overproduction. The United States was a "mature economy," it was argued, with a productive capacity greater than its needs. What was demanded of industry as of agriculture was controlled production, with equitable arrangements to divide the proceeds among different business firms and their employees. Codes were established to spread employment by reducing the length of the work week, to put a floor under wages, to allow industries to fix "fair" prices, and to punish "chiselers." To spread business among as many firms as possible, factories were usually limited to two shifts a day. Every code was supposed to have the force of law and was enforced by a "code authority" appointed by the President. The various codes



Using the years 1910-1914 as the base year, this chart of the prices of farm products and of goods bought by farmers helps to explain why the farmer was weighed down by debts between the two World Wars.

and code authorities were under the over-all direction of a National Recovery Administration (NRA). As head of the NRA, Roosevelt appointed a colorful, energetic ex-army officer, General Hugh S. Johnson, formerly Bernard Baruch's right-hand man in the War Industries Board.

The NRA was launched with parades, fireworks, and speeches. Business firms signing code agreements were allowed to display a blue eagle with the words "We Do Our Part." The beginning of the experiment was accompanied by a revival of business confidence; production rose temporarily to 93 per cent of the 1929 figure. Soon about 600 codes had been

drawn up, covering 22 million workers and nine-tenths of American business concerns.

NRA in Difficulties

It was not long, however, before the NRA ran into difficulties. It was easy to see that the steel and textile industries should have codes, but did the fly-swatter, dish-mop, and armored-car manufacturers each need one? Were rubber balls subject to the code for toys or to that for athletic supplies? Even more serious than confusion caused by trying to draw up rules for all American industry was the fact that the NRA did not work out as planned. Prices increased more rapidly than wages. While a few business-

men were prosecuted for violations of NRA codes, many successful "chiselers" escaped notice. Henry Ford, the country's greatest industrialist, refused to have anything to do with the NRA. In trying to promote cooperation between business concerns, the NRA relaxed the antitrust laws. According to competent observers the result was a great increase in monopolistic practices and the growth of big business at the expense of small concerns. (For New Deal efforts to regulate business and control monopoly, see pp. 637, 644.)

Revival of Trade Unionism

No group suffered more during the depression than wage workers. In 1932 a third of the country's laborers were unemployed, and the pay envelopes of the rest had shrunk. Some women earned as little as \$3 a week. Many of the benefits of "welfare capitalism" were also withdrawn: companies running at a loss could not afford pensions, health plans, or vacations with pay; they could not continue profit-sharing when there were no profits to share. At the same time, labor union membership declined to its lowest point since before American entrance into World War I.

When cooperative efforts by employer groups failed to keep wages up, there was widespread feeling, even outside the ranks of labor, that a way to prevent wage cuts and preserve purchasing power might be to strengthen labor unions. This trend was apparent even before Roosevelt came into office. In March 1932, President Hoover had signed the Norris-La Guardia Act, which improved the legal position of labor unions. The law declared that "the public policy of the United States" was that a worker should have "full freedom" to join a union and empower it to represent him in bargaining with his employer. This law went beyond the Clayton Act in limiting the right of federal courts to issue injunctions against labor

unions. It also declared that "yellow-dog contracts," whereby a worker promised his employer not to join a union, were not enforceable at law.

Section 7-a

Once the New Deal was launched, labor's right to organize received further protection. Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act provided that every NRA code should guarantee the workers' right of collective bargaining and forbid employers to interfere with the formation of labor unions. Section 7-a encouraged a revival of unionism. Between May and October 1933, the American Federation of Labor gained 1,500,000 new members.

After a first wave of success, the new effort to enlist workers in unions stalled. The American Federation of Labor, composed mostly of skilled workers, was not well suited to the task of organizing labor in the mass production industries. Employers were generally opposed to unionization of their plants. In some cases they headed off effective organization and technically complied with the Norris-La Guardia Act and Section 7-a by forming company unions of their own workers. Company unions lacked bargaining power because they had no support from outside.

In 1934 the struggle to organize erupted into violence in every section of the country. Laboring men struck, demanding the right to organize as essential to their security and dignity; employers, usually with the local police and militia on their side, opposed unionization of their plants as an interference with their right to run their own affairs. More often than not strikes resulted in defeat for the workers. In spite of sympathy for organized labor, the Roosevelt administration could do little. A National Labor Relations Board had been set up to enforce Section 7-a, but its only weapon was to take away the blue eagle emblem. Em-



National Archives

Men thronged the employment agencies looking in vain for work. To take care of the younger men, a Civilian Conservation Corps was established; it did such useful work as planting trees.

ployers ignored it with impunity. Union men began to say that NRA stood for "National Run Around." They demanded of Congress more vigorous protection of the right to organize that had been guaranteed them by law.

Death of NRA

So strong was criticism of the NRA that in 1934 General Johnson resigned "under a hail of dead cats," as he expressed it. Roosevelt attempted to keep the organization going under a National Recovery Board composed of representatives of industry, labor, and consumers, but the elaborate codes and code adminis-

QUESTION • *How was the NRA like the Hoover-sponsored trade associations of the 1920's? How was it different?*

trations were obviously breaking down. Of an alleged 155,000 cases of code violations only 400 were prosecuted

in the courts. It is quite possible that the NRA would have died a natural death when the act creating it expired in the summer of 1935, but

before then the Supreme Court put an end to it by declaring it unconstitutional. In a case that involved the wholesale poultry code in New York City (*Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States*), the court found that "codes of fair competition" were unlawful because Congress had no right to delegate lawmaking powers to the President and code authorities. Although Roosevelt remarked that the justices seemed to want the country to return to the horse-and- buggy era, he made no serious attempt to reverse the NRA. As the next chapter will show, however, many of its features were carried on by later legislation.

RELIEF MEASURES

In 1933 those most in need of immediate aid were the twelve to fifteen million unemployed, many on the verge of starvation. At first Roosevelt, like Hoover, thought that relief was primarily the task of local agencies, and expected them to provide it until industry and agriculture recovered enough to provide jobs. It was soon apparent, however, that many states, municipalities, and local charities had reached the end of their resources. In May 1933, Congress therefore established a Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the first of several great New Deal relief agencies. FERA made loans and outright gifts to states and municipalities, which distributed the money as they chose. They generally provided a "dole"—either outright payments in money or handouts of clothing and food.

The dole was the cheapest form of relief, but those receiving it for any length of time lost self-respect and technical skills. Thus it tended to make the unemployed unemployable. Partly because of the influence of Harry Hopkins, a former social worker who eventually became Roosevelt's most intimate adviser, the New Deal turned in autumn of 1933 to a great

work relief program, the Civil Works Administration (CWA). At its height the CWA employed more than 4,000,000 people. It built or improved 1,000 airports, 500,000 miles of roads, and 40,000 school buildings. Because of the very speed of the operation and Hopkins' desperate desire to get relief to people in distress, some of the CWA projects were simply "make work" of little usefulness, to which its critics applied the term "boondoggling." In 1934 Roosevelt gave in to fierce criticism from conservatives and called off the program.

The CCC and PWA

The most generally admired New Deal agency reflected the fact that Franklin Roosevelt, like Theodore Roosevelt before him, was an ardent conservationist. This was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which offered outdoor work to unemployed, single men between 18 and 25 years of age. The basic wage was \$30 a month, of which \$22 went back to the boy's family. By the midsummer of 1933, the CCC had established 1,500 camps and put 300,000 young men into wilderness areas. They planted trees, cleaned beaches, fought blights, made reservoirs, and checked erosion. But the most important work of the CCC was to check human erosion. The average CCC boy returned to his home after six months or a year ten or fifteen pounds heavier, better disciplined, improved in health, and with a heightened sense of self-respect.

A section of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 established a Public Works Administration (PWA), which Roosevelt put under the direction of his able Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes. A cautious, scrupulously honest man who wanted to make sure that not a dollar was wasted, Ickes tried to see that all projects undertaken by PWA were useful, well planned, and efficiently administered. It was therefore some time before PWA had much

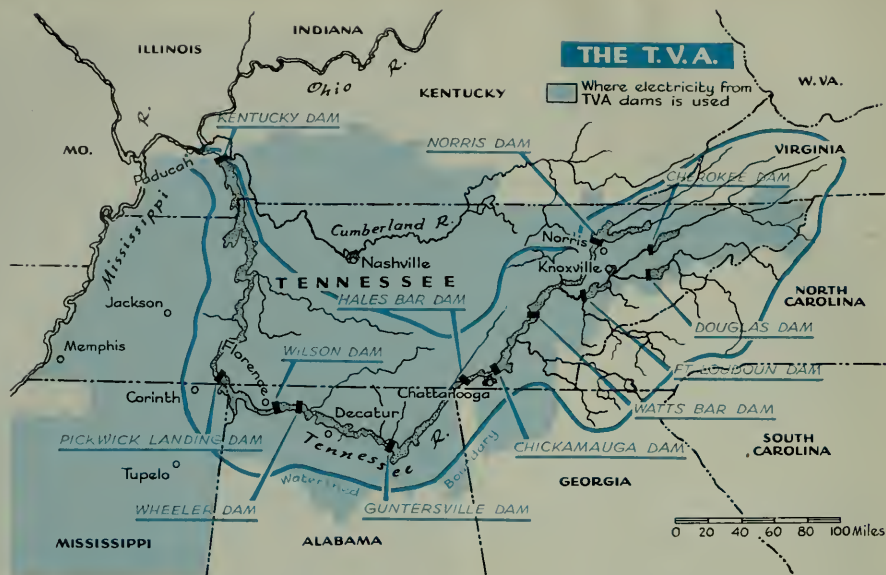


The appalling human wastage of the depression, with a third of the working men of the country unable to find employment and dependent on inadequate relief, is suggested by this picture of a despairing man in a San Francisco breadline in 1933.

effect on employment, but eventually it engaged in projects in 99 per cent of the counties of the country. It built great dams, sewer systems, waterworks, even cruisers and aircraft carriers. Generally PWA worked through private contractors, rather than hiring men directly.

Help for Home Owners

The depression saw many families lose their homes when mortgages were foreclosed. A Home Owners' Loan Corporation was therefore set up by Congress in 1933 to refinance small mortgages at lower rates of interest. Within three years it lent over \$300,000,000



The Tennessee Valley Authority, set up in 1933, has been both hailed as an outstanding example of social planning and damned as a radical interference with private enterprise. Its purposes include control of floods, production of cheap electrical power, improvement of land use, better navigation of the Tennessee River, and the establishment of recreation areas.

to more than a million people threatened with losing their homes. A Federal Housing Agency, established in 1934, also helped to revive the hard-hit construction industry by guaranteeing bank loans to pay for new housing and home repairs. These agencies promoted much-needed reform in methods of writing and repaying mortgages so that borrowers were protected from excessive rates of interest and were enabled to pay off the principal in a reasonable period of time.

SOCIAL PLANNING: THE TVA

While most early New Deal laws were stop-gap emergency measures, the Roosevelt administration also engaged in one dramatic adven-

ture in longtime social and economic planning. In May 1933, Congress, under Roosevelt's prodding, established a Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) designed to promote the well-being of the immense area drained by the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. The authority itself was a new type of federal agency; as the President described it to Congress, it was to be "a corporation clothed with the power of government but possessed of the initiative and flexibility of a private enterprise." It was given immense powers and endowed with ample funds.

The most notable fact about the Tennessee Valley area before the TVA was the way its natural resources had been exploited or wasted. Forests had been cut off, and most of the farmers eked out a bare living on exhausted

land. Heavy rainfalls contributed to erosion and caused disastrous floods. Over half the people of the Valley were on relief in 1933.

Under a three-man board of directors, the TVA set about with vigor to change all this. Employing as many as 40,000 men at a time, it built or improved 25 great dams, moved farmers from marginal lands, reforested millions of acres, established power plants and fertilizer factories, and even built new towns. The Tennessee River became a great inland waterway, over 600 miles long, carrying a heavy freight of barges. The new man-made lakes and public parks provided recreation areas. Perhaps the most notable changes resulted from the immense amount of cheap electricity that TVA produced. In 1933 only two of every hundred farms in the Valley had electricity; by 1960 practically all had it. This improved agriculture by enabling farmers to install refrigerators, milking machines, and cream separators. It reduced the back-breaking toil of housewives by enabling them to buy washing machines and electric stoves. It attracted heavy industry to the Valley.

Criticism of TVA

The TVA received a barrage of criticism. It was denounced as a communist measure, as a gigantic pork barrel, as a robbery of the rest of the country to benefit a particular section. Above all, it was attacked by private power companies. One purpose of TVA was to provide a "yardstick" whereby it might be possible to assess fair rates for electricity all over the country. In the Valley itself rates charged to consumers were cut by two-thirds. But representatives of private utilities argued that the TVA yardstick was unfair, and was arrived at only by writing off part of the costs of producing electricity to flood control and navigation. The private utilities were even more alarmed by TVA as a threat to their very existence, in the Valley at once and perhaps eventually in

the country as a whole. For the federal government to socialize production of private power was, they argued, a form of robbery.

Defenders of TVA argued that promotion of a single region helped the country as a whole: prosperity is indivisible. They argued that the yardstick worked. Utility rates all over the country were reduced in the 1930's and 1940's, yet power companies made more money than ever, because lower rates meant more varied use of electricity. As to the charge that TVA was a communistic measure, its proponents pointed to American precedents for the socialization of natural monopolies. Like the Erie Canal, TVA was action by government that stimulated private enterprise.

Opponents of TVA were persuasive and powerful enough to see that no other river authorities were granted such great powers as it enjoyed. The federal government did, however, build other power plants. The most famous of these was the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River, the largest structure ever made by man except for the Great Wall of China.

ATTACKS ON THE NEW DEAL

In 1934 Roosevelt deliberately gave the country a rest. The great flood of must legislation, enacted at the insistence of the White House, dwindled to a trickle. The President attempted to woo the business community, as was seen by the dismantling of the great Civil Works Administration. He played down partisanship and attempted to win the support of progressive Republicans in Congress. But most of the great leaders of the business community now opposed him. In the summer of 1934, a group of lawyers and wealthy businessmen formed the American Liberty League with the stated purpose of defending the Constitution and restoring respect for private property. The Liberty League included two former Demo-

cratic presidential nominees, John W. Davis and Al Smith; it professed to be nonpartisan,

QUESTION • *Did the New Deal encourage socialism in America, protect capitalism, or both?*

but it was clearly opposed to the New Deal. President Hoover joined the battle by writing a book,

The Challenge to Liberty, in which he deplored the expansion of federal power over individual lives. Other anti-New Deal writers went farther. David Lawrence wrote that the New Deal, with its "maelstrom of centralized order-giving... more strongly resembles the dictatorship of the Fascistic or Communistic states of Europe than it does the American system." Cartoonists ridiculed Roosevelt's brain trust and portrayed Uncle Sam at the mercy of crackpot professors who dosed him with strange foreign medicines that had been made in Moscow.

Roosevelt countered the attacks by direct appeals to the people. In the early fall of 1934, he traveled across the country and everywhere was met by crowds of admirers, sometimes simply standing at a grade crossing to wave as the presidential train went by. In a fireside chat in late June he put it to the people: "The simplest way for you to judge recovery lies in

the plain facts of your individual situation. Are you better off than you were last year? Are your debts less burdensome? Is your bank account more secure? Are your working conditions better? Is your faith in your own individual future more firmly grounded?"

Mid-term Elections, 1934

The attacks on Roosevelt were so extreme that they boomeranged, and in any case the Republican Party was handicapped. Its titular leader, Hoover, had been repudiated at the polls in 1932, and the party presented no alternative to the New Deal. In the congressional elections of 1934 the Democrats increased their majorities in both houses. This was the first time such a thing had happened in a mid-term election since the Radical Republican sweep of 1866. At the state level the results were equally decisive. Only 7 of 48 state governors were Republicans.

The New Deal had apparently won a great vote of confidence from the people. But the victory was less than it appeared. The depression was not cured. Millions of Americans were still hungry and living in quiet despair. They favored Roosevelt over his foes, but they began to demand more than the New Deal had done for them yet.

Activities: Chapter 26

For Mastery and Review

1. What were the purposes and origins of the New Deal? Just what did Franklin D. Roosevelt contribute to it?

2. What steps were taken by the New Deal in the areas of banking, securities, and currency? To what extent were these aimed at recovery? To what extent at reform?

3. What was the basic problem plaguing American agriculture? What farm legislation did the New Deal enact? With what success?

4. What was the NRA? What were its purposes and plan of operation? What problems did it encounter? What happened to it?

5. Distinguish among the relief agencies established during the first year of the New Deal as to purposes and methods. On what grounds were they criticized?

6. Explain the purposes of TVA and its program. How was it criticized? How defended?

7. Who opposed the New Deal in 1934? Explain the results of the midterm elections of that year.

Unrolling the Map

On a map of the United States locate (a) the “dust bowl” and (b) the TVA, locating major dams and labeling states in which TVA power is used.

Who, What, and Why Important?

Emergency Banking Act	AAA
Reserve chats	dust bowl
“Hundred Days”	NRA
“trust”	Norris-LaGuardia Act
for Roosevelt	<i>Schechter v. United States</i>
ty-first Amend-	CCC
ent	PWA
Steagall Act	HOLC
3	TVA
p-priming	Liberty League
ier-Lemke Act	

To Pursue the Matter

1. To what previous period, in European history, was the term “the hundred days” applied? Is there an analogy to the beginning of the New Deal?

2. Compare major features of the New Deal with the Populists, the Square Deal, and the New Freedom, showing connections, contrasts, and differences, both in philosophy and in specific proposals or acts. This might be made into a wall chart, with different committees taking different topics, such as treatment of labor, agriculture, the government and business, and banking and currency.

3. Why had European nations gone off the gold standard? Who in America demanded currency in-

flation, and by what means? Compare nineteenth century demands for cheap money (see pp. 430–432, 458–460).

4. What made Franklin Roosevelt tick? Clues are found in the second chapter of Davies, *The New Deal: Interpretations*.

5. Why did Franklin Roosevelt promote the TVA? President Dwight D. Eisenhower once called the TVA “creeping socialism.” Do you agree or disagree with this characterization? See Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March*.

6. What was the importance of the New Deal to the South? See Ezell, *The South Since 1865*, Chapter 22.

7. How did Roosevelt deal with the disaster of his attack of polio? Would he have become President if he had not had it? Best source: Friedel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal*. See also Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, and Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*.

8. In many ways the AAA was a shocking piece of legislation, since it reduced the supply of food when many people all over the world were going hungry. Given the circumstances of the time, can you figure out any alternatives? See Schlesinger, *The Coming of the New Deal*, Part II, Chapters 2–5.

9. Authoritative pictures of Roosevelt as a politician, dealing with Congress, public opinion, and party politics, are found in Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*, Chapter 10, and in Schlesinger, *The Coming of the New Deal*, Part VIII, Chapters 32–34. Comparisons with Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson would give added depth.

Chapter 27

The New Deal: Second Phase

We are determined to make every American citizen the subject of his country's interest and concern; and we will never regard any faithful, law-abiding group within our borders as superfluous. The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

As the last chapter suggested, the New Deal failed to stem a mounting tide of unrest among the underprivileged. Ten million people were still unemployed as the year 1935 began. They received just enough relief to keep them and their families alive. The circumstances under which they received their miserable dole were usually humiliating. In rural districts, small farmers and tenants were being driven off the land. Everywhere, millions of elderly people faced stark misery, without savings, pensions, medical care, or hope. Here was an explosive mixture of suffering and discontent.

"THUNDER ON THE LEFT"

Much more of a threat to the Roosevelt administration than the prostrate Republican Party or the Liberty League was "thunder on the left" from radical critics of the New Deal. There was a rising demand for drastic action to deal with the fact, as Roosevelt later ex-

pressed it himself, that one-third of the nation was "ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." Upton Sinclair, the former muckraking novelist, nearly won the governorship of California in 1934 by advocating a plan to "End Poverty in California" through setting up cooperative colonies of the unemployed. Dr. Francis Townsend, a former public health officer shocked by the plight of older people, proposed that the federal government give every retired person over sixty a pension of \$200 per month, to be paid for by a national sales tax. He won a fanatical following numbering millions, organized into thousands of Townsend clubs, who sang "Onward Townsend Soldiers" and insisted that Congress act at once. Another pied piper of the distressed was Father Charles E. Coughlin, the "Radio Priest," whose broadcasts were heard by an audience said to reach the amazing total of 40,000,000 people. Although originally a supporter of Roosevelt, Coughlin charged that the New Deal had sold out to the bankers. His

National Union for Social Justice demanded heavy taxation of wealth and a guaranteed wage for everyone.

The most dangerous left-wing foe of the New Deal appeared to be Huey Long, senator from Louisiana. With the fervid backing of the rural poor, he had become a dictator in his own state. He was now bidding for national power; he even wrote a book entitled *My First Days in the White House*. With a folksy, humorous manner and a gift for pungent expression, Long knew how to win audiences. He proposed to make "Every Man a King" by confiscating the property of the wealthy and giving every family a home and \$2,000 a year, with free college education for the children. His followers were organized in "Share Our Wealth" clubs. Postmaster James A. Farley, Roosevelt's campaign manager, conducted a secret poll which indicated that if the senator ran for President on a third-party ticket in 1936, he might receive three or four million votes, possibly enough to give him the balance of power between the Democratic and Republican parties. The threat never materialized, because in September 1935, Long was assassinated by a political opponent.

Shift to the Left

Roosevelt did not engage in public debate with his left-wing critics, but in his annual message to Congress in January 1935, he indicated that he was prepared to put the New Deal on a new tack. He admitted that in spite of all efforts, "we have not weeded out the overprivileged and we have not effectively lifted up the underprivileged." He proposed that the federal government dedicate itself to providing greater security for its citizens. Under pressure both from the President and from a large segment of the public, Congress headed off the extreme demands of share-the-wealth advocates by a new program of legislation.

The second phase of the New Deal had the same over-all objectives as the first—recovery, relief, and reform. But now the emphasis was more on reform, less on short-term, emergency measures. There was greater concern for the less fortunate members of society, and at the same time the attempt to enlist the support of the business community was abandoned. Like the Populists and progressives before them, the New Dealers now tried to restrain business through tighter controls and attacks on monopoly. In government finance, the New Deal drifted from its earlier conservatism. Efforts to balance the budget became weaker and were finally discarded entirely. New taxes were frankly designed to redistribute wealth, although not to the degree demanded by Father Coughlin or Huey Long.

The political alignment behind the New Deal was also altered. In 1932 Roosevelt had received support from all segments of the population, including the business community. Partisanship was played down, as he sought the votes of moderate and progressive Republicans. Now there was greater emphasis on the Democratic party organization. The traditional basis of Democratic strength—the Solid South and northern city machines—was reinforced by a coalition of organized labor and organized farmers: the alliance that the Populists attempted in the 1890's. In addition, the Democratic party now received more backing than ever from the underprivileged.

Work Relief: WPA and Other Agencies

The most immediate result of the shift in attitude that marked the new trend was the President's demand for large-scale work relief. The unemployables would continue to live on doles administered by local agencies, but the federal government would provide useful employment for all who were able and willing to work. "We must," Roosevelt told Congress,

"preserve not only the bodies of the unemployed from destitution, but also their self-respect, their self-reliance and courage and determination."

Responding to the President's request, Congress appropriated \$5,000,000,000 in April 1935 for "work relief and to increase employment by providing useful projects." An immense new agency, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) was set up under Harry Hopkins. The WPA embodied Hopkins' conviction that the first purpose of relief was to "help men keep their chins up and their hands in." He attempted to see that no matter what skills a man or woman possessed, the WPA would provide a chance to use them in a way that would benefit society. And so, in addition to the more obvious work relief projects, such as building schools and making roads, the WPA found employment for "white collar" workers—librarians, writers, teachers, musicians, actors, and artists. WPA projects included theatrical performances, symphony concerts, state guide books, traveling libraries, and mural paintings in post offices. There was inevitable inefficiency and "boondoggling," but on balance the WPA produced social benefits for the rest of the country as well as for those it rescued from bread lines.

The WPA was supplemented by other new relief agencies. A Resettlement Administration (RA) attempted, without much success, to re-establish poverty-stricken farmers on the land. A Rural Electrification Administration (REA) extended power lines into farming areas not reached by private utilities. A "junior WPA," the National Youth Administration (NYA), helped high school and college students to continue their education by providing part-time work, such as typing and library cataloging.

Meanwhile, previously established agencies continued to operate. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation lent large sums to business and to local governments. The CCC put twice

as many young men as before to work in the open air. The PWA now rolled into high gear and provided employment for hundreds of thousands of men on great public works.

Social Security

Life in the pre-industrial village society had been marked by unremitting toil, by high mortality from disease, and sometimes—when crops failed—by desperate want. But there had been no unemployment, and no business cycles of alternating prosperity and depression. Old people and orphans had been taken care of, because on farms there was usually "room for one more." But even in good times the modern city worker was subject to unpredictable loss of employment. When too old to work, he often had no place to go but the poorhouse. To deal with this fundamental problem of insecurity, Congress passed the Social Security Act of 1935. This was the one New Deal measure clearly inspired by foreign examples. Social security measures, first tried in Germany in the 1880's, had spread through western Europe, as well as to Australia and New Zealand. They had also been tried out in the United States by state governments and private employers.

The Social Security Act was a complex measure. It furnished the states with money grants to assist them in caring for dependent children, cripples, "unemployables," and the blind. The federal government financed state programs of unemployment insurance through a payroll tax paid by employers. The act set up a national system of old age and survivors pensions varying from \$15 to \$85 per month; the money came partly from pay deductions, partly from employer contributions.

The Social Security Act had many flaws. Some of the provisions for financing it were unworkable; the benefits it provided were meager and insufficient. The act specifically excluded protection for some who needed it most,

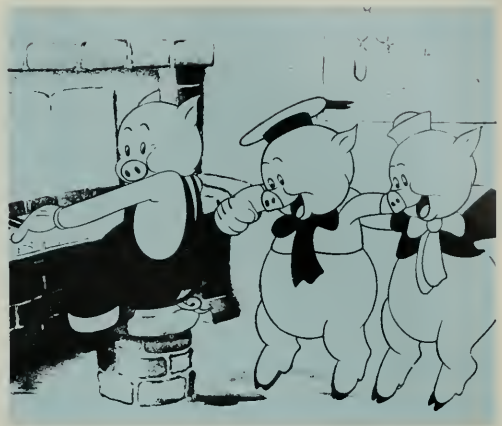
such as agricultural laborers, domestic help, and sailors in the merchant marine. Nevertheless, the establishment of the social security system was a landmark in the history of the United States. It established the principle that an industrial society has a responsibility toward those it casts out of employment and those too old to work. Eventually, many of the injustices and omissions of the original law were repaired.

Extension of Federal Control over Business

Several pieces of legislation passed in 1935 revealed that the New Deal's earlier efforts to win the support of the business community had been abandoned. Federal regulation of private enterprise was extended; new efforts were made to curb monopoly; and heavier taxes were levied on wealth.

By the earlier banking legislation of 1933, ultimate control of banking practices remained with private bankers, especially those who were directors of the nine Federal Reserve Banks, and among the Federal Reserve Banks especially that of New York. The Banking Act of 1935 centered control of the Federal Reserve system in a seven-man Board of Governors appointed by the President. Now such fundamental decisions as whether to expand or contract currency and credit by raising or lowering the rediscount rate (see p. 523) were made in Washington rather than on Wall Street. Another expansion of federal regulation was the Motor Carrier Act which put interstate bus and truck lines under the Interstate Commerce Commission.

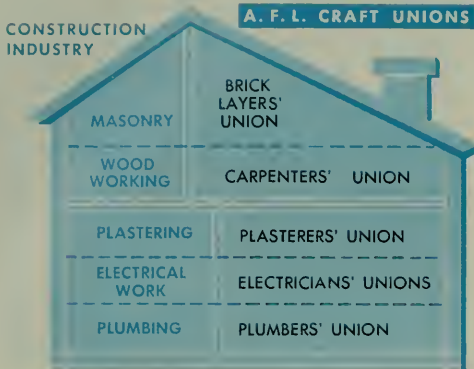
One of the major agencies of monopolistic control of industry was the holding company (see text and diagram, pp. 583-584). Some of the worst abuses of the device were found in the field of public utilities. In 1935 an estimated three-quarters of the electric light and power companies of the United States were



© Walt Disney Productions

"Three Little Pigs" was a favorite Walt Disney animated cartoon. The little pigs, threatened by the wolf who would "blow their house down," sing triumphantly, "Who's afraid of the big bad wolf?"

controlled by thirteen holding company groups. They were used not merely to centralize control, but to siphon off immense profits and to conceal serious breaches of business ethics. "A holding company," remarked Will Rogers, "is a thing where you hand an accomplice the goods while the policeman searches you." There was, however, a wholly legitimate use for holding companies in the utilities field. They promoted efficiency by coordinating the functions of local operating companies, and effected economies through centralized purchasing, auditing, and engineering. In the summer of 1935, Roosevelt had a bill introduced into Congress which provided for a "death sentence" on holding companies. After a prolonged and bitter fight, a law was passed that essentially embodied the President's wishes. Over a period of years, holding companies in the utilities field were to be abolished save where, in the opinion of the Federal Power Commission and the Securities Exchange Commission, they were useful in promoting efficiency.



In the "horizontal" organization, represented by the American Federation of Labor (AFL), workers belong to unions representing crafts, and several unions may work on the same project. In the "vertical" organization of the Congress for Industrial Organization (CIO), all workers in an industry belong to the same union.

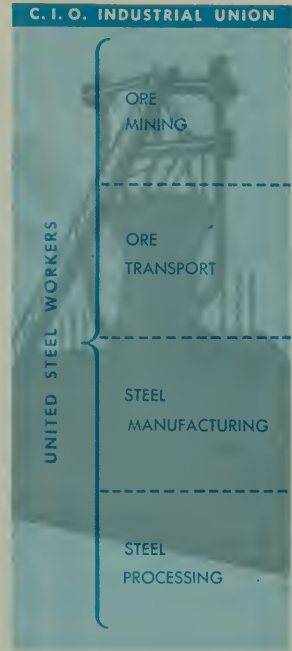
Throughout the first years of the New Deal, income and corporation taxes remained at the modest levels fixed when Andrew Mellon was Secretary of the Treasury (see p. 579). Now Roosevelt proposed new taxes that would fall with special weight on large accumulations of wealth. The President was apparently not especially interested in increasing federal revenues. Instead, he intended to head off the various "share the wealth" schemes that had attracted large public support. He also hoped to reduce concentration of economic power. The Revenue Act of 1935 which finally emerged from Congress laid new surtaxes on incomes over \$50,000. Inheritance taxes were also imposed, with a top of 70 per cent. Moderate corporation taxes were levied, higher rates being laid on large corporations, on those that made excessive profits, and on those that passed profits on to holding companies. Although the law was attacked as communistic and confiscatory, it actually did little to redis-

tribute wealth, while at the same time it quieted the clamor of the followers of Father Coughlin and Huey Long.

THE ADVANCE OF LABOR

In 1935 Congress enacted an important and lasting piece of legislation—the National Labor Relations Act. It was called the Wagner Act, after Senator Robert F. Wagner, who introduced it. Roosevelt was cool to the bill at first, and only lent it his support when the Supreme Court killed the National Industrial Recovery Act and with it Section 7-a which affirmed labor's right to organize.

On the theory that labor was handicapped in dealings with management, the Wagner Act



put restraints on employers without corresponding checks on unions. It set up a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), which had power to hold secret elections in factories to find out whether workers wanted to join a union. It could order employers to stop anti-union activities, arbitrate grievances, and reinstate workers dismissed for union activities. For a time, employers resisted the National Labor Relations Act as an interference with their right to run their plants as they chose and as a violation of the worker's right to "freedom of contract." But after the Supreme Court upheld the law in 1937 in a decision written by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, the NLRB became generally effective.

The Wagner Act stimulated a burst of labor union activity, marked by the appearance of a new national labor organization. As has already been suggested, the American Federation of Labor was ill equipped both in philosophy and in structure to organize the great mass production industries, such as radio, steel, automobile, and textile. Soon there arose within the AFL a group of energetic labor leaders who called themselves the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO). Its principal figure was John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, one of the most aggressive, colorful, and controversial figures in the history of American labor. Lewis proposed that all workers, skilled and unskilled, be organized in industrial or vertical unions in place of the craft or horizontal organization of the AFL (study the diagram on p. 638). The rise of the CIO caused a bitter dispute as old-line leaders of the AFL, led by President William Green, foresaw that the type of organization demanded by Lewis would disrupt existing craft unions. Eventually, the CIO seceded from the AFL to form its own national organization with the same initials but a different title, the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Success of the CIO

In 1936 the CIO attacked the strongest citadel of the open shop—the steel industry. Under the leadership of Philip Murray, four hundred organizers went through the steel towns distributing pamphlets, holding meetings, and buttonholing workers. Within a few months, they signed up enough members to threaten a nation-wide strike. The strike never occurred, because in March 1937, John L. Lewis, now president of the CIO, and Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation, announced that they had settled their differences. To the amazement of the country, "Big Steel" granted a wage increase, reduced the work week to 40 hours, and recognized the CIO steel union as bargaining agent for its members. By 1941 the CIO had signed contracts with the entire steel industry. Its attempt to organize the "Little Steel" companies was achieved, however, only after a struggle so bitter that it resulted in bloodshed.

Meanwhile, the CIO had moved into the automobile industry. Although hourly rates in the industry were high, seasonal layoffs reduced the average wage to less than \$1,000 per year. Workers also had a strong sense of grievance against the speed-up which occurred when management increased the rate at which cars moved along the assembly line. The auto workers were difficult to organize. Mostly unskilled, they tended to change jobs when dissatisfied rather than to try for better conditions. The employers actively discouraged union membership, partly by exploiting racial and religious antagonisms among Negroes, southern Protestant whites, and Roman Catholics of Polish and Bohemian descent. In 1936, however, the CIO granted a charter to the United Auto Workers Union (UAW). Under the leadership of Homer S. Martin, a former preacher, the UAW enrolled thousands of workers.

CIO leaders did not want to challenge the automobile industry until the struggle with the steel companies ended, but locals of the UAW forced their hand early in 1937 by starting sit-down strikes in several General Motors plants. The workers stopped work but remained in the factories, being careful not to destroy any property. The sit-downs caused

QUESTION • One assumption underlying sit-down strikes was that the job is property belonging to the worker. Is a job truly property?

great controversy and also great difficulties for the law enforcement agencies. They were peaceful, yet they were an il-

legal occupation of employers' property, and the workers made it plain that they would leave only if forced out by troops. Finally, to avoid violence, General Motors gave in and signed a contract with the UAW. By 1941 the other automobile companies also recognized the union. Sit-downs were abandoned, however, both because they were against the law and because they caused public resentment.

As a result of the foregoing developments, the number of workers in labor unions increased from less than 3 million in 1933 to nearly 9 million in 1939. Never in American history had the economic and political power of a large section of the population grown so rapidly.

THE NEW DEAL ON TRIAL

As we have seen, the New Deal came under constant attack, both from those who thought it did not go far enough and from those who thought that it went too far. To homegrown radicals, such as Upton Sinclair, Huey Long, and Father Coughlin, the New Deal relief and social security measures were mere "crumbs

from the rich man's table." To Socialists, such as the perennial presidential candidate Norman Thomas, the New Deal was simply an attempt to patch up capitalism and to "plan scarcity." Thomas could find a good word to say only for the TVA—"a beautiful flower in a garden of weeds." The Communists at first denounced Roosevelt as a "fascist" who pretended to be a friend of the toilers, but was really a tool of the bankers and trusts. The Communist party was opposed to all New Deal efforts at recovery and reform because it feared they would satisfy the masses and put back the day when the workers would rise and overthrow their capitalist masters. In 1935, however, orders came from Moscow for a change in the "party line": Communists were now ordered to align themselves with all "progressive" forces against fascists and reactionaries. The party, therefore, switched to support of the New Deal. Party members attempted to infiltrate trade unions, youth groups, and federal agencies.

The second phase of the New Deal, with its concern for those afflicted with poverty, weakened its left wing critics, and the assassination of Huey Long removed their most effective leader. But the new "hard line" against big business and the "soak the rich" taxes stimulated opposition from the right. The majority of the newspapers of the country turned against the Roosevelt administration, as did most businessmen and many professional men, such as lawyers, doctors, and engineers. Many Roosevelt opponents worked themselves into fury at "That Man in the White House" (or simply "That Man"). They convinced themselves that he was a Socialist or Communist in disguise, a would-be dictator as dangerous to American liberties as a Mussolini, a Stalin, or a Hitler. Eleanor Roosevelt was denounced with equal fervor.

The Election of 1936

On the eve of the 1936 presidential election, the Democrats renominated Roosevelt by acclamation and enthusiastically endorsed the New Deal. The President set the tone of his campaign in his acceptance speech in which he said that he was engaged in a war to free the country from the "economic royalists" who had sought to enslave its people. The shift in support for him since 1932 was revealed by the fact that businessmen contributed only about a fifth or a sixth as much proportionately in 1936 as in 1932. But the CIO contributed three-quarters of a million dollars. In spite of

the prediction of his campaign manager, James Farley, that he would carry every state except Maine and Vermont, Roosevelt took no chances and campaigned vigorously. He rang constant changes on the theme that the common people were far better off than in the dark days when he took office in 1933.

The Republicans, up against the most popular Democrat since Andrew Jackson, faced a bleak prospect. Their candidate for President was Alfred M. Landon, a popular and moderately progressive governor of Kansas. They denounced Roosevelt for "usurping" power, endangering "the American system of free

Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Municipal Reformer

"When I make a mistake, it's a beaut!" Few politicians have had the courage or the good sense to make such a statement. But then, "the Little Flower" was no ordinary politician. An Episcopalian of Italian ancestry with a Jewish mother, LaGuardia symbolizes the coalition politics that have developed in many American cities in an effort to find answers to the problems of urban life.

LaGuardia was a congressman from East Harlem for more than a decade, during which time he made an enviable record in the fights against prohibition and child labor. He is best known for the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which regulates the use of the injunction in labor disputes. But his greatest achievements came as mayor of New York City from 1933 to 1945.

A roly-poly, five-foot-two dynamo, he galvanized the city and brought it out of the doldrums of the depression. He fought against the gangsters, unified the subway system, restored the city's credit, reorganized the civil service, established a city planning commission, and led the fight for greater democracy in city government by reform of the city's charter. At the same time, he chased fire engines and read the comics over the city-owned radio station during a newspaper strike so the "kids" would not miss Dick Tracy. During his administration the city led the country in building massive complexes of low-cost housing, as well as parks, playgrounds, bridges, airports, and highways.

Although a life-long Republican in a solidly Democratic city, LaGuardia outmaneuvered Tammany Hall and was elected for three four-year terms. He claimed, "I could run on a laundry ticket and beat these bums." He added style and verve to politics, at the same time bringing honesty and good government. As he summed up his work, "Our theory of municipal government is an experiment to try to prove that nonpartisan, nonpolitical local government is possible. . . ."

(Theme 3, see p. xll)



enterprise," and sending out "swarms of inspectors to harass our people." Their platform supported, however, most of the essential features of the New Deal, such as relief for the unemployed, protection of labor's right to organize, and subsidies for agriculture. Landon enjoyed the support of a number of conservative Democrats, including Al Smith, and most of the press. The *Literary Digest* poll, which had correctly predicted the winner of every presidential election since 1916, foretold a Republican victory.

When the returns came in on November 3, Farley's prediction as to the result proved to be right. The Republicans carried only Maine and Vermont, as Roosevelt won by the largest margin since Monroe's all-but-unanimous election in 1820. A Union party with William Lemke, a radical farm leader from North Dakota as its candidate, and with the endorsement of Father Coughlin and Dr. Townsend, polled close to a million votes. The Socialists and Communists won only negligible support. The Congressional elections were almost as one-sided. Only 17 of 96 senators and 89 of 435 members of the House were Republicans.

Why had the *Literary Digest* poll gone wrong? The answer to this question explains the nature of the new political coalition that supported Roosevelt. The *Literary Digest* based its prediction on replies to postcards sent to a random sampling of names in the telephone book. Thus it was weighted in favor of the upper-income levels of the population. A large proportion of those who voted for Roosevelt, especially in the cities, did not have telephones. An element in the result, although not a decisive one, was that for the first time the Negro vote was cast for a Democratic candidate. Four years earlier, Republican politicians in Negro city wards noted, "They're getting tired of Lincoln." Negroes, who were too apt to be "first fired, last hired," owed much to the New

Deal relief policies. Their gratitude was shown at the election booths.

The Supreme Court Fight

The 1936 elections apparently gave Roosevelt and the immense Democratic majority in Congress a mandate from the people to expand the New Deal. Roosevelt indicated in his Second Inaugural Address that he intended to propose new legislation to aid the "one-third of a nation" that suffered from want. But before the New Deal could go on, it had first to reckon with the Supreme Court.

During 1935 and 1936, the Supreme Court had declared unconstitutional a number of major New Deal laws. The destruction of NRA, which has already been mentioned, was followed by a decision (*United States v. Butler*) that invalidated the Agricultural Adjustment Act. In declaring the AAA unconstitutional the majority of the court made the amazing assertion that the production of great staple crops, such as wheat and cotton, which were sold all over the country, was "a purely local activity." The court denied both to the states and to the federal government the right to set minimum wages, leaving a "no man's land" wholly outside the sphere of governmental action. Laws designed to ease the debt burden and to save municipalities from bankruptcy were declared to deprive creditors of property "without due process of law." Never had the Supreme Court invalidated so much legislation. Furthermore, laws that had not yet come before the justices were widely disobeyed. Thus employers openly defied the National Labor Relations Board, trusting that the Supreme Court would strike down the Wagner Act.

During Roosevelt's first term, no Supreme Court justice had died or resigned, so that for the first time since Madison's second term in office the President had no opportunity to make new appointments. Of the "nine old men" on

the court, seven had been appointed by Republican Presidents. The court was divided between four extreme conservatives, three liberals, and two "swing men" who voted sometimes one way and sometimes another. The country was presented with the spectacle of laws that affected millions of people, passed by large majorities in Congress, being supported or rejected by margins of 6 justices to 3 or 5 to 4. The unpredictable opinion of one or two men overweighed the collective judgment of the President and Congress.

Much as Old Hickory considered the election of 1832 a command to destroy the Bank of the United States, Roosevelt apparently thought his sweeping victory in 1936 justified him in curbing the Supreme Court. In February 1937, without prior consultation with most of his close advisers or with Democratic leaders in Congress, the President presented legislation to reorganize the entire federal judicial system. Along with useful schemes for reform of the lower courts was a provision that the President might appoint one extra member to the Supreme Court for every justice over seventy years of age. This meant that the court might be increased from nine to fifteen members. In presenting this plan, the President argued that the court needed "younger blood" to enable it "to recognize and apply the essential concepts of justice in the light of the needs and facts of an ever-changing world." The "court-packing" bill caused a revolt in the

QUESTION • *Should changes in the composition of the Supreme Court be left to the chance of justices dying or resigning?*

Congress to defeat the President's proposal, after a legislative battle that went on for more

President's own party. Alarmed by the threat to the independence of the judiciary, enough Democrats joined the Republicans in



When Roosevelt attacked the Supreme Court, he provoked such violent criticism that his "court-packing" proposal was defeated. This cartoon suggests that the proposed new justices would have been mere "rubber stamps."

than five months. The President thus suffered a major defeat; he also lost the confidence of many who had up to now given him wholehearted support. He claimed, however, that he had lost the battle but won the campaign. Even before the court-packing bill was defeated, the court had apparently reversed itself. In two 5-to-4 decisions, it supported the constitutionality of the Social Security and National Labor Relations acts. In any event, the character of the court soon changed, as older justices retired and were replaced by other men.

Recession, 1937-1938

By 1937 the economy had recovered so far that it was close to the level of 1929, although the gnawing problem of widespread unemployment still remained. Roosevelt's financial advisers feared another period of wild lending such as marked the 1920's; they also advised a cutback in spending in order to bring the federal budget into balance. The Federal Reserve banks therefore tightened credit, and the WPA cut the number it employed by half. Bumper crops brought huge farm surpluses and a collapse in agricultural prices. The economy soon plummeted down into what the New Dealers

called a "recession", and their opponents, a "Roosevelt depression." Industrial production dropped by one-third, almost down to the levels of 1932.

The President blamed the slump on businessmen who, he claimed, had sabotaged recovery by failure to invest in new productive capacity, and by monopolistic practices that kept prices at artificially high levels. Businessmen naturally blamed the President, saying that the extravagance and experimentation of the New Deal had destroyed confidence.

To meet the new economic crisis the President called Congress into special session, and it voted to pump new billions into work relief programs and subsidies to agriculture. The new flood of pump-priming brought a quick revival of business activity at the cost of a greater federal deficit.

Last New Deal Measures

In 1938 Congress passed a number of New Deal measures that carried out earlier policies. A Fair Labor Standards Act abolished child labor and provided for a ceiling on hours and a floor under wages, at least for most workers engaged in businesses classified as "interstate commerce." A new Farm Settlement Administration was established to promote the well-being of poverty-stricken farmers and was more effective than the earlier Resettlement Administration in doing so. A new AAA attempted to cope with the ever-present difficulty of surpluses by paying farmers not merely to take land out of production but also to improve the soil and control erosion. It also provided facilities so that surpluses could be stored from year to year, with the purpose of providing an "ever normal granary." A food stamp plan helped to end the scandal of hunger in the midst of plenty by distributing without charge surplus agricultural products among those on relief.

The anti-monopoly philosophy of the second phase of the New Deal was seen when Congress established a Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC) to conduct an exhaustive investigation of American business practices. The committee collected mountains of testimony, and some of it revealed that business concerns engaged in price-fixing, in deliberate creation of scarcity, in agreements not to compete, and in abuse of patent laws. By the time its reports came out, however, the United States was at war, and there was little interest in enacting new anti-monopoly legislation. During 1938 and 1939, Thurman Arnold, the vigorous head of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, did, however, conduct over 200 investigations of monopolistic practices. He brought nearly 100 cases of alleged violations of the Sherman and Clayton acts into court. He was able to get a number of industries to agree to abandon practices that destroyed competition and hurt the consumer.

End of the New Deal

The legislation described in the foregoing section was by no means all that Roosevelt asked for. A congressional coalition of Republicans and conservative southern Democrats was increasingly effective in thwarting New Deal measures. In 1938, therefore, Roosevelt threw his weight in primary elections against the "copperheads" in his party and in favor of liberal Democrats. This attempted "purge" ended in defeat. The President's interference in local politics was resented, and in most cases the conservative Democrats won. In the mid-term elections, furthermore, the Republicans staged a modest comeback, picking up eight seats in the Senate and 81 seats in the House. The Republican-southern Democratic coalition was now more powerful than ever, and was able to veto further extension of the New Deal.

An example of the work of the Public Works Administration is the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River. The largest structure of its kind in the world (4,173 feet long and 550 feet high), it harnesses the river to provide water power, irrigation of arid land, and flood control.



Roosevelt accepted the judgment of the voters. In his annual message to Congress in January 1939, he announced that at least for the time being he would urge no new programs of reform. Instead, he turned his attention to the ominous world situation and the imminent threat of World War II.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE NEW DEAL

The New Deal was a movement of bewildering complexity and contradiction; it spelled no more sense, it was charged, than alphabet soup. And yet certain patterns emerged. It was clear, for instance, that the power and sphere of action of the President were greatly enlarged. Congress could thwart the President and occasionally act independently of him, but the initiative in law-making had moved down Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House. It was even more clear that the scope of federal power had increased enormously, as the central government assumed many functions previously reserved for states and municipalities, such as the regulation of conditions of labor and the provision of relief for the poor.

In its day-to-day attempts to deal with the economic crisis, the New Deal operated on no consistent economic theory. It was damned with equal fervor by *laissez-faire* economists and by socialists. Yet in retrospect we can see that something in between traditional capitalism and socialism had emerged, combining features of both. The essential structure of private ownership was disturbed only in the area of the production and distribution of electricity, and even there only marginally. Elsewhere, the ownership of the means of production and distribution of goods and services continued in private hands. Profit remained the dominant motive. On the other hand, the federal government became the "senior partner" in the economic system, with power to intervene in the interest of stability and individual welfare. According to Mario Einaudi, who saw America with the perspective of a profound knowledge of European politics, the New Deal had found a middle way:

It demonstrated that a strong public hand did not mean exclusion of private efforts. It viewed under a fresh light the old disputes about property rights and, against the Marxist doctrine, it made clear the possibility of bringing to private property

a sense of its duty to the community at large, without interfering at all with its formal structure. Property could be chastised and yet left alive.

Shortcomings and Successes

As has been pointed out, the great failure of the New Deal was that it never pulled the country out of the depression. It moved by fits and starts, and there was some justice in the complaint of businessmen that its unpredictability made for lack of confidence. For all its genuine concern with the unfortunate, its relief efforts were spotty and sometimes unfair.

QUESTION • Under conditions like those of the 1930's, would you vote in favor of a program such as the New Deal?

Little was done, for instance, for one of the poorest and most exploited segments of the population—farm labor, es-

pecially in the South. Those who benefited most from the New Deal were those best able to exert political pressure, especially organized labor and the farm organizations. So the most powerful got the handouts rather than the most in need.

For all its shortcomings, the New Deal accomplished much. In the field of conservation, it made a determined attack on the terrible exploitation and waste of natural resources that had been characteristic of the United States from the first. Of equal importance was the conservation of human resources effected by the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Social Security Act, and the great relief agencies. Above all, the Roosevelt administration preserved faith in democratic processes at a time when democracy in the western world was on the defensive or in retreat. As the next chapter will explain in more detail, the existence of free governments in all Europe, indeed in the whole world, was threatened by the rise of the fascist dictators, Mussolini and Hitler. The 1930's saw

one country after another succumb to their agents, their allies, or their imitators. The New Deal showed that it was not necessary to sacrifice liberty to achieve economic security or effective government. Roosevelt was fully aware of the world-wide significance of what he was attempting. In 1936 he said:

In this world of ours in other lands, there are some people, who, in times past, have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy.

I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great and successful war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralization. It is more than that; it is a war for the survival of democracy. We are fighting to save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and for the world.

NEW ADVANCES

During the New Deal the federal government was only one agency of reform. Like the earlier progressive period, this was an era of reform at every level. In education the most important advance was that, although total school enrollment declined, students in high school increased by 50 per cent. This was partly because teen-agers, unable to find jobs, went to school in order to occupy themselves. Secondary education had become the rule rather than the exception—a situation which existed nowhere else in the world. Private enterprise as well as government agencies cleared slums and erected better housing. In 1938, for instance, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company started a 50-million-dollar housing project in New York City. The TVA was not alone in planning for improved use of land. The state of Ohio built the Muskingum River Project, which ended floods, prevented erosion, and de-



The political oppression in Europe in the 1920's and 1930's forced many scientists and artists to flee to the United States. A representative of this group who enriched American life was Arturo Toscanini. "Il Maestro," who led the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. Its Sunday afternoon concerts brought classical music to millions of radio listeners.

veloped recreation areas. In several industrial states there were "little New Deals"—programs of legislation designed to improve labor standards, control corporations, and extend social services.

The great strain on local government caused by the depression encouraged municipal reform. The 1930's saw a great expansion of the city-manager plan (see p. 531), which attempted to put local government into the hands of nonpolitical experts. New York City's vigorous little mayor, Fiorello H. LaGuardia, showed what could be done to free city government from corruption. Robert Moses, LaGuardia's park commissioner, made New York a better place to live in by building playgrounds, improving parks, and cleaning polluted waters.

The prolonged depression apparently did not impede technological advance. During the 1930's commercial aviation came of age. By 1940, air lines were carrying millions of travelers and had extended their services to Europe and the Far East. Industrial laboratories continued to produce new wonders. The Du Pont Corporation easily weathered the depression by manufacturing two new materials—cellophane,

which answered the need for a cheap, transparent, nonporous wrapping material; and nylon, a fabric that soon displaced silk.

Amusements, the Arts

In the field of amusement, the 1930's saw the universal introduction of the sound picture. Although Hollywood often presented a distorted or unreal picture of American life, there were more film plays of real merit than ever before. As a result of the inspired imagination of Walt Disney, the animated cartoon created a new world of fantasy, peopled with figures who gained world-wide affection—Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, and Pluto. The motion picture also gained as a means of education. Every month *The March of Time* produced a film presenting in dramatic form some important modern problem or development. The depression brought only a temporary halt to the expansion of radio, and by 1940 possession of radio sets was almost universal. This was one explanation of Roosevelt's success in winning support of the electorate when most of the press was against him. Although many radio broadcasts were designed for the lowest com-

mon denominator of intelligence, there was an increasing demand for more serious programs, such as the news analyses of commentators like Lowell Thomas and H. V. Kaltenborn, or the concerts of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, directed by Arturo Toscanini.

Artists and writers seem to find the crisis-ridden America of the 1930's more congenial than the prosperous America of the 1920's. In any case, there was a marked return to the native scene. A dominant school of painting portrayed the countryside and the life of the people, its most well-known members being Grant Wood, John Steuart Curry, and Thomas Hart Benton. The WPA art projects, especially the murals in public buildings, gave the disciples of this school such an opportunity to get their work directly before the public as had never existed before. In the field of the novel two important new writers confined themselves to the American scene: Thomas Wolfe, who fictionalized his youth in North Carolina in *Of Time and the River*, and John Steinbeck, whose best-seller *The Grapes of Wrath* told of the trek of a family of displaced tenant farmers

from Oklahoma to California. In the theatre, playwrights turned to the life around them; whether in the light-hearted musical, *Of Thee I Sing*, which spoofed the American political scene; Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*, which conjured up the day-to-day life of a New England community; or Clifford Odets' *Waiting for Lefty*, which dealt with a taxi drivers' strike.

A climax of the LaGuardia administration was the New York World's Fair of 1939-1940, the greatest exhibition of its kind in history. In a dreary area of swamp and city dumps in Flushing, Long Island, was erected a great wonderland where foreign countries, American states, and private corporations vied to erect buildings and fabulous exhibits. The most popular feature at the World's Fair was the General Motors building, where the theatrical designer Norman Bel Geddes built what he called a "Futurama." This showed "the world of tomorrow" that technical advance and intelligent planning would make possible. Even after ten years of depression and near-depression, Americans had not lost the optimistic feeling that new frontiers still lay ahead.

Activities: Chapter 27

For Mastery and Review

1. What left-wing organizations sprang up in the 1930's? Who were the leaders? What was the New Deal response? How did Roosevelt strengthen the Democratic party?

2. What were the intentions of the new relief program? For each agency, summarize its assignments and, in general, its accomplishments.

3. What were the antecedents of the Social Security Act of 1935? What did it accomplish? What flaws became apparent?

4. By what measures was federal regulation of business increased? What was the outcome of each?

5. What were the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act? What were its effects in stimulating union activities? Why was the CIO organized? What did it achieve?

6. Who were the major and minor presidential candidates in 1936? What groups supported each man? Why? Explain the presidential and congressional election results.

7. What was the attitude of the Supreme Court toward the New Deal? How did Roosevelt propose to deal with the Supreme Court? Did he win or lose?

8. What steps were taken to deal with the recession of 1937-1938? With what results?

9. What further legislation came from the New Deal? Why did the New Deal come to an end? Summarize the successes and the shortcomings of the program (parallel columns would be useful).

Who, What, and Why Important?

Dr. Francis Townsend	"court-packing" bill
Huey Long	recession
Father Coughlin	new AAA
WPA	TNEC
Social Security Act	elections of 1938
Banking Act of 1935	Muskingum River
Revenue Act of 1935	Project
Wagner Act	Fiorello LaGuardia
CIO	Grant Wood
Communist party line	Thomas Wolfe
election of 1936	Futurama

To Pursue the Matter

1. Investigate Huey Long's career, then write an essay or story entitled, "If Huey Long Had Lived."

2. Compare the interest groups that composed the Democratic party in 1936 with the party when it elected Andrew Jackson, James Buchanan, Grover Cleveland, and Woodrow Wilson. This might be illustrated with maps. Why was the New Deal able to cement an effective alliance between farmers and organized labor when the Populists failed in the 1890's?

3. How does social security work today? What people are covered and what people excluded? Who pays? How much? What benefits are rendered by the system?

4. Why did the Supreme Court, hostile to so much of the New Deal, approve the Wagner Act? Study the decision, and the annotations, of *National Labor Relations Board v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation*, 1937, in Bragdon *et al.*, *Frame of Government*, pp. 258-265.

5. The Constitution does not prescribe the number of Supreme Court justices. What has been the history of the changes in its size?

6. What is meant by the "business cycle"? Was the recession of 1937-1938 part of such a cycle? What others can you identify? Do we still have them? Why or why not?

7. Davies, *The New Deal: Interpretations*, has an excellent chapter called, "What Was the New Deal?" How far does it agree with this book?

8. Members of the class might make up a questionnaire to find out how older people of their acquaintance voted in 1932 and 1936, and their reasons. Then pool the results. Do they agree or disagree with explanations in this text?

9. Do you agree with Roosevelt's court-packing plan of 1937? If so, why? If not, why not, and what do you think he should have done? Possible sources: Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*, Chapter 15; Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval*, Part III, Chapters 24-26.

Chapter 28

The Good Neighbor and the Axis Threat

Because the people of this nation have come to a realization that time and distance no longer exist in the older sense, they understand that what harms one segment of humanity harms the rest.

—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Like his distant cousin Theodore, Franklin Roosevelt was acquainted with the world beyond the shores of the United States. He had made thirteen trips to Europe; he had firsthand knowledge of the Caribbean area; through family connections with the China trade he had acquired an interest in Asia. He resembled Theodore Roosevelt, too, in realizing that as a world power the United States had a commitment to help preserve the peace of the world. As a former associate and disciple of Woodrow Wilson, he believed in world organization to promote international cooperation and allay disputes. But when he entered the White House in 1933, Roosevelt's attention was focussed almost entirely on domestic affairs. The affairs of Europe and Asia were no immediate concern. Furthermore, the dominant mood of the country was strongly isolationist, and this mood was reflected in Congress. Even when it appeared that Europe might be conquered by Nazi Germany, a far more dangerous threat to the world than the former German empire, the overwhelming desire of the American people was to avoid another Wilsonian crusade to make the world safe for democracy. Even when

Roosevelt came to feel that the expansion of Germany was a mortal threat to the United States, his efforts to alert the United States to the danger were marked by caution and lack of candor. Only when dealing with foreign affairs in this hemisphere did he act with the directness and boldness that usually characterized his political style.

THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA

In his First Inaugural Address, Franklin Roosevelt pledged that the United States would be a "good neighbor" in the family of nations. In Latin America this pious phrase meant that the President and his Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, pursued with vigor the efforts to improve relations with our southern neighbors that Coolidge and Hoover had begun. At a Pan-American Conference at Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1933 the United States joined in over a hundred resolutions and recommendations for fostering cooperation between the countries of the Western Hemisphere. The most important of these said that "No state has the right to inter-

vene in the internal and external affairs of another." Thus the Franklin Roosevelt administration formally abandoned the right of intervention introduced by Theodore Roosevelt as a corollary of the Monroe Doctrine.

The words of this nonintervention agreement were soon translated into deeds. The United States withdrew the marines from Haiti, wrote a new treaty with Cuba which put an end to the Platt Amendment (pp. 483-484), and gave up the right to police the government of Panama. Later it abandoned control of the finances of the Dominican Republic. Even when the Mexican government took over, at a fraction of their value, oil and farming lands owned by citizens of the United States, the Roosevelt administration made only mild protests.

Pan-Americanism

In pursuing the Good Neighbor Policy, the Roosevelt administration promoted the ideal of Pan-Americanism whereby the countries of the Western Hemisphere are joined *as equals*. In 1936 a Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires, Argentina, drew up an important "Declaration of Principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Cooperation." By this statement,

QUESTION • Many Latin Americans resent the way the United States has tried to monopolize the adjective "American." What, if anything, can and should be done about it?

the American nations agreed to forego territorial conquest or the use of force in collecting debts, to refrain from interfering in the affairs of one another, and to settle

all disputes by peaceful means. What gave this real force was that the United States, by all odds the most powerful country, was willing to deny itself the privilege of dominating weaker neighbors.

The Roosevelt administration continued to treat Latin-American countries with the kind of courtesy shown by Dwight Morrow's mission to Mexico and by Hoover's trip to Latin America before his inauguration. At the Montevideo Conference, Secretary Hull broke precedent and made calls on the other delegates before they had opportunity to call on him. Henry Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, learned enough Spanish to talk to Latin Americans about their agricultural problems in their own language. Roosevelt himself attended the Buenos Aires Conference; this was only the second time a President had left the shores of the United States. Roosevelt's warmth and charm undoubtedly won friends for this country.

Closer Cultural Relations with Latin America

More important than official courtesy, and probably as important as resolutions or treaties, was the effort to advance closer cultural relations among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The cultural ties of Latin-American countries had always been with Europe, especially with Spain, France, and Portugal. People in the United States tended to dismiss Latin America as a backward area inhabited by lazy peons, guitar-playing *caballeros*, beautiful *señoritas*, and small-time dictators. Latin Americans had an equally unflattering opinion of us. Luis Quintillana thus describes the Latin-American notion of the typical *gringo* (citizen of the United States):

He is always in a hurry, pushing people around for no reason at all. His tastes are very simple: baseball, automobiles, and cocktails. When he is not chewing gum, smoking cigars, or gulping Coca-Cola, he is eating ice cream.

Intellectually, this creature, so successful in business, is rather slow and limited. . . .

The business office is the natural habitat of a *gringo*. When he works—and the poor devil must

work incessantly because "his wife spends all the money"—he always does so in shirt sleeves, propped back in a swivel chair, with feet on the desk. He seldom takes off his hat, and once seated never gets up, even to greet callers.

During the 1930's, deliberate efforts were made to correct wrong impressions and create better feelings on both sides of the Rio Grande. The Montevideo Conference provided for revision of school textbooks to eliminate misunderstandings, and the Buenos Aires Conference set up a committee to promote closer cultural relations. A division of the State Department under Nelson A. Rockefeller brought Latin-American artists, musicians, and students to the United States, and in exchange sent students and professors from the United States to learn and to teach. These activities were supplemented by local and private agencies. American public schools introduced courses and units in Latin-American history, geography, and civilization. In Hollywood the moving picture companies agreed to eliminate from films, especially from Westerns, anything that would give offense to Latin Americans. The Mexican painter José Clemente Orozco was commissioned to paint murals in the Dartmouth College Library, and the Brazilian singer Carmen Miranda took leading parts in Broadway reviews and Hollywood musicals. Magazines such as *Time* provided editions in Spanish and Portuguese for readers in Central and South America.

Although mutual ignorance and distrust were not abolished overnight, there was little doubt that the various aspects of the Good Neighbor Policy created new friendliness for the United States in the countries "south of the border." This paid dividends when the United States attempted to organize the Americas against the threat of German and Italian aggression.

RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

During Roosevelt's first years in office, the United States seemed no more disposed to pursue a policy of cooperation with European nations than when Harding and Coolidge had been in the White House. During the campaign of 1932, Roosevelt made a public statement that he no longer believed that the United States should join the League of Nations. Like Coolidge and Hoover before him, he urged American membership in the World Court, but was thwarted by the opposition of isolationist senators.

When the Hoover Moratorium on war debts and reparations ran out in November 1932, most of our former Allies refused to resume payment. Previously, German reparations had furnished them the funds with which to pay. But in the summer of 1932 reparations were cut to a small fraction of their former amount, and after Adolf Hitler gained power in Germany in 1933, they ceased entirely. Roosevelt, like his predecessors, insisted that reparations were none of our business, and that he expected the Allies to continue payment of the war debts. After 1933, however, no country except Finland paid in full. Congress responded to this by passing the Johnson Act of 1934, which forbade future loans to any nation failing to pay its debts to the United States.

Wrecking the International Economic Conference, 1933

During the first year of the New Deal, the Roosevelt Administration pursued a policy of economic isolation. Not only were NRA and AAA attempts to advance recovery within the United States without reference to the rest of the world, but the President was empowered to raise the already high rates of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff. In the summer of 1933, represent-

Boxes show major exports to U.S.
Pan American Conference site
with date of meeting.

0 500 1000 Miles

Pacific Ocean

Pacific Ocean

Atlantic



atives of 66 nations met at an International Economic Conference in London. It had been called at the urging of former President Hoover, and its purpose was to discuss measures that would promote international cooperation, such as mutual lowering of tariff barriers and stabilization of currencies. Whether or not the conference had much chance of success is debatable, but there is no doubt that Roosevelt wrecked it by publicly forbidding agreements that would peg the value of the dollar to that of any other currency. He feared that such action would hurt his efforts to raise American farm prices. His action had the unfortunate effect of increasing European dislike and distrust of the United States.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, 1934

Once the United States had achieved some measure of recovery, Roosevelt was willing to consider measures of economic cooperation with other countries. In 1934 the Democrats returned to the traditional low-tariff position of their party. An important influence in inducing Congress to abandon the policy of high protection was Secretary of State Cordell Hull. A disciple of Woodrow Wilson, Hull believed that international prosperity and good will could be promoted by reducing tariff barriers.

In 1934 Congress passed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which has been periodically renewed. This law empowered the executive department to make treaties with foreign nations providing for mutual lowering of duties on imports. By the act of 1934, the rates of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff could be reduced as much as 50 per cent in return for concessions from other countries.

This law had several practical advantages over previous attempts to lower the tariff. It prevented logrolling between congressmen and relieved the individual congressman from pressure to see that products of his home district

received protection. It also enabled the State Department to use American concessions as a lever for persuading foreign countries to open their markets to the products of the United States. Within six years of the passage of the first Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, the State Department wrote treaties with over twenty nations, covering more than 60 per cent of American foreign trade. The effects of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements are difficult to assess, but they surely did not bring the great benefits Hull predicted. On balance, however, they have tended to promote prosperity in the United States and in the world at large and have also generated good will.

Recognition of the USSR, 1933

Another change in American policy took place when the United States recognized the government of Russia in 1933. Although the Bolsheviks had ruled Russia ever since 1917, the United States had refused to grant them recognition, departing from its usual practice of recognizing any effective government, no matter how it gained power. American policy reflected two considerations: (1) the Bolsheviks refused to pay debts or individual claims incurred by previous Russian governments; (2) they preached and plotted world revolution. In 1920 they had founded the Third International, a world-wide organization whose purpose was to undermine capitalism and overthrow existing "bourgeois" governments. But with the rise of Stalin after Lenin's death in 1924, the Bolsheviks had apparently abandoned hope of inciting world revolution and instead were concentrating on the industrial development of Russia itself. By 1933 most other countries had recognized the Bolshevik government. Thus the Soviet Union seemed less of a threat to the established order. Russia's great need for industrial equipment seemed to promise a profitable market for American goods at a time



Adolf Hitler, whom many did not regard as a serious threat in the early 1930's, leads a march of his brown-shirted Nazis through a German city street. Hermann Goering, who told the Germans that they must have "guns before butter," is at his right. By 1946 most of the Nazi leaders were either dead or in prison, convicted of war crimes.

when our foreign trade had been cruelly hit by the depression. "The United States would probably recognize the Devil," remarked Will Rogers, "if it could sell him pitchforks." Japanese aggression in Manchuria provided another argument for recognizing the USSR, since the United States and Russia had a common interest in halting Japan's advance.

In 1933, therefore, the Soviet diplomat Maxim Litvinov came to Washington and arranged with Roosevelt an agreement whereby the United States recognized the Soviet Union in return for certain concessions. The Soviet government promised, for instance, to negotiate a debt settlement and to refrain from subversive activity, either directly or through its puppet, the American Communist Party. In 1934 normal diplomatic relations were resumed. The Roosevelt-Litvinov pact proved disappointing. The Russian government bought little in the United States; it never offered a debt settlement satisfactory to American negotiators; it

continued to support subversive agents in this country. On the other hand, the agreement gave the United States government a "window" in Russia and opportunity to gain valuable information concerning a country about which it was dangerous to be ignorant.

AGGRESSION, ISOLATION, APPEASEMENT

During the New Deal period, the threat of a second world war came ever closer. In Japan fanatical militarists assassinated their way to power and planned to establish domination of the Far East and the Pacific. The Italian dictator Benito Mussolini made plans to realize his dream of controlling the Mediterranean and the Near East. On March 5, 1933, the day after Roosevelt was inaugurated, the German dictator Adolf Hitler came to power, with a program that included plans for the conquest of central and eastern Europe and the acquisition of overseas colonies.

Fascism

Mussolini and Hitler preached and practiced a new political doctrine known as fascism. The fascists repudiated democracy; Mussolini called it a "rotting corpse." Instead of the idea that the government exists to preserve individual rights, they favored the "totalitarian" state which controls the total life of its people. The citizen (or rather, the subject) exists only to serve and to obey. Instead of using the democratic machinery of voluntary parties competing in free elections, the dictators imitated the Bolsheviks and set up all-powerful official parties: the Fascists in Italy and the National Socialists (Nazis) in Germany. Elections in these one-party countries were not intended as a means of selecting officials, but as a demonstration of civic loyalty. The voter was given the choice of voting "yes"—that he accepted the officials chosen for him by the party—or "no." Voting "no" was not only futile, but dangerous, since it put the individual and his family in peril of punishment for "disloyalty."

Both dictators demanded absolute obedience. Mussolini wrote, for instance, that a state must culminate in a "pinpoint"—meaning himself. Finally, both men—and here they were joined by the Japanese militarists—believed that their countries had a divine right to expand

QUESTION • If Mussolini and Hitler used high-pressure indoctrination successfully to sell fascism to their people, why not teach democracy the same way?

at the expense of neighboring peoples. The Nazis preached that the Germans were a master race of "blond beasts," with a mission to conquer Europe

and establish a "thousand-year empire." In the course of this conquest, "lesser breeds"—Poles, Ukrainians, the French—would be reduced to serfdom or slavery. The Nazis revealed new dimensions of the human capacity for evil in

their treatment of the Jews. Years later, the horrors of concentration camps, and their infamous gas extermination chambers, continued to shock the world. The "final solution of the Jewish problem" was almost reached: six million Jews perished in 1939–1945.

Conquest

By the mid-1930's, it was already evident that Italian, German, and Japanese glorification of war was no idle talk. In 1935 Mussolini climaxed years of sabre-rattling by an unprovoked attack on Ethiopia, followed by conquest and annexation of the entire country. In 1936 Japan exercised her right to withdraw from the disarmament provisions of the Treaties of Washington and London (pp. 574–577 and 602) and started to increase her navy. In 1937 Japanese armies poured into China and soon controlled the northern and central plains. Meanwhile Hitler, disregarding the Treaty of Versailles, began to build a great army, navy, and air force. Nazi agents disguised as students, tourists, and businessmen carried on subversive activity, not only throughout Europe, but even in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. An attempted Nazi takeover of Austria failed in 1934, but in March 1938, Hitler embarked on a career of aggression by annexing the Austrian republic.

Meanwhile in 1936 the two European dictators formed an alliance that became known as the "Rome-Berlin Axis." This partnership went into business together when it supported the rebellion of General Francisco Franco against the left-wing government of Spain in 1936. For almost three years, Spain was torn by bitter civil war in which Italian and German weapons and troops contributed greatly to Franco's eventual victory. Spain provided a proving ground for German and Italian tanks and bombers and a school for troops. It was obvious that Hitler and Mussolini were planning future aggression.

Neutrality Legislation, 1935–1937

The response of the majority of the American people to the Axis threat and to the possibility of a new world war was a determination not to get involved. They were disillusioned with the former great crusade to “make the world safe for democracy,” which had left only a greatly increased domestic debt and billions of dollars lost in uncollectible foreign debts. Nor had it brought a stable peace. In 1934 and 1935, a committee headed by Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota made an investigation of the munitions industry which revealed that American armament manufacturers had made large profits by supplying arms and credit to the Allies during the years 1914–1917. This led to the notion that American participation in World War I had been arranged by “merchants of death,” assisted by British propagandists. The attempt to defend neutral rights had also been a decisive element in bringing the United States to war, as it had helped to bring on the War of 1812. There was increasing feeling that Bryan had been right in 1914–1915 (see p. 553) in urging that the United States supply no arms to the belligerents, make them no loans, and abandon defense of neutral rights on the high seas. Wide acceptance of what may be called the “sucker theory” of World War I led to a great increase in pacifism, especially among young people. An expression of this attitude was a short-lived organization in colleges, the Veterans of Future Wars, which ridiculed military service and demanded their veterans’ bonus in advance.

In 1935, 1936, and 1937, Congress passed three Neutrality Acts designed to keep the United States from getting involved in wars overseas, even if this meant allowing aggression to go unchecked. The laws varied in detail, but in general they (1) put an embargo on the sale or transportation of munitions to belligerents, (2) forbade loans to nations at war

outside of this hemisphere, (3) insisted that raw materials to belligerents be paid for in advance and be carried in belligerent ships (this was called “cash and carry”), and (4) ordered American ships to stay out of war zones and American citizens to refrain from traveling on belligerent ships. When the Spanish civil war broke out, Congress with only one dissenting vote forbade shipments of war materials to either side.

Appeasement

The response of the two great European democracies, Great Britain and France, to the threat of Axis aggression was somewhat similar to that of the United States. Their people had suffered far more severely than the Americans in World War I. Like the Americans, they were disillusioned with the results of that struggle. Much as they disliked Italian, German, or Japanese expansion, they disliked the thought of war even more. Pacifism reached new heights: a majority of the students in the famous debating union at Oxford University voted that on no account would they go to war for king or country. Reflecting such sentiments, the British and French governments pursued a policy known as “appeasement.” This consisted in making concessions to the aggressor nations in the hope of satisfying their demand for “room to live.” It reached its height at the Munich Conference of September 1938, when British and French statesmen allowed Germany to annex part of Czechoslovakia in return for Hitler’s promise to make no further demands.

The appeasement policies of France and Britain, combined with the American neutrality laws, confirmed the Axis powers in their opinion that they had nothing to fear from the “decadent,” “soft,” peace-loving democracies. Italy followed up the conquest of Ethiopia with the annexation of Albania in 1939. Hitler soon

broke his solemn promise at Munich and swallowed up the rest of Czechoslovakia.

Roosevelt Overborne by Isolationist Sentiment

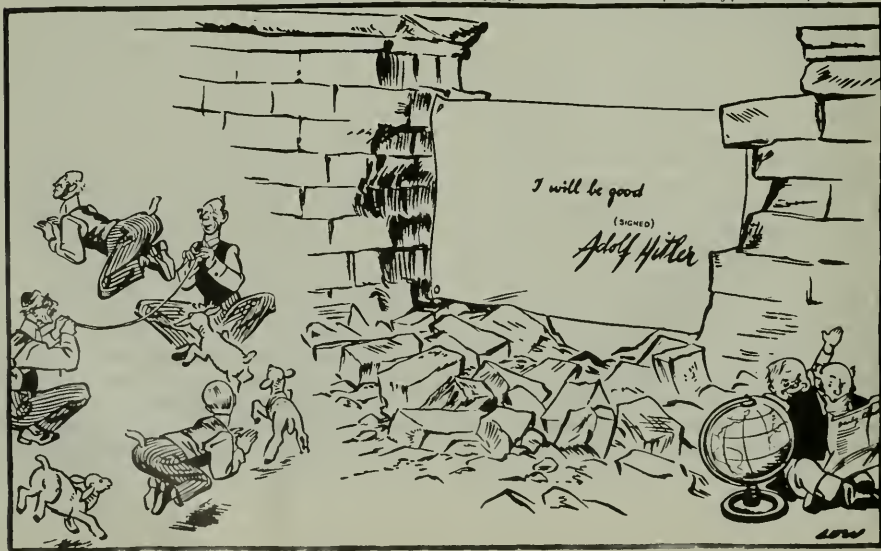
Roosevelt had signed the Neutrality Acts without protest, although he would have preferred to have been allowed some discretion in distinguishing between aggressors and their victims. Secret information revealed that the Axis powers were bent on war. American isolation simply reinforced the Anglo-French appeasement policies. The President became convinced that "storm cellar neutrality" was more dangerous than resistance to the dictators. (In England Winston Churchill reached the same opinion, but he was not in office.) Roosevelt first showed his hand in a speech delivered at Chicago in October 1937. He warned his audi-

ence that if aggression continued unchecked, there was no reason to suppose the Western Hemisphere and America would be spared. He suggested that the United States should help to cure "the epidemic of world lawlessness" by joining with other powers to "quarantine" aggressors.

Just what the President meant by his "quarantine" speech was never clear because public opinion forced him to abandon for a time any attempt to organize collective action against the aggressors. Two months later Japanese planes bombed and sank the United States gunboat *Panay* on a Chinese river. It was an attack as deliberate as the British assault on the *Chesapeake* in 1807, infinitely worse than the sinking of the *Maine*, but American opinion remained unmoved. The majority of those questioned by a Gallup poll a week after the *Panay* was at-

"England's new defense" satirizes the appeasement policy of British Minister Neville Chamberlain. Chamberlain is shown here with Sir John Simon, British Foreign Minister, and Lord Halifax, putting his trust in Hitler's worthless promises.

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tacked thought that the United States should withdraw from China entirely. The principal effect of the *Panay* crisis was to speed congressional action on the so-called Ludlow Resolution, which would have provided that the United States, unless actually invaded, could declare war only after a popular referendum. The resolution was opposed by the President, who sent a strongly worded message to Congress saying that it would cripple his conduct of foreign relations and encourage other nations to violate American rights with impunity. Nevertheless, it was voted down in the House of Representatives by a margin of only 21 votes, 209-188.

By 1939 Japan controlled the richest areas of China, and the Chinese government had been driven back into the hinterland. President Roosevelt found means of getting some supplies to the Chinese, in spite of the Neutrality Act, because of the technicality that the Japanese had not declared war when they invaded China. But materials went in vast amounts from the United States to Japan—including 90 per cent of the copper and metal scrap used to feed its war machine—because the Japanese, with a large merchant marine and far more money, could “cash and carry.” That the militarists planned further conquest was seen when, in 1939, Japan seized the Spratley Islands in the South China Sea, only 400 miles from the Philippines.

In the spring of 1939, German annexation of Czechoslovakia revealed that Hitler was bent on unlimited conquest. France and Great Britain at last decided that appeasement had failed and that Hitler must be stopped, by arms if necessary. Yet Congress refused to lift the arms embargo so that the two great democracies could buy weapons to arm themselves against the Nazis. It was small wonder that when, in April 1939, Roosevelt attempted to extract from Mussolini and Hitler a promise not to attack 31 countries, the dictators answered him with

ridicule. They had nothing to fear, they thought, from the isolationist, peace-loving American republic.

Organizing the Western Hemisphere Against the Axis

Only in the Western Hemisphere did Roosevelt have any success in getting nations to cooperate against possible Axis aggression. Several Latin-American countries contained large German and Italian minorities. Among them appeared organizations to spread the anti-democratic doctrines of fascism and prepare the way for Axis penetration of South America. German “tourists” and “commercial agents” appeared in such numbers that it was hard to believe they were interested merely in natural beauties or business opportunities. The Nazi government also bought South American air lines and manned them with German pilots. Since these lines ran at a loss, it was suspected that their purpose was military rather than commercial.

At the 1938 Pan-American Conference in Lima, Peru, Cordell Hull attempted to line up the Latin-American countries against the Axis. The Declaration of Lima, which came out of this meeting, proclaimed that the American republics were bound together in “continental solidarity.” It said that the nations composing the Pan American Union would collaborate “against all foreign intervention or activity.” On the face of it this was a victory for “Pan-Americanism,” the idea that all American states, large and small, work together. It also appeared that at last the Monroe Doctrine was made “multilateral” rather than “unilateral”—that is, it was no longer a case of the United States defending Latin America for its own self-interest, but instead a case in which the United States joined with its sister republics to the south in common defense. There was no machinery, however, to force Pan-American cooperation. The resounding phrases of the Lima Declaration revealed that Latin Americans had lost some distrust of

the United States and feared European aggression. But the United States was still free to act as it pleased in defense of its own self-interest; it was still a "colossus," although a more friendly one than in the days when Theodore Roosevelt chastised Caribbean republics for "misdoing."

The Declaration of Lima was followed up by positive help to Latin-American governments that wanted to reduce Nazi influence. Thus the State Department helped Colombia to buy out a German air line that operated within easy striking distance of the Panama Canal. The War and Navy departments also worked out

better means of defending the Americas and of lending assistance to any Latin-American nation that requested arms or military advice.

Relations with Canada

The Good Neighbor Policy was applied to Canada. In 1931 Canada had become a fully independent nation, tied to Great Britain by sentiment and traditional loyalty to the British crown. This opened the way for more direct cooperation between Canada and the United States, which faced each other across the longest unfortified boundary in the world. Both Hoover and Roosevelt favored the St. Lawrence

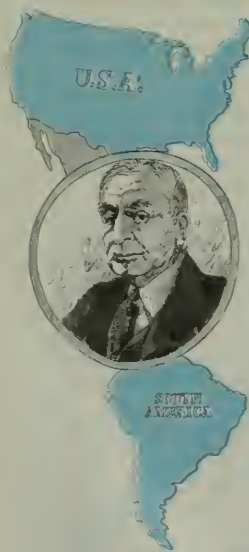
Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

A member of Franklin Roosevelt's wartime cabinet once commented wryly, "The President rarely remembered that he was not his own Secretary of State." Nevertheless, Cordell Hull, Secretary of State from 1933 to 1944, was far from a "yes man."

Hull received his appointment because of domestic political considerations. He had been in Congress for over a quarter of a century and was an expert on fiscal policy. He had been chairman of the National Democratic Committee. Thus he was fitted to act as a liaison between the President and Congress and between rival Democratic factions. But Hull had no special qualifications that fitted him to head the State Department, except that with his fine head, courtly manners, and dignity, the white-haired Tennessean looked the very model of a wise elder statesman. He was totally lacking in diplomatic training and knew no foreign language. Furthermore, he served a chief who often took important actions in foreign policy without consulting him. Such were the frustrations of his position that in private Hull occasionally burst into the picturesque profanity he had learned when driving mules as a boy.

During most of World War II, Hull played a secondary role, but as hostilities drew to a close, he busied himself with preparations for a new world order. Here his long acquaintance with the men on Capitol Hill stood him in good stead. He worked closely with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in drawing up plans for the entrance of the United States into the postwar United Nations. He was careful not to repeat Wilson's mistake of 1919 in making peace terms a partisan matter. Instead, he sought and gained the cooperation of Republican leaders. He must therefore be regarded as one of the architects of the bipartisan foreign policy which became a remarkable feature of American politics during the administration of Harry S. Truman.

(Theme 10, see p. xii)



Seaway project, whereby the United States and Canada would jointly build a great waterway which would enable ocean-going ships to enter the Great Lakes and would produce hydroelectric power for both countries.

When the Seaway Treaty came before the United States Senate in 1934, however, it failed to be ratified. Nevertheless, Canada and the United States were already cooperating, through "joint commissions" in many matters of common interest, such as offshore fisheries, protection of wildlife, and navigation of the Great Lakes. Canadian disappointment at the failure of plans for the Seaway was somewhat reduced when, in 1936, the United States arranged a Reciprocal Trade Agreement that opened our markets to Canadian products. A private agency that improved relations was the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In 1935 it started a series of conferences to improve understanding. Attended by scholars, journalists, and statesmen, these meetings proposed several practical ways of breaking down the barriers of ignorance and misunderstanding.

When the shadow of Hitler's ambition began to touch the Americas, Roosevelt assured Canada that it enjoyed the protection of the Monroe Doctrine. While on a visit to Kingston, Ontario, in 1938, the President promised that "the people of the United States will not stand idly by" should Canadian soil be threatened by foreign invasion.

EUROPE AT WAR AGAIN

The nightmare that haunted Hitler in planning his career of conquest was the fear of having to fight a two-front war such as Germany had waged in World War I. The Nazi dictator scored one of the great diplomatic victories of modern times when, in August 1939, he removed the danger from the east by making a

nonaggression treaty with the USSR. This cleared the way for a Nazi attack on Poland.

Ever since the Treaty of Versailles, Germans had denounced the arrangements that granted Poland a "corridor" to the Baltic Sea, cutting Germany in two, and which put the German city of Danzig under control of the League of Nations. Late in August 1939, Hitler demanded that Danzig be reunited with Germany and that Poland grant Germany the right to build a road across the corridor. He accused Poland of atrocities against its citizens of German ancestry. On August 31 he delivered an ultimatum and, before the Polish government had time to reply, sent his armies into Poland without declaring war.

Conquest of Poland: "Blitzkrieg"

Poland was a country almost the size of France; its army was large; its people were patriotic. The Poles expected to hold out at least until winter, when "General Mud" would come to their aid and slow up the invaders. Long before winter set in, however, the German armies won a complete victory. They moved so fast, in fact, that they created a new word—*blitzkrieg*, meaning "lightning war." As German armored divisions cut behind the Polish defenders in a series of pincer movements, the German air force ruthlessly bombed not only Polish cities but also refugees fleeing the war zones. This was a deliberate attempt to terrorize the civilian population. Within three weeks Warsaw, the Polish capital, had fallen, and in little more than a month the Nazis were totally victorious. Meanwhile Russia, as part of its bargain with Hitler, seized eastern Poland.

Two days after Hitler's armies invaded Poland, Great Britain and France, abandoning appeasement at last, declared war on Germany. The British and French were unable, however, to aid the Poles. They had neither enough land forces to invade Germany, nor enough bombers



The Axis: Early Victories

By June 1940 the Axis was in control of most of Europe. Here the Wehrmacht marches victoriously through the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. A few weeks earlier the British army had been trapped on a narrow beach at Dunkirk. A strange assortment of small boats heroically crossed and recrossed the Channel under ceaseless fire of the Luftwaffe, bringing 335,000 soldiers home to safety.



to attack from the air. Their only possible move was to blockade Germany by sea.

Lifting the Arms Embargo, November 1939

The Nazi blitzkrieg against Poland confirmed the American people both in their intense dislike of Hitler and in their determination to keep out of war. Roosevelt accurately reflected this mood when he issued a public declaration calling on Americans to be neutral in deed, even though he could not ask them to be neutral in thought. After war broke out, it was apparent that American neutrality legislation favored Germany. The embargo on sale of arms or munitions to the warring powers prevented Great Britain and France from using their command of the sea to obtain arms. The German government, which had put "guns before butter" for several years, had little need to import weapons. Roosevelt's sympathies, like those of the majority of Americans, were so strongly with the Allies that in September 1939, he urged Congress to repeal the arms embargo. There was bitter opposition to this measure, and congressmen were bombarded with thousands of telegrams imploring them to "keep America out of the blood business." After six weeks of impassioned debate Congress followed the President's recommendations. France and Britain could now get arms from the United States as long as they could pay cash and supply the ships. Other features of the neutrality legislation were retained and even strengthened, such as the ban on sending United States shipping into war zones.

Russian Attack on Finland

The collapse of Poland in September 1939 was followed by a curious lull in hostilities, nicknamed the "phony war" or "sitzkrieg." Great Britain and France, desperately attempting to rearm, made no offensive move against

Germany. Hitler was equally quiet. The only major event to disturb the calm was a war between Russia and Finland. After the USSR occupied eastern Poland in September 1939, it also asked "permission" to occupy all or part of the four countries that lie along the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea—Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland. The governments of all the states but Finland thought it hopeless to refuse Russian demands and allowed Soviet troops to move in and "protect" them.

But Finland, blessed with better natural defenses and inspired by a long history of resistance to Russian aggression, refused to give in. On November 30, five Russian armies attacked Finland. All were defeated. For over three months the Finns carried on a heroic defense that won the intense sympathy of the people of the Western democracies. Nowhere was this sympathy more intense than in the United States, but the determination to keep out of hostilities was equally strong. The only gesture that Congress was willing to make in support of Finland was to vote \$30,000,000 for non-military supplies. Forced to fight alone against a power that had fifty times as many troops, Finland surrendered in March 1940.

Germany Sweeps On

The "phony war" came to an end in the spring of 1940 with a series of Nazi attacks that were even more surprisingly successful and more terrifying than the blitzkrieg against Poland. On April 9, Hitler sent his forces northward against Denmark and Norway, again without declaration of war. Denmark surrendered at once, since its situation was clearly hopeless. The Norwegians, who had more chance to defend themselves because of the rugged terrain of their country, were at first too stunned by the suddenness and ruthlessness of the attack to put up much resistance. The Norwegians fought bravely, but resistance was crushed and

two British landings in the north at Trondheim and Narvik were repulsed. What made the conquest of Norway even more frightening was the report—now known to be exaggerated—that the Norwegian defeat had been arranged beforehand by Nazi agents in the Norwegian army under the direction of Vidkun Quisling. So now “quisling” was added to “blitzkrieg” as the symbol of a new and diabolical Nazi tactic.

Even before the Norwegian campaign was complete, Hitler struck again and once more revealed novel and fearful tactics. On May 9, 1940, he attacked the Netherlands and Belgium simultaneously. In spite of opening the dikes, and of desperate resistance in the course of which a quarter of the Dutch army was killed or wounded, Holland was forced to surrender in five days. In the course of the fighting, Nazi bombers destroyed the defenseless city of Rotterdam. Belgium surrendered in eighteen days; the Belgian fortress of Eben Emael, considered impregnable, was taken in a few hours by a handful of gliderborne soldiers, who suffered very few casualties.

In Belgium, the Nazis finally collided with major British and French forces. To the amazement and horror of the free world, the Nazi blitzkrieg was as effective against them as against the Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, and Belgians. German armored divisions first cut through to the sea, driving a wedge between the British and main French armies. After Belgium suddenly surrendered on May 28, a force of over 300,000 men, two-thirds British, was trapped at Dunkirk on the French side of the English Channel. By mobilizing planes, warships, and an amazing armada of over 600 private craft ranging from tugs to private yachts, Britain managed to perform the “miracle of Dunkirk” and evacuate 90 per cent of its army. But the evacuation was only a moral victory, as vast amounts of supplies and arms were left behind.

The Fall of France, June 1940

After Dunkirk, the German armies turned south and east and in three weeks had overrun more than half of France. The French surrendered on June 22, 1940. By the terms of the armistice, Germany kept over a million prisoners of war as hostages, and occupied nearly two-thirds of France, including Paris. The rest of the country was ruled by an authoritarian government under Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain. Once the heroic defender of Verdun in World War I, Pétain was now willing to collaborate with Hitler. General Charles de Gaulle, however, organized the “Free French” movement, which enlisted Frenchmen overseas and organized resistance in France.

Meanwhile Hitler's ally, Mussolini, had entered the war. When it was clear that France had been defeated, the Italian dictator announced that he was coming to the aid of his German allies, and Fascist troops invaded France in mid-June. On the day of the attack President Roosevelt, speaking at Charlottesville, Virginia, remarked, “On this 10 day of June, 1940, the hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor.”

Once France was knocked out of the war, Nazi soldiers sang a new song, “We sail against England.” Britain was clearly marked as Hitler's next victim. Her army was far smaller than that of Germany and had been stripped of its equipment in the French disaster. All southern England was within easy range of the superior German air force. It would be a matter of hours for German transports to cross the Channel.

Threat to the United States

The fall of France and the threat to Britain shook many Americans out of the comfortable feeling that events outside the Western Hemisphere were none of our affair. The possibility that Hitler and Mussolini might add the French and British fleets to their own suddenly



Nationwide debate over aid to Britain in 1940 evoked the talents of William Allen White (right), editor of the widely-circulated *Emporia Gazette*. White headed a pro-intervention citizens' group, which argued that adherence to traditional isolationism could only postpone U.S. confrontation with the forces of Hitler.

made the Atlantic Ocean seem narrower. If Hitler conquered Britain, the United States might have to fight the Axis powers without a single powerful ally.

An immediate effect of the disastrous situation in Europe was a speed-up in American rearmament. Up to now Congress had been reluctant to heed Roosevelt's warnings that the United States must greatly expand its military force, especially airplanes. But between June and September 1940, it appropriated thirteen billion dollars for defense and voted to raise taxes, even though it was an election year. To mobilize industry, finance, and labor, the President created a seven-man National Defense Advisory Commission. A National Defense Research Committee enlisted American scientists in a race against time to overcome the lead the Germans had gained in military technology.

An even more drastic step toward total defense was the passage of the Selective Service

Act in September 1940. Under the operation of this first peacetime draft in the history of the United States, 800,000 young men were immediately conscripted into the army for a year of military service.

Debate over Foreign Policy

The fall of France and the Battle of Britain triggered an impassioned debate over foreign policy. On one side were the interventionists who favored aid to all who fought the Axis. Opposing them were the isolationists, or non-interventionists as they preferred to be called, who insisted that the United States should limit itself to defense of the Western Hemisphere.

The interventionists formed a national organization, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. At its head was the veteran Republican editor, William Allen White, who, in June 1940, explained the practical argument for intervention:

If we do not help the allies, if we turn our backs on them, they will see no reason for helping us by giving us their fleets . . . if these fleets go to Hitler, he will have power to take British possessions in the West Indies. These islands control the Panama Canal . . . He will not move without the British or French fleets. But he will move in then, and war will be certain.

The interventionists furthermore maintained that the defeat of Nazism was necessary to save Europe from a return to the Dark Ages when barbarian conquerors all but destroyed western civilization.

Those who opposed intervention included a few frankly pro-fascist spokesmen and many who had no love for Great Britain. It included others who believed that fascism, for all its ugliness, was the "wave of the future" and therefore certain to win. Most non-interventionists, however, simply took the traditional line

that Europe's quarrels were no business of the United States and that it was dangerous for us

QUESTION • *At what exact point, in your opinion, did the United States abandon neutrality?*

to meddle in them. They organized a national organization, the America First Committee.

Their most prominent spokesman was Charles A. Lindbergh, whose solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927 had made him a national idol. Lindbergh, who had inspected the German air force, argued that Hitler was unbeatable and that he was a threat to the United States only if we unwisely stripped our defenses to aid Britain. Senator Arthur Vandenberg said that aid to the Allies meant war. "You cannot," he said, "become the arsenal of one belligerent without becoming the target of the others."

Activities: Chapter 28

For Mastery and Review

1. What were the principal features of the Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America as evolved by Franklin Roosevelt and Cordell Hull? Consider both general principles and specific actions that evolved from them.

2. How did early New Deal policies toward Europe reflect economic isolationism? Why was the Johnson Act passed? What change of policy was reflected in the International Trade Agreements? Assess their results.

3. Why did the United States not recognize the Bolshevik government of Russia before 1933? Why was recognition then arranged? With what success?

4. What are the principal features of fascism? What nations composed the Axis, and why were they a threat to the peace of the world and to civilization?

5. What sentiment was behind the Neutrality Acts? What were their terms? What was Roosevelt's position? Why did Great Britain and France adopt a policy of appeasement? With what results?

6. How did Axis aggression threaten Latin America? What was the Declaration of Lima? Describe United States-Canadian relations in the 1930's. What was the Declaration of Panama, and what did it accomplish?

7. Trace the course of war in Europe in 1939 and 1940, and the influence of events on American public opinion.

Unrolling the Map

1. On an outline map of the Western Hemisphere, locate the Latin-American nations. Locate also the sites of important conferences: Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Lima, Panama. Indicate the leading United States imports from Latin America.

2. Locate the countries of Europe as they were in 1938. Locate the Rhineland, Sudetenland, Memel, Danzig, and the Polish Corridor. On the basis of this map, discuss the Axis program of conquest.

Who, What, and Why Important?

Good Neighbor Policy	Neutrality Acts
Montevideo Conference	appeasement
Cordell Hull	quarantine of aggressors
Nelson Rockefeller	<i>Panay</i>
Buenos Aires Conference	Declaration of Lima
Johnson Act	St. Lawrence Seaway
London Economic Conference	blitzkrieg
Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act	"phony war"
Roosevelt-Litvinov Pact	Finland
fascism	Dunkirk
Nazis	Selective Service Act
Axis	Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies
Nye investigation	America First Committee
Veterans of Future Wars	tee

To Pursue the Matter

1. What was the interrelationship between reparations, war debts, and high tariffs? Are the Reciprocal Trade Agreements a permanent solution to the tariff controversies that used to be charac-

teristic of American politics and to the question of America's position in world trade?

2. "The Monroe Doctrine is a one-sided statement of the interests of the United States and has always been interpreted as such." Did the Good Neighbor Policy refute this judgment? See Perkins, *The United States and Latin America*, or the chapter on the Good Neighbor Policy in Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.

3. What are the differences between communism and fascism? Consult Lee *et al.*, *Contemporary Social Issues*, problem 5.

4. Could Hitler have been stopped before embarking on his career of conquest? Could Roosevelt have done anything to help France and Britain stand up to the Axis? See Divine, *The Reluctant Belligerent*, and Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*.

5. What accounted for the extraordinary military successes of the Nazis in 1939 and 1940? See any history of World War II, such as Davis, *Experience of War: The United States in World War II*.

6. Should the United States have stood up to Japan earlier? Possible sources: Feis, *The Road to Pearl Harbor*, and Divine, *The Reluctant Belligerent*.

7. For a contemporary account of "The Miracle of Dunkirk" see Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*. What would have been the effect on America and on Europe had Great Britain been conquered by Germany in 1940?

Chapter 29

The Second World War

*The New World, with all its power and might, steps forth
to the rescue and liberation of the Old.*

—WINSTON CHURCHILL

When France fell, President Roosevelt ranged himself clearly on the side of intervention. In the speech at Charlottesville in which he damned Mussolini's attack on France, he said it was a "delusion" to believe that the United States could become "a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force." He pledged that America would send to the foes of fascism "the material resources of this nation." In the summer of 1940 this meant that the United States would furnish aid to Britain.

THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN

In mid-July, less than three weeks after France surrendered, the Battle of Britain began in earnest. Nazi bombers attacked southern England to prepare the way for invasion by German armies across the English Channel. The troops defending Britain had been largely stripped of equipment in escaping from France; some Home Guard units were armed only with pitchforks and shotguns. England seemed doomed to go the way of Poland and France. But in her dark hour she had found a great leader, Winston Churchill. Offering his people only "blood, tears, sweat, and toil," Churchill

pledged that Britain would resist to the uttermost.

... we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing-grounds, we shall fight on the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island, or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and liberation of the Old.

To Roosevelt, America's first line of defense was now the English Channel. In the summer of 1940 he overruled the advice of some of his military advisers and "scraped the bottom of the barrel" to send American rifles, machine guns, and artillery to Great Britain.

In addition to the threat of invasion, Britain faced starvation. Nazi submarines in the Atlantic had greater cruising range than the U-boats of World War I. They hunted in "wolf packs," making it harder for merchant ships, once sighted, to escape. By midsummer, 1940, British ships were being sunk at a rate nearly four

times as fast as new ships could be launched. Already half the ships in the British fleet had been damaged or sunk. In this crisis, Churchill and Roosevelt arranged an extraordinary deal. On September 2, the President announced that he had given Britain fifty overage destroyers and had received in exchange, by gift or 99-year lease, sites for eight naval and air bases extending from Newfoundland to British Guiana (see map, p. 653). It was evidence of his country's desperate plight that Churchill was willing to make a bargain so favorable to the United States.

The destroyer deal was an act of war against Germany on the part of the United States, yet the majority of Americans supported the measure as an act of self-defense. And the British justified Roosevelt's confidence. Londoners stood up under daily bombing by hundreds of planes with calm and even cheerful courage. In the sky a handful of British fighter pilots inflicted such heavy losses on the German air force that the Nazi plan to invade England, "Operation Sea Lion," was abandoned. "Never in the field of human conflict," said Churchill, "was so much owed by so many to so few."

Protection of the Western Hemisphere

Hitler's victories aroused fear that the Nazis might take over the American colonies of conquered countries in the Western Hemisphere. The most important of these were Dutch Guiana, the French and Dutch West Indies, and the Danish colony of Greenland (see map, p. 756). A Pan-American Congress at Havana, Cuba, in July 1940, dealt with this threat. It drew up the Act of Havana which forbade the transfer of colonies from one non-American nation to another. If there was danger of such a change of control, or if a colony proved unable to govern itself, it might be taken over by "trustees" representing the twenty-one American republics. An individual American nation



These ships were among the fifty sent Britain according to the "destroyer deal" of 1940. The Lend-Lease Act of 1941 provided for much greater aid to the Allies, on terms which "would promote the safety of the United States."

(meaning the United States) was empowered to take emergency action if necessary. The Act of Havana provided evidence that the Monroe Doctrine might evolve toward multilateral cooperation of all the American republics rather than unilateral action by the United States.

THE ELECTION OF 1940

The issue of intervention cut across party lines. Many Democrats who favored Roosevelt's domestic politics were isolationists, while many anti-New Deal Republicans favored all-out aid to Britain. In a gesture designed to put foreign

policy above politics, Roosevelt appointed two Republican interventionists to his cabinet in June, 1940. Frank Knox, Republican vice-presidential candidate in 1936, became Secretary of the Navy, and Henry L. Stimson, who had served in the cabinets of Taft and Hoover, became Secretary of War.

As the presidential election of 1940 approached, the battle between interventionists and isolationists was fought out in both major parties. In June the Republicans nominated a newcomer to politics, Wendell L. Willkie. A successful businessman, Willkie had won fame for his intelligent criticism of New Deal policies, and admiration, even from those who disagreed with him, for his forthright and attractive personality. Since he was sympathetic with the aims of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, his nomination was a victory for the interventionists.

The great question on the eve of the Democratic convention was whether Roosevelt would break the precedent that went back to Washington and Jefferson and seek a third term. If war had not broken out, he probably would not have run; his party indeed might have refused to nominate him. But in the face of the Nazi menace he felt his experience was needed, although he refused to say whether he would run until the Democrats actually met in convention. He then announced that he was willing to accept the presidential nomination if he were drafted. He was renominated with only scattered opposition.

In the ensuing campaign, the great issue before the country—abandoning neutrality to aid Britain—received surprisingly little attention, because both candidates were on the same side. Roosevelt even informed Willkie in advance about the destroyer deal. Yet Willkie carried on a vigorous campaign. He attacked the abandonment of the two-term tradition, accused Roosevelt of thinking himself indispensable, and

pointed out the failure of the New Deal to end unemployment. Roosevelt attempted to keep aloof from obvious campaigning, but he was drawn into the battle when Willkie began

QUESTION • Would you have favored the interventionists in 1940 or have been on the side of the isolationists?

to predict that Roosevelt's reelection would mean war. If the President's promise to keep Amer-

ican boys out of foreign war, he said, were no better than his promise to balance the budget, "they're already almost on the transports." Roosevelt's response, delivered in a speech in Boston, was one that later hurt him: "I have said before, but I shall say it again and again and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." The President surely did not intend or want to send American troops abroad, but if this country were attacked, there might be no choice.

In November, Roosevelt was re-elected, even though Willkie polled the largest Republican vote up to that time. In a world in crisis the majority of the American people were unwilling to gamble on a change in leadership.

Lend-Lease Act, March 1941

At the end of 1940 it appeared that England would survive the Nazi threat, and Churchill even began to talk of victory. "Give us the tools," he said, "and we will finish the job." But the British government was running desperately short of funds to pay for the tools. To meet this situation President Roosevelt proposed late in December 1940, that the United States become "the great arsenal of democracy." America must, he said, furnish arms to Hitler's enemies on the same principle that a man lends "a length of garden hose" when his neighbor's house is on fire.

The President's recommendation touched off two months of furious debate. Senator Burton

A. Wheeler of Montana called it "the New Deal's Triple A, for it will plow under every fourth American boy." But Wendell Willkie helped to remove the so-called Lend-Lease bill from partisanship by coming to its support, and public opinion was strongly in its favor. In March 1941, it was enacted into law by large majorities in both houses of Congress. The President was empowered to send American supplies and weapons to foreign nations on whatever terms he thought would promote the safety of the United States. The only limitations were that Congress had to appropriate the money and that the President had to consult with both the army chief of staff and the chief of naval operations.

Battle of the Atlantic

It was one thing to vote funds for lend-lease and another to get goods across the Atlantic in time to help. When Hitler attacked Yugoslavia and Greece in the spring of 1941, lend-lease aid was promised, but the Nazis overran these countries before it could reach them. While German bombers had failed to knock out Britain, German submarines might still starve her into submission. In trying to see that lend-lease supplies reached their destination, the United States was drawn step by step into the critical battle of the Atlantic.

By agreement with the Danish minister in Washington, the United States temporarily took over Greenland in April 1941, partly to prevent its use as a weather station by the Nazis. The same month American naval vessels, patrolling the western Atlantic, began to "trail" Axis submarines, but not attack them. In July, United States marines occupied Iceland to help protect the "bridge of ships" to Britain. By September, after Nazi submarines had sunk American merchant vessels without providing for the safety of crews or passengers, American naval vessels began to convoy ships as far as Iceland. In Oc-

tober, two American destroyers on convoy duty were torpedoed; one of them, the *Reuben James*, was sunk. Congress in November abandoned the last important provision of the neutrality laws by voting to allow American merchant ships to enter combat zones. These ships were armed, and their guns manned with navy crews.

To try to keep the Nazi menace from its shores, the United States had become engaged in a "shooting war." This was, however, a limited war: the United States sent arms to the enemies of Hitler and used force to guarantee their delivery, but it sent no troops. Public opinion polls revealed again and again that the American people wanted to defeat the Axis and at the same time keep our young men from foreign battlefields. This attitude was strikingly illustrated when in the summer of 1941 the President recommended that the Selective Service Act be continued for eighteen months. The law passed the House by only a single vote, 203-202, and the extension was limited to six months.

Japanese Aggression in the Far East

While the attention of the American public was focused on the Atlantic and Europe, events were taking place in the Pacific and Asia that eventually plunged the United States into total war.

The war in Europe had presented Japanese war leaders with a golden opportunity for conquest. The four European powers with the greatest stakes in the Far East were France, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and Russia. France and the Netherlands had been conquered by Hitler in 1940, and Great Britain was wholly involved with resisting the Nazis. Japan signed a five-year neutrality pact with Russia in April 1941, and Hitler's armies invaded Russia in June. Already in control of most of China, Japanese forces occupied French Indochina in

1940 and 1941. They were poised to strike the Philippines, Malaya, Burma, and the Dutch East Indies. It was an area containing in abundance raw materials needed by Japan's growing population and expanding industry: rice, rubber, tin, zinc, and petroleum. The only barrier remaining was the United States. In accordance with the Stimson Doctrine, the United States had refused to recognize the Japanese conquest of Manchuria because it violated both the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922 and the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact. The United States had protested the Japanese invasion of China as violations of these treaties.

In September 1940, Japan formally entered into alliance with the Axis powers, Germany and Italy. Thus resistance to aggression in Europe and Asia became part of the same struggle. Understandably, United States policy toward the Japanese stiffened. It hardly made sense to provide vital war materials both to Hitler's enemy, Britain, and his ally, Japan. The federal government first cut down exports of vital war materials, such as aviation gasoline. Then in July 1941, the Japanese were denied the use of their credit to make purchases in the United States. In August an American lend-lease mission was sent to China. On the other hand, Secretary Hull attempted month after month to persuade the Japanese to abandon their career of conquest. He baited his arguments by offering wider commercial opportunities in the United States. The Japanese diplomats who conferred with Hull assured him that they in turn would like to arrange a peaceful settlement with the United States. But they never offered to abandon Japanese conquests in Manchuria and China.

In November 1941, the Japanese government still seemed interested in peace, since it sent a special envoy to Washington to arrange a Far East settlement. But the militarists who dominated Japan had already decided to attack the United States without a declaration of war.

Attack on Pearl Harbor

The Roosevelt administration had secret information of the possibility of new Japanese aggression, but expected it to be in the direction of the East Indies. The military authorities had been alerted to the possibility of efforts to cripple the Pearl Harbor naval base, but they expected sabotage rather than a military attack. And on the morning of December 7, 1941, the average American had no intimation that a sudden change was to take place in his life. In recalling the mood of that Sunday morning, Jonathan Daniels wrote:

The Matson Line was advertising vacation cruises to Hawaii. The upswept hair-do was receiving early attention. Traffic accidents in the country were already up sixteen per cent above . . . 1940. John L. Lewis was about to win a decision in his contention that miners in the captive mines of the steel companies must join his United Mine Workers of America. A New York gambling house had been raided. . . .

President Roosevelt, suffering from a slight cold, had just had lunch in his bedroom in the White House when he received a telephone call from Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy. A wire had just been received from Hawaii:

AIR RAID ON PEARL HARBOR
THIS IS NO DRILL

GLOBAL WARFARE

Soon after it reached the White House, news of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was broadcast to the American people. Many will never forget hearing newscasters breaking in on symphony concerts, football games, and children's programs to tell of the awful event. The next day the President asked Congress to accept the "state of war" that Japan's "unprovoked and dastardly attack" had "thrust upon the United States." Congress declared war with only one opposing vote. Three days later, Ger-



When the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor, besides inflicting heavy losses in human life, they burned 164 American planes. America recovered from that blow to line up as many as 1,000 superfortresses at its base on Guam, within easy striking distance of Japan.

many and Italy declared war on the United States; Congress again accepted the challenge, this time without dissent.

Although a brilliant military feat, the attack on Pearl Harbor eventually proved to be a colossal blunder on the part of the Japanese. To be sure, it cleared the way for an easy conquest of the Philippines and the East Indies by crippling the American naval forces in the Pacific. But the unprovoked attack united the American people as almost nothing else could have done. In their anger they forgot the bitter partisan quarrels over foreign policies and thought only how to best win a war that no one had wanted.

Axis Victories

However determined to defeat the Axis the American people may have been, the immediate outlook was bleak. For six months the Japanese carried all before them. They took American outposts at Guam and Wake Island, easily conquered the British colony of Hong Kong, and overran the independent Kingdom of Thailand. In February 1942, the great British fortress

of Singapore, designed to resist attack by sea, fell before a land attack from the Malay Peninsula. In April came the surrender of the heroic United States-Filipino force that had been holding out on the peninsula of Bataan west of Manila in the Philippines. Under orders from President Roosevelt, General Douglas MacArthur, the commander at Bataan, was sent to organize the defense of Australia. "I shall return," he vowed.

Meanwhile, the Japanese occupied most of Burma and the East Indies. In the extreme north, they seized Kiska and Attu, two of the Aleutian Islands. The total population of the areas occupied by Japan in mid-1942 was over 600 million. If the Japanese war lords could have held out, they would have ruled the most populous empire the world had ever seen.

The year 1941 had been a victorious one for the Axis in Europe and North Africa. In March and again in June, General Rommel, "the Desert Fox," commanding an Italian-German force, launched drives toward the Suez Canal that pushed the British to the borders

of Egypt. In April Nazi armies overran Yugoslavia and Greece in three weeks. In May the Nazis staged the first airborne invasion in history and took the island of Crete from a British force.

In June Hitler launched a massive attack against his recent ally, Russia. It seemed for a time as though the 180 Nazi divisions engaged in this invasion would "go through Russia like a hot knife through butter." By December the Germans had occupied an area twice the size of France, including most of the Ukraine, one of the richest agricultural regions in the world. Only with the onset of winter had they been checked at the very gates of Moscow and Leningrad. It was generally predicted that Russia would be crushed in 1942. After that, German armies might sweep through the Middle East and join forces with their Japanese allies in India.

In the face of these grim prospects the two war leaders, Churchill and Roosevelt, never lost their courage or their confidence in ultimate victory. Pictures of the smiling Churchill, with his billy-cock hat, big cigar, and "V for Victory" salute, seemed a sort of guarantee that Britain would not go under. In his annual message to Congress, delivered in the midst of disasters, Roosevelt told Congress:

We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy—we shall hit him and hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him.

Difficult Military Problems

In World War I, the United States had simply to guard the sea lanes to Europe and send enough troops to break the stalemate on the western front. In World War II, America had to carry on global warfare in the Atlantic and

Pacific, in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia. There was little time to lose. Germany and Japan were so close to dominating the great "heartland" of Europe and Asia that it seemed almost as though nothing could dislodge them.

President Roosevelt as commander in chief was immediately faced with a vital decision: should the United States strike harder against Japan or against Germany? American anger was directed most strongly against the Japanese, since it was they who had attacked us. But the President followed the advice of his military counselors who considered Germany the more dangerous foe. Although Japan was not allowed to rest secure in the Pacific, the main weight of American military might was thrown against Hitler.

The Russian Front

Success or failure of the war in Europe hinged on whether Russia could hold out until the United States and Britain could strike from the west. Although Nazi armies had suffered heavily from the Russian winter after the campaign of 1941, they were still strong enough to launch a second great offensive in the spring of 1942. Worry as to whether Communist Russia might some day prove a more dangerous foe than Nazi Germany was silenced by Churchill at the time Hitler's invasion of Russia began. "I have only one purpose," he said, "the destruction of Hitler. . . . If Hitler invaded Hell, I would make at least a favorable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons." It followed, therefore, that the western Allies must give what aid they could. The three possible routes by which supplies might be sent to Russia were long and difficult: across the Pacific to Vladivostok and then across Siberia, around Africa to the Persian Gulf and then north through Iran, or through submarine-infested waters around Norway to the port of Murmansk.



American Allies: World War II

The events of late 1942 constituted a turning point in the Second World War. British offensive in North Africa kept pace with American victories in the Pacific. Above, British tanks in the Sahara helped rout Axis forces under Rommel. A Soviet counteroffensive begun in November 1942 forced German surrender of Stalingrad in February 1943. Russian troops advanced westward, taking Berlin (right) two years later.



Before Allied aid could reach the eastern front, the Nazi steam roller was again under way, striking toward the rich oil fields near the Caspian Sea. By midsummer the Germans were more than halfway to their goal. But at Stalingrad (since renamed Volgograd) on the Volga River the Russians made a heroic defense which held up Hitler's armies month after month. Meanwhile, thousands of British tanks and American trucks and hundreds of thousands of tons of American supplies had reached Russia. In November the Russians were strong enough to strike back. The besiegers of Stalingrad were themselves besieged. Late in January 1943, the tattered remnants of a Nazi army which once numbered 330,000, surrendered. The Russian armies then started an advance to the west which ended at Berlin over two years later. They kept two-thirds of the Nazi troops engaged and, in the words of Churchill, "tore the guts out of the German army."

Attack from the West

Meanwhile, American forces concentrated in the British Isles for a blow against the Axis. In November 1942, a British-American army landed in Morocco and Algeria to attack the Germans and Italians in North Africa. Rommel, defeated by a British army in the battle of El Alamein in October, was retreating westward from Egypt. Pressed from two sides, Axis armies were bottled up in Tunisia and, in May 1943, they surrendered.

The way was now open for an advance on what Churchill optimistically called "the soft underbelly" of Europe. In July and August 1943, British and American forces took Sicily, and in September they landed in Italy. Although Mussolini had by this time been overthrown, German armies still occupied Italy. The country was mountainous and German resistance fierce; progress up the Italian boot was slow. Not until

June 1944, did the Allies enter Rome, only halfway to the Alps.

One reason for the limited success of the Italian offensive was that the United States and Britain were building up strength for a direct attack on western Europe. Although the American and British air forces were engaged in "round the clock" bombing of German industry and transportation, German armies could be defeated only on the ground. On June 6, 1944 (D-Day), the greatest amphibious force in history, carried in 9,000 vessels, landed in Normandy on the coast of France. Planning for this risky attack on "Fortress Europe" had been under way for over two years.

Within a month after D-Day, a million men had crossed the English Channel. In August the Americans and British broke out of Normandy and struck rapidly eastward. By September they reached the western border of Germany. The Russians meanwhile closed in from the east. The Nazis fought to the last. In June 1944 they had started to bomb Britain from the coast of Europe with V-1's and V-2's (jet-propelled and rocket-propelled bombs). In December twenty German divisions drove a "bulge" into the Allied lines in Belgium. But in March 1945, the western Allies were able to cross the Rhine and penetrate the heart of Germany. Meanwhile, the Russians pushed westward, taking Berlin in April. The great Nazi machine that had brutalized human beings by glorifying war, by its purges of "non-Aryans," by its mass executions and concentration camps, collapsed in ruins. Late in April, Hitler committed suicide in his underground shelter in Berlin. On May 7, German military leaders agreed to unconditional surrender.

In his history of the Second World War, Churchill wrote that many Europeans, on both the Axis and Allied sides, thought that the Americans would prove soft and undisciplined.



In World War II, as in World War I, the immense productive capacity of the United States astonished us and confounded our enemies. After Japanese torpedo planes attacked and sank the carrier *Wasp* in September 1942, only one U.S. carrier remained afloat in the Pacific. By 1944 the United States had produced ships enough to land great armies in Europe and to turn the tide in the Pacific. The picture below shows carriers and attendant craft poised for a strike at Japanese positions in the last year of the war.





General Dwight D. Eisenhower, known as "Ike" among the troops, seldom missed an opportunity to talk to soldiers face to face. His warmth and sincerity went a long way to win the affection of the men in the army, just as his ability won their respect.

Churchill never shared this doubt. He had studied, he wrote, "the American Civil War fought out to the last desperate inch." On the night he heard that the United States had entered the war, he knew Hitler would be defeated. "I went to bed," he said, "and slept the sleep of the saved and thankful." The achievements of American soldiers, sailors, and airmen justified Churchill's confidence.

Dwight D. Eisenhower—Early Career

The commander of the armies that landed in Africa and Sicily in 1942 and 1943, as well as of the great force which established the second front and drove deep into Germany, was an American general, Dwight D. Eisenhower. Few men have ever met more difficult tasks with more success.

Born in Denison, Texas, in 1890, Eisenhower spent most of his boyhood in Abilene, Kansas, which had been a brawling "cow town" only a few years before. It was unlikely that he would

become a professional soldier, because his family, of Pennsylvania Dutch stock, were pacifists. Nevertheless he competed for and won an appointment to the United States Military Academy. His parents were poor, and this was a chance to get a free higher education. From the time he entered West Point in 1911 until he emerged from obscurity thirty years later, Eisenhower worked hard to make himself a competent officer.

It was not all easy going. Older than most of the cadets, he had difficulty adjusting to the strict discipline of the military academy. In World War I he was disappointed in his ambition to command troops in France. Between the two world wars, there was a period when he gained no promotion for sixteen years. Yet within the rather small circle of regular army officers Eisenhower gained a high reputation. He stood first in his class in the Army War College, a specialized training school for the ablest officers. He served as aide to General MacArthur, and at MacArthur's request went to the Philippines to help organize the Filipino army. He had read widely in the history of warfare, and made a special study of two problems with which he had to deal later: (1) how to get unified command in an alliance of several nations, and (2) how to make most effective use of motorized vehicles and airplanes.

When World War II broke out, Eisenhower was still only a lieutenant colonel whose great ambition was to command a regiment. But senior officers recognized his ability, and after a brilliant performance in war games in Louisiana in 1941, he was called to serve on the General Staff in Washington. Reporting to Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall a week after Pearl Harbor, he was asked to prepare reports on the best over-all strategy for both the Pacific and European theaters of war. The chief of staff was impressed by Eisenhower's grasp of the war as a whole, as well as by his qualities

of leadership. Within a few months Roosevelt, on Marshall's advice, appointed Eisenhower to command the American forces in Europe. Later he became supreme commander of all the forces of the Allies in the west.

Eisenhower's Abilities

Eisenhower justified his superiors' faith in him. Over and above military competence, his task demanded a variety of qualities. He needed the ability to compromise between military representatives of different countries, and between different branches of the military services. Yet

he had to be stubborn when it came to insisting that he, and he alone, must make the final military decisions. He had to be cautious about putting military forces in the field before they were sufficiently trained or equipped, yet to gain time he had to take enormous risks, such as when he ordered the D-Day attack on the day planned in spite of appalling weather. He had to be flexible enough to permit changes of plans in the face of sudden difficulties, such as the German breakthrough in the Battle of the Bulge, or of sudden opportunities, such as a German failure to destroy a Rhine River bridge.

As this map suggests, it was the Russians who, in Churchill's phrase, "clawed the guts" out of the German army. The first Anglo-American attack on "fortress Europe," by way of Italy, stalled south of Rome. After the Normandy landing on "D-Day," June 6, 1942, the Americans and English finally established a "second front" and engaged the main German forces.



Eisenhower had the ability to inspire not only the respect but the affection of his troops, of his allies, and of the people back home. His charm, his modesty, his genuine devotion to the cause of democracy against Naziism, all helped to make him one of the most popular military men in history.

Turn of the Tide in the Pacific

The Japanese were unable to organize their vast conquests before the tide of war began to turn against them. In May 1942, an American naval force narrowly defeated a Japanese fleet in the battle of the Coral Sea. A month later an immense Japanese flotilla was turned back with heavy losses in the three-day battle of Midway. These engagements were the first in modern naval history in which surface ships did not exchange a single shot. All damage was inflicted by planes or submarines.

In August 1942, American forces took the first step on the long and bloody road to Tokyo when marines landed on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. The struggle to hold Guadalcanal, fought out on the ground, at sea, and in the air, lasted six months and several times seemed close to failure. Not until 1943 did Japanese resistance there cease.

Conquest of the Pacific Islands, 1943-1945

In risking war with the United States, the Japanese had failed to reckon with the industrial strength of America and its ability to mobilize that strength rapidly. By December 1942, 17 of the 19 ships damaged at Pearl Harbor were again in commission, and new units were constantly being added. In the autumn of 1942 only one American aircraft carrier remained afloat in the entire Pacific; by 1945 over a hundred carriers were in service. The United States Navy developed entirely new techniques of fueling and repairing ships at sea. Fleets were

thus able to operate for long periods without returning to their bases.

During 1943 and 1944, American forces engaged in "island hopping" toward the Philippines and Japan. A southern thrust, commanded by General MacArthur, moved along the north shore of New Guinea until it was possible to strike northwest toward the Philippines. In October 1944, MacArthur fulfilled his promise to return to the Philippines when he landed on Leyte. MacArthur's advance was matched by amphibious operations, directed by Admiral Chester Nimitz, against Japanese-held islands in the Central Pacific.

In 1945 the last of the island outposts of Japan fell with the taking of Iwo Jima in March and Okinawa in June. The Japanese defended these islands with almost unbelievable bravery; although Iwo Jima has an area of only eight square miles, American marines suffered over 20,000 casualties in capturing it. The Japanese now began to use "Kamikaze" pilots who flew bomb-laden planes into American ships even though it meant suicide. The Kamikazes scored 279 hits on United States naval vessels off the island of Okinawa.

By midsummer 1945, Hitler had been defeated and all the forces of the Allies could be concentrated against Japan. American forces were expected to suffer appalling losses in overcoming the fanatical resistance of Japanese armies fighting on the sacred soil of their own country. The Russians were expected to dispose of Japanese troops in Manchuria.

The Atom Bomb and Japanese Surrender, 1945

The most terrible weapon the world had ever known made it unnecessary to invade Japan or to count on the Russians for help. In complete secrecy American and European scientists had developed an atomic bomb. The first of these was exploded in New Mexico on July

16, 1945; its destructive power was equal to 20,000 tons of TNT. On July 26 the President

QUESTION • *Should the atomic bombs have been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Would the United States have used them on Berlin and Nuremberg?*

urged Japan to surrender at the risk of destruction, but the Japanese prime minister said the warning was "unworthy of public notice." On August 6 an atomic bomb nearly wiped out the Japanese city of Hiroshima and killed over

seventy thousand inhabitants. Two days later Russia entered the war and invaded Manchuria. After a second bomb was dropped on the city of Nagasaki on August 9, the Japanese government agreed to end the war. The surrender took place on September 2 on the battleship *Missouri* anchored in Tokyo Bay.

THE HOME FRONT

To fight the Axis, the United States had to mobilize manpower and resources more quickly and completely than ever before. By 1944 more

At the time of its greatest extent, late in 1942, the Japanese empire was, in terms of population, the largest the world had ever seen, and it contained immense resources. But British and American military and naval forces defeated Japan before it had time to consolidate the immense conquests the Japanese militarists had made in Asia, the East Indies, and the Pacific.

UNITED STATES IN WORLD WAR II — IN THE PACIFIC





The battle of production in World War II helped to promote social revolution, as more women than ever moved into industry and job opportunities for Negroes were greatly expanded.

than eleven million men were in uniform. Thousands of women joined the armed forces, performing noncombatant services. Civilians spotted airplanes and trained themselves to deal with possible air raids. Even with so many men under arms, the total number of those employed in industry rose to new heights.

The immense demand for labor during World War II speeded the shift of Negroes from agriculture to manufacturing and improved their economic status. In response to the threat of a march on Washington to protest discrimination in defense industries, President Roosevelt in 1941 established a Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). The purpose of the FEPC was to eliminate discrimination against Negroes in defense plants and government service. It opened some factory doors and

helped Negro men and women to move into white collar and supervisory jobs previously closed to them.

This was total war, enlisting all the energies of the nation.

The Battle of Production

Despite the skill and bravery of American military men, it is fair to say that victory over the Axis powers was made possible only by the immense productivity of American industry. Americans themselves were amazed at the speed with which industry shifted to turning out war materials. For example, when President Roosevelt in May 1940, talked of making 50,000 airplanes a year, some people thought he had gone out of his mind. Yet by 1944 plane production rose to 120,000. Mass production methods were so effectively applied in the shipping industry that the average time to construct a freighter dropped from a year to less than two months. Within four years American shipyards launched tonnage equal to the entire merchant fleets of the other countries of the world.

As in 1917-1918, federal agencies assumed over-all direction of private companies engaged in war work. The major agencies for control were a War Production Board headed by Donald Nelson and later an Office of War Mobilization under James F. Byrnes. Their functions included letting contracts, fixing priorities of scarce materials, and assisting industry to build new plants or convert old ones. Since the powers and jurisdiction of some agencies overlapped others, and since the armed services could seldom agree on what they wanted, there were abundant red tape, confusion, and waste. Nevertheless, by 1944 close to 50 per cent of American production went into war materials. Total output of all goods nearly doubled. Stalin paid this tribute: "Without American production the United Nations could never have won the war."

Since one of the major elements in production is keeping labor on the job, a National War Labor Board was set up, with powers similar to those of the War Labor Board of 1917. The work of the agency was made easier by the fact that after Pearl Harbor both the CIO and the AFL made a no-strike pledge. Although there were numerous small wildcat (unauthorized) strikes, and two major strikes of the coal workers, the no-strike pledge was on the whole well kept. Work stoppages amounted to a small fraction of one per cent of working time.

In June 1941, Roosevelt reorganized the scientific research program by creating the Office of Scientific Research under the direction of Vannevar Bush. This organization had almost as much to do with winning the war as the army, navy, or air force. It developed radar-controlled artillery, more accurate bomb sights, a proximity fuse that immensely increased the effectiveness of anti-aircraft fire, and the bazooka, with which infantrymen could knock out tanks. It helped to make jungles habitable by developing insect-destroying DDT, and to save lives through the use of penicillin and blood plasma. The most dramatic and fateful achievement of all was the harnessing of nuclear energy for military purposes.

Attempts to Control Inflation

The expansion of war industries caused a corresponding increase in employment. Individual take-home pay also increased, because the work week was longer and workers received time-and-a-half pay for hours worked overtime. Thus more people had more to spend. At the same time the shift of industries to war production reduced the availability of consumer goods. Runaway inflation threatened. The danger was attacked in a variety of ways. Wages were stabilized at an increase of about 15 per cent and rents were "frozen." An Office of Price Administration (OPA) attempted to fix the prices

of consumer goods and rationed products in short supply, such as meat, sugar, gasoline, shoes, and canned goods. The federal government reduced civilian purchasing power by taxes on small incomes as well as large, taken directly out of payrolls. There was a determined effort to persuade people to buy war bonds, which would defer purchasing power until later. This many-sided attack on inflation was not completely successful, but it undoubtedly did immense good. The cost of living rose 29 per cent between 1939 and 1945 as compared with 63 per cent during the First World War (1914-1918).

In the Second World War there was greater effort than in the first to limit profiteering. In addition to heavier corporation and excess profits taxes there were surtaxes on high incomes that reached the almost confiscatory figure of 94 per cent. Far more than the earlier "soak-the-rich" taxes, the war taxes tended to redistribute the wealth.

Civil Liberties

World War II did not inspire the enthusiasm or idealism of either the Civil War or World War I. The prevailing attitude was that beating the Axis was a dirty job that simply had to be done. There were few war songs, and none to compare with "John Brown's Body," "Dixie," or "Over There." At the same time there was little effective opposition to the war. There was on the whole less invasion of civil liberties during this war than in earlier ones. Conscientious objectors were treated leniently. The press and radio agreed to voluntary censorship and were in turn freed from much direct control. Government propaganda was on no such mammoth scale as in 1917-1918. But on one important occasion the rights of civilians were violated by the federal government on a scale never before seen. In the excitement following the attack on Pearl Harbor, over a hundred thousand Japa-

nese-Americans, most of them citizens, were routed from their homes and herded into detention camps. It is estimated that they lost nearly half their property. That this forced "relocation" was unnecessary was revealed by the loyalty of Japanese-Americans in Hawaii during the war, as well as by the fine fighting record of Nisei (Japanese-American) troops.

The Election of 1944

In spite of occasional dire predictions that once at war the United States would throw the Constitution overboard, elections were held as usual. The Republicans made heavy gains in the congressional elections of 1942, when the war was going badly. There were hopes, therefore, of a Republican victory in the presidential election of 1944. The Republican nominee was Thomas E. Dewey, governor of New York, who had achieved nation-wide fame as a district attorney prosecuting racketeers in New York City. The Democrats renominated Roosevelt for a fourth term. Dewey chose not to attack the New Deal. He was unable to criticize effectively the conduct of the war, since victory was in sight. He promised, however, to provide new and vigorous administration to replace the "tired old men" of the Democratic administration. The Democrats maintained that the great problems of war and peace must be kept in experienced hands. Once again the voters agreed with this argument. Although Dewey fared slightly better than Wilkie in 1940, Roosevelt again won the presidency by a wide margin.

WARTIME DIPLOMACY

The problems faced by the United States in the field of foreign affairs in World War II all centered, naturally, on achieving victory over the Axis. As one historian has written, the aims of the United States were:

... to sustain and fortify the tottering British Empire; to keep alive the defeated French nation, almost inanimate under Hitler's heel but still alive and stirring in North Africa; to arm ... the swarming Russian legions; and to prevent the remaining neutrals, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey, from falling prey to the enemy: in short, to win the war in Europe, then with Russia's hoped-for aid to knock out Japan in Asia: first VE Day, then VJ Day.

Closely tied to the problems of fighting the war was the job of making arrangements for the peace which should follow.

The Atlantic Charter, 1941

The most novel feature of the conduct of foreign affairs during World War II was the way heads of state journeyed vast distances, often by air, to confer in person. President Roosevelt, especially, liked to make direct confrontation with rulers of other states. He had a somewhat exaggerated belief in his ability to arrive at effective agreements through persuasiveness and charm, as he had dealt with congressmen or members of his cabinet.

The first great meeting of heads of state occurred before American entrance into the war when, in August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met on shipboard off the coast of Newfoundland and jointly issued the Atlantic Charter. This was a statement of the "common principles" on which depended "hopes for a better future for the world." It was somewhat similar, in both intention and content, to Wilson's Fourteen Points. It looked to a world in which aggression should cease, in which peoples should have the right to choose their form of government, in which natural resources should be shared to provide a better life for all, and in which the burden and fear of armaments should be removed. It suggested, without specifying any of the details, a new world organization to keep the peace.

The United Nations Declaration, 1942

After Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt turned his attention to promoting an effective alliance among the nations opposed to Hitler. On January 1, 1942, representatives of the twenty-four countries at war with the Axis met in Washington and signed the Declaration of the United Nations. Each member of the United Nations agreed to abide by the Atlantic Charter, pledged full economic and military support of the war against the Axis, and promised not to make a separate peace. These provisions were written into the lend-lease agreements whereby the United States furnished aid to its allies.

In holding the great alliance together, Roosevelt and Churchill were in constant touch. Although they frequently differed on strategy, neither wavered in admiration for the other. Making close working arrangements with other major allies was more difficult. The Chinese government had been pushed back into the hinterland of China, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was naturally unhappy because the European theater of war got priority. General Charles de Gaulle, leader of the Free French, disapproved of the way the United States continued to recognize the Pétain government (see p. 664). The United States hoped by this policy to keep Hitler from seizing the French fleet and from occupying Algeria and Morocco. Even after the Allied North African campaign, Roosevelt and Churchill failed to make De Gaulle a full partner in their discussions because of uncertainty as to whether he really represented France.

Cooperation with the USSR presented the greatest difficulty. Both Roosevelt and Churchill had publicly denounced the Soviet government at the time of the Finnish War in 1939–1940. Churchill said that Soviet policy was impossible to understand; Russia, he remarked, was “a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma.” Stalin, who had almost never been outside his

country, was intensely suspicious of the capitalistic democracies. Nevertheless, the “strange alliance” between the two great democracies and totalitarian government of Russia continued to the end of the war. Germany apparently could not be beaten without Russian aid, and the Russian war effort in turn depended on supplies from Britain and the United States. Admiration for the heroism of the Russian people, whose losses on the bloodiest front of the war were heavier than those of any other nation, lulled distrust of their government.

Wartime Conferences

Cooperation in plans for war and peace was worked out at a series of international conferences. At Casablanca, Morocco, in January 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to demand “unconditional surrender” from the Axis powers. At Quebec, Canada, in August 1943, the two men agreed on peace terms for Italy, while their military advisers developed plans for the second front in western Europe. At Cairo, Egypt, in November 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill met Chiang Kai-shek and arranged that Japan should be stripped of her Pacific empire. Korea was also promised independence. From Cairo Roosevelt and Churchill flew to Teheran, capital of Iran, to meet with Stalin. There the three men discussed postwar arrangements, the possibility of Russia entering the war against Japan, and plans for the D-Day attack in the west.

In February 1945, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin met again at the Crimean Conference at Yalta. Publicly they agreed that their nations, along with France, should occupy Germany after the war, that Naziism should be rooted out, that a conference should meet at San Francisco in April to create a new world organization, and that the peoples of Europe should have democratic governments based on free elections. Secret clauses of Yalta agreements dealt with the terms on which Russia should enter



A jovial Roosevelt, flanked by Stalin and Churchill at the Teheran Conference. The apparent good will of this meeting was rapidly dissipated as it became clear that the Russian dictator would not keep promises of free elections in Central European countries.

the war against Japan after Germany was defeated. The USSR was promised the Kurile Islands and the southern half of Sakhalin, both Japanese territories. In China the USSR was expected to keep control over Outer Mongolia, to join with the Chinese government in controlling Manchurian railroads, and to obtain an ice-free naval base and port. Stalin in turn agreed to support the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek as the legitimate ruler of China.

The Yalta agreements later came under violent attack as a "sell-out" to Russia. This charge ignored several facts. In the first place, it seemed vital to keep Russia in the war against Germany at a time when American forces had hardly recovered from the Battle of the Bulge

and, even more important, to bring Russia into the war against Japan. It was expected that the defeat of Japan

QUESTION • Would Russia have entered the war against Japan if no promises had been made to her at Yalta?

would cost from half a million to a million American lives and would take eighteen months. Sec-

ondly, no territorial concession was made to Stalin that the United States and Britain were in a position to prevent, except the Kurile Islands. Thirdly, Stalin on his part made concessions. The main trouble with Yalta was not the agreements themselves, but that Russia later broke them. Central European nations were never granted free elections, and Stalin failed to fulfill his promise to support Chiang Kai-shek. Churchill's judgment of Yalta was this: "Our hopeful assumptions were soon to be falsified. Still, they were the only ones possible at the time."

Death of Roosevelt

On the afternoon of April 12, 1945, President Roosevelt suddenly died at Warm Springs, Georgia. His death was perhaps mourned more widely than that of any other man in history. According to Henry L. Stimson, his Secretary of War, who served him loyally yet observed him critically, Roosevelt had been a great war President. While he made mistakes in picking subordinates and in failing to give them clear responsibility, he had shown, according to Stimson, a clear grasp of world strategy, "courage and determination . . . in time of threatened disaster," and "very strong faith in the future of our country and of freedom, democracy, and humanitarianism throughout the world."

Before his death, with victory in sight, Roosevelt was thinking ahead to peace. On his desk was a draft of a speech for a Jefferson Day Dinner. It contained these words:

Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together in the same world, at peace.

BIRTH OF THE UNITED NATIONS

On April 25, 1945, representatives of about fifty anti-Axis nations met at San Francisco, California, to make plans for a world union. The groundwork had been carefully laid. In October 1943, foreign ministers of the United States, China, Great Britain, and the USSR met at

Moscow and agreed to establish “a general international organization” to maintain “peace and security.” In the next month the United States Senate passed the Connally Resolution favoring American membership in the proposed league. From August to October 1944, diplomats of the great powers met at Dumbarton Oaks, a mansion near Washington, to make detailed plans. At Yalta, Russian objections were temporarily quieted when the United States and Britain agreed that seats in the proposed United Nations Assembly be given to two additional republics of the USSR—the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Arthur Vandenberg, Statesman

In 1940 Arthur Vandenberg was an isolationist. His record in the Senate had been so consistent that the Republican convention of 1940, unwilling to support isolation, gave him scant consideration. They chose Wendell Willkie, an interventionist, instead.

In 1945 Senator Vandenberg was an interventionist. Between 1940 and 1945 he had become convinced that a concert of nations would be necessary to maintain the peace, once it was won. As one of the Republican members of a bipartisan delegation, he went to San Francisco for the first crucial sessions in which the United Nations completed its organization. Returning, he was largely responsible for the huge majority, 89–2, by which the United States Senate approved the Charter of the United Nations and the membership of the United States in that organization.

In the closing days at San Francisco, Vandenberg wrote: “We have finished our job. I am proud of it. It has been the crowning privilege of my life to have been an author of the San Francisco Charter.”

In 1948 he gave further evidence of statesmanship. Rising above partisan opposition to the Truman administration's foreign policy, he fought tenaciously for Senate approval of the Marshall Plan. The plan saved Western Europe from economic collapse. In the same year he introduced the Senate resolution which made possible the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

He fully realized the importance of his change of position. In one of his letters to his wife, he commented: “Everybody now seems to agree that I could have beaten the Charter if I had taken the opposition tack.” Again, and later, he wrote her: “At any rate, I have ‘done my bit’ for the peace of the world—and I guess that justifies my senatorial existence.”



(Theme 10, see p. xii)

In planning for the San Francisco Conference, Roosevelt had tried to avoid mistakes made by Woodrow Wilson in 1918–1919. He slighted neither the opposition party nor Congress when choosing the United States delegation. The House and Senate each sent one Republican and one Democratic member. The President also selected Commander Harold E. Stassen, former Republican governor of Minnesota, and Virginia C. Gildersleeve, dean of Barnard College, whose presence symbolized the increasing political importance of women. The statesmen at Versailles had tried to form a world organization and to arrange detailed peace terms at the same time. The idea behind the timing of the San Francisco Conference was to form the world organization first, while the nations were still united in a wartime alliance, and write the peace treaties later.

San Francisco Conference, 1945

Negotiations at San Francisco were made difficult by growing suspicion, on the part of her Allies, of Russia's intentions. Already it appeared that the agreements made at Yalta were being broken, both in regard to Russian treatment of Poland and in regard to the extent to which one of the great powers could prevent action by the United Nations. Nevertheless, the San Francisco Conference managed to produce in two months the constitution for an international league similar to the former League of Nations. The eloquent preamble of the UN Charter pledged all the countries signing it to "faith in fundamental human rights," to "justice and respect for obligations arising from peace treaties," to efforts to "live together as good neighbors," and to the maintenance of "international peace and security." All nations great and small were equally represented in a General Assembly, which had the right to debate world affairs but little power to direct them. The principal responsibility for keeping the peace

was to rest with the Security Council of eleven members which would always be in session. The United States, China, France, Great Britain, and the USSR each had a permanent council seat, the other six places being rotated. Decisions of the Security Council required a vote of seven members, including all five of the permanent members. Thus each permanent member had the right to veto any major action, and the Security Council would be effective only so long as the wartime cooperation of the "big five" continued. In other words, the UN was powerless to act if a single major power decided to prevent it.

UN Agencies

The charter provided for an International Court of Justice, but it had no power to compel obedience to its decisions. It planned for a number of international agencies, such as a Trusteeship Council to oversee certain "backward areas," an Economic and Social Council to promote international economic co-operation and raise living standards, and a Military Staff Committee to organize a peace-keeping UN military force. UN agencies were to be staffed by a permanent civil service, the Secretariat, selected and paid by the organization itself. The Security Council might ask UN members to punish aggression by either economic boycott or military action.

The action of the United States regarding the UN Charter contrasted with that in 1919 when a minority of the Senate blocked American membership in the League of Nations. In 1945 the United States was the first to take action, when the Senate ratified the Charter by a vote of 89 to 2. The first use of the atom bomb nine days later reinforced the feeling that "it must not happen again." Trusting the new organization, in which they hoped to take a full part, and blind to its weaknesses, Americans hoped to return forever to the path of peace.

Activities: Chapter 29

For Mastery and Review

1. What aid was given by the United States to Great Britain prior to December 1941? What was the Battle of the Atlantic, and what part was taken in it by the United States?

2. Trace the growing tension between Japan and the United States from 1931 (Stimson Doctrine) to 1941 (Pearl Harbor).

3. How extensive were Axis victories at the height of their conquests? Be specific for each area.

4. Trace the African and European campaigns in which American military forces took part. Describe the invasion and defeat of Germany by the Allied armies.

5. What were the key battles that led to the defeat of Japan? Why the sudden surrender?

6. What effects did the war have on the home front? Describe the American battle of production. What efforts were made to control inflation?

7. Trace the conferences and agreements that led to the United Nations, beginning with the Atlantic Charter in 1941. What was the basic framework provided for the United Nations?

Unrolling the Map

1. On a map of the world today, locate Japanese and German conquests at their greatest extent. Estimate the population of each empire were it still in existence.

2. Make maps of the Pacific and Afro-European theaters of war, noting major battles, especially turning points such as the battles of Midway, Stalingrad, and D Day.

Who, What, and Why Important?

Battle of Britain
destroyer deal
Act of Havana
interventionists
election of 1940
Winston Churchill ✓
Lend-Lease Act
Battle of the Atlantic
Iceland
Pearl Harbor
Douglas MacArthur

Bataan
Stalingrad
Dwight D. Eisenhower
African campaign
"soft underbelly" of Europe
D Day
Battle of Midway ✓
Leyte Gulf ✓
atomic bomb
battle of production

OPA

"relocation" of Japanese Americans
election of 1944
Atlantic Charter
Chiang Kai-shek

Yalta

United Nations:
Security Council,
General Assembly,
specialized agencies,
veto

To Pursue the Matter

1. The selections in Arnoff, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 452-474, present high points of World War II. Read them to capture the changing moods of the period.

2. How did the New Deal and World War II affect American Negroes? See Ginsberg and Eichner, *The Troublesome Presence*, Chapter 11.

3. In 1940 German planes were bombing London every night. By 1943, British and American planes were bombing German cities "around the clock." Find out how this "battle for the air" was won.

4. Make up a questionnaire with which members of the class can ask their parents and other elders about their memories of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Did the news change their attitude toward the advisability of war with the Axis powers? Collate and analyze the results.

5. What was the importance of the Russian victory at Stalingrad? Was Churchill wise in deciding: "... we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and the Russian people?"

6. Study further the "consumers' front" during the war; learn about shortages and the rationing system. Find out why taxes and the sale of bonds helped to control inflation. If wage controls, price ceilings, and rationing are justifiable during war, should they be continued permanently?

7. Winks, *The Cold War: From Yalta to Cuba*, has a chapter, "The Beginnings of the Cold War, 1941-1945," that gives a somewhat different interpretation of the Yalta Conference and its effects from the one given in this text. What do other authors say?

8. For a readable account of the decision to make and drop atomic bombs, see Davis, *Experience of War*. And for the appalling story of what it was like to suffer an atomic bombing attack, read Hersey, *Hiroshima*.

Recurring ideas, concepts, or "themes" run through most of American history and help to give it its unique character. Most of these are either explicit or implicit in each of the nine Parts into which this text is divided. It is useful, however, to select particular themes for illustration, emphasis, and study at the end of each Part.

Two themes seem especially relevant to Part VIII: "belief in reform rather than revolution" and "world-wide responsibility." Questions suggested by these themes:

1. Two eminent historians, Morison and Commager, in *The Growth of the American Republic*, express the opinion that "Roosevelt . . . saved the [American economic] system by ridding it of its grosser abuses and forcing it to accommodate itself to the public interest and general welfare." Was this an alternative to revolution? See Davies, *The New Deal: Interpretations*.

2. In view of the great extent of hardship and suffering during 1929-1933, why was there little violence and no revolution? Were the rebels whom Shays led in 1786 or the Great Plains farmers who were exhorted to raise less corn and more Hell in the 1890's worse or better off than the dispossessed farmer and unemployed worker in 1933?

3. Account for the fact that the United States Senate rejected the League of Nations in 1919 and yet overwhelmingly ratified the Charter of the United Nations in 1945. Useful sources: Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, and Vandenberg, *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg*.

4. Were the Yalta Agreements a sellout, a military necessity, or what?

READINGS

PART 8

ARNOF, **A Sense of the Past*, Part Eight.

BRAGDON, McCUTCHEN, and BROWN, **Frame of Government*, "The Supreme Court and the Constitution: *National Labor Relations Board v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation*," pp. 258-265; "The United Nations Charter," pp. 290-293.

DAVIES, W. E., **The New Deal: Interpretations*. (New Perspectives.) A fast-moving account which points up the personality of Roosevelt, the frequently contradictory policies of his administration, and conflicting opinions of what the New Deal was all about.

eral, describes peacetime and wartime problems in *In Brief Authority*. E. E. ROBINSON, *The Roosevelt Leadership, 1933-1945*, is critical from a conservative constitutionalist viewpoint. R. MOLEY, *After Seven Years*, the memoir of an ex-brain trustee, is also critical. The last chapters of I. BERNSTEIN, *The Lean Years*, are excellent on the Depression. J. AGEE and W. EVANS, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, is a sensitive and beautifully written essay on the barren lives of a southern tenant-farmer family. D. LILIENTHAL, **TVA: Democracy on the March*, is an enthusiastic report by a member of the original board of TVA.

Specialized References

THE NEW DEAL

W. E. LEUCHTENBURG, **Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940*, is the best one-volume survey. A. M. SCHLESINGER, **The Coming of the New Deal and The Politics of Upheaval*, Vols. II and III of *The Age of Roosevelt*, carry the story to 1936. F. BIDDLE, Roosevelt's Attorney Gen-

FOREIGN POLICY

D. PERKINS, *The United States and Latin America*, is a collection of cogent essays. B. WOOD, *The Making of the Good Neighbor Policy*, also deals with Latin-American affairs. On relations with the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1945, see G. F. KENNAN, **Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin*, and R. P. BROWDER, *The Origins of Soviet-American Diplomacy*.

On our growing involvement in foreign affairs, see R. A. DIVINE, **The Reluctant Belligerent: American Entry into World War II*. The Far Eastern crisis is discussed in H. FEIS, **The Road to Pearl Harbor*. A severe attack is leveled on FDR by C. A. BEARD, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941*; it is replied to by B. RAUCH, *Roosevelt from Munich to Pearl Harbor*.

K. S. DAVIS, *Experience of War: The United States in World War II*, is a vividly written survey. The war in Europe is treated in D. D. EISENHOWER, **Crusade in Europe*, and the naval war in S. E. MORISON, *Two-Ocean War*. W. L. SHIRER, **The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, describes Germany's part in the war, and A. WERTH, **Russia at War*, does the same for the Soviet Union. Great Britain's experience is admirably narrated by its wartime prime minister, W. S. CHURCHILL, in **The Second World War*, 6 vols. R. FENNO, JR. (ed.), **The Yalta Conference*, is a collection of differing interpretations.

The war produced some superb journalism, much more realistic if less swashbuckling than the Hollywood war epics. E. PYLE, **Brave Men*, and B. MAULDIN, *Up Front*, present the infantryman's viewpoint. A. J. LIEBLING, **Mollie and Other War Pieces*, is by one of the most perceptive of modern journalists. L. SNYDER (ed.), *Masterpieces of War Reporting*, is composed mainly of short dispatches from the fronts. *The New Yorker Book of War Pieces*, composed of longer articles, includes essays by LIEBLING and J. HERSEY's account of the effects of the first atomic bomb.

On the development of the atomic bomb, L. GROVES, *Now It Can Be Told*, is enthusiastic, and R. JUNGK, **Brighter than a Thousand Suns*, is less so. A. M. ROSE, **The Negro in America*, is an authorized one-volume condensation of C. MYRDAL's monumental **The American Dilemma* (2 vols. in paperback). On one of the most disgraceful episodes in our history, see M. GORDZINS, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and Japanese Evacuation*.

Biographies

J. M. BURNS, **Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*, is a penetrating and highly readable biography of Roosevelt. E. ROOSEVELT, **This I Remember*, and F. PERKINS, **The Roosevelt I Knew*, are among the best memoirs of the New Deal. R. SHERWOOD,

**Roosevelt and Hopkins*, a long but continuously interesting double biography, is particularly illuminating on wartime diplomacy. J. J. FAHEY, **Pacific War Diary, 1942-1945*, is a day-by-day account of his experiences by an American sailor.

Historical Fiction

J. STEINBECK, **The Grapes of Wrath*, is the dramatic story of a family forced to leave the Dust Bowl for California. Much of the atmosphere of the 1930's is captured in H. CLURMAN, ed., **Famous American Plays of the 1930's*, which includes works by STEINBECK, C. ODETS, S. N. BEHRMAN, R. SHERWOOD, and W. SAROYAN. R. P. WARREN, **All the King's Men*, is a gripping, thinly veiled fictional account of Huey "Kingfish" Long of Louisiana. J. HERSEY, **A Bell for Adano*, involves military government in Sicily. M. HARGROVE, *See Here, Private Hargrove*, is a humorous account of the life of a soldier.

Basic Books for Part Eight

1. LEUCHTENBURG, W. E., **Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*. New York, Harper, 1963 (Torchbooks).
2. SCHLESINGER, A. M., JR., **The Coming of the New Deal and The Politics of Upheaval*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1959-1960 (Sentry).
3. BERNSTEIN, I., *The Lean Years*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1960.
4. ROBINSON, E. E., *The Roosevelt Leadership, 1933-1945*. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1954.
5. BURNS, J. M., **Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1956 (Harvest).
6. ROSE, A., **The Negro in America*. Boston, Beacon, 1956 (Torchbooks).
7. DAVIS, K. S., *Experience of War: The United States in World War II*. New York, Doubleday, 1961.
8. DIVINE, R. A., **The Reluctant Belligerent: American Entry into World War II*. New York, Wiley, 1965.
9. HERSEY, J., **Hiroshima*. New York, Random, 1946 (Bantam).
10. PERKINS, D., *The United States and Latin America*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1961.



Part 9

THE COLD WAR



NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, UNITED NATIONS, 1960

A NEW KIND OF WAR

Wars used to be so easy. The good man (the United States) was challenged by the bad man. The hero did not want to fight, but was honor-bound to do so. So he shot it out with the villain. He won, put his six-shooter back in its holster, mounted his pinto pony, and rode back to the spring plowing.

Now it is different. In the years 1941–1945 the United States was a victor in the most prolonged and difficult foreign war in its history. It helped to set up the United Nations as a sort of international sheriff's posse to keep future bad men in order and then tried to return to peacetime pursuits. But soon an ex-ally whom the United States had helped to save from Nazi hordes—and who in all fairness had saved the U.S. the trouble of fighting more than half the German army—turned out to be a new villain. This time it was not possible to shoot it out to a finish. Atomic weapons had turned all-out war to mutual annihilation.

All this is frustrating to a people not used to accepting substitutes for victory. Americans have to live with a seemingly never-ending struggle against a foe who sometimes advances, sometimes retreats, but never sleeps. And when Russia seemed to be willing to accept a live-and-let-live policy, Communist China stepped in as the implacable foe of the United States and all it stood for. The Communists are more difficult to deal with than the Nazis. On the one hand, they are ready to draw back when they meet determined opposition; on the other, they are not discouraged by a single defeat. They stoutly believe that history is on their side, that they are certain to win eventually. Only by policies as long-range, as determined, and as flexible as those of the Communists can the United States and its allies fight the Cold War successfully.

There is no clear-cut line between domestic and foreign policy. Foreign policy invades our daily lives. Heavy taxes are required to support the military establishment and aid the allies of the United States. Young men must give up peacetime pursuits for military service. What Americans do in their daily lives, in turn, affects foreign policy, since the world is watching to see whether they practice the principles they preach.

Could the United States have avoided World War II and its sequel, the Cold War? Perhaps it could have avoided the former if its leaders had chosen to ignore the pledge to preserve the integrity of China and if it had allowed Britain to fight alone. America might have stayed out of the Cold War by turning its back on Europe, as in 1919, and by allowing new Asian and African nations to fend for themselves. But the United States did not choose to ignore its commitments, and the Cold War has yet to be won.



Chapter 30

The Cold War Begins

I suppose that history will remember my term in office as the years when the Cold War began to overshadow our lives. I have had hardly a day in office that has not been dominated by this all-embracing struggle—this conflict between those who love freedom and those who would lead the world back into slavery and darkness. And always in the background there has been the atomic bomb.

—HARRY S. TRUMAN

When the news of Franklin Roosevelt's sudden death reached Washington, Vice-President Truman was called to the White House. There Eleanor Roosevelt told him, "Harry, the President is dead." For a moment he could not speak and then said, "Is there anything I can do for you?" Mrs. Roosevelt replied, "Is there anything I can do for you? You're the one in trouble now." Next day Truman told reporters that he felt as though the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on him; he asked them to pray for him.

On the face of it, Harry S. Truman was ill-prepared to meet the appalling problems that were suddenly his. He had not been briefed on major matters of foreign policy or military strategy, such as the secret engagement of Russia to enter the war against Japan or the atom bomb. He had no experience with diplomacy. His previous political career had been that of a machine politician in Missouri, followed by two terms in the United States Senate. His one notable achievement had been the chairmanship of

a Senate War Investigation Committee that had discovered waste and profiteering in war production during World War II and had saved the United States some hundreds of millions of dollars. He had been nominated for Vice-President in 1944 after Democratic urban bosses and southern conservatives revolted against renomination of Henry A. Wallace, a liberal New Dealer whom Roosevelt had imposed on a reluctant Democratic convention in 1940.

At the time he was suddenly thrust before the public eye, the new President seemed to be one of the most average of average men. The *New Yorker* wrote of him:

There's one thing about President Truman—he is made in the image of the people. You go into a men's shop to buy a pair of pajamas, President Truman waits on you. You go to have a tooth x-rayed, Truman takes the picture. You board a downtown bus, Truman is at the wheel. Probably it's those glasses he wears, but whatever it is, we rather like having a President who always seems to be around. President Roosevelt was *for* the people, but Harry Truman is the people.



The war is over! President Truman reads the Japanese request for surrender in August 1945. The President is shown surrounded by his closest advisors, many of whom were to play leading roles as the nation shifted from problems of war to the problem of gaining a lasting peace in the world.

It later appeared that Truman had a tendency to lose his temper over petty trifles and to make occasional rash statements. At first he made mistakes by being in a hurry, as when he signed without reading it an order to cut off lend-lease shipments abroad right after Germany had been defeated. It was an action that made our allies think that the United States was going to let them starve. The President soon reversed his field, but the incident hardly made for confidence in his judgment.

As time went on, it became clear that in spite of his undistinguished appearance and his small-town ways, President Truman was no ordinary man. He worked hard and efficiently. He mastered the details of his job. He learned how to delegate action and at the same time assume responsibility. His greatest quality was symbolized by a sign on his desk: "The buck stops here." When great crises came up, such as the threatened Communist take-over of Greece, the Russian attempt to cut off Berlin, or the invasion of southern Korea, the President displayed an extraordinary capacity for quick, effective, and yet restrained action. His conduct of foreign affairs gave evidence that Truman was speaking no more than the truth when he said, "All my life, whenever it came time to make a decision, I made it and forgot about it."

SHIFT TO PEACETIME ECONOMY

The very newspapers that told of Japan's surrender in August 1945 contained headlines predicting that six to ten million people would soon be unemployed. The shift to a peacetime economy was expected to result in a slowdown in business activity. Furthermore, the Napoleonic Wars, the Civil War, and World War I had been followed shortly by economic depressions (see charts on pp. 296-297, 470-471, and 778-779). There was evidence that the Communists counted on a depression and hoped to use it to their advantage. But American fears and Russian hopes proved groundless. As it turned out, there was only a slight downturn in business activity and almost none in employment. Indeed, within two or three years wartime levels of employment were exceeded.

The continuing boom was apparently the result of a number of factors. Farm income remained high, as the United States continued to feed not only its own people but many millions abroad. Savings accumulated by individuals during the war provided a reserve of buying power. The demand for peacetime goods in turn stimulated business investment in machines and factories to produce peacetime goods. Although sharply cut back, military expenditures re-

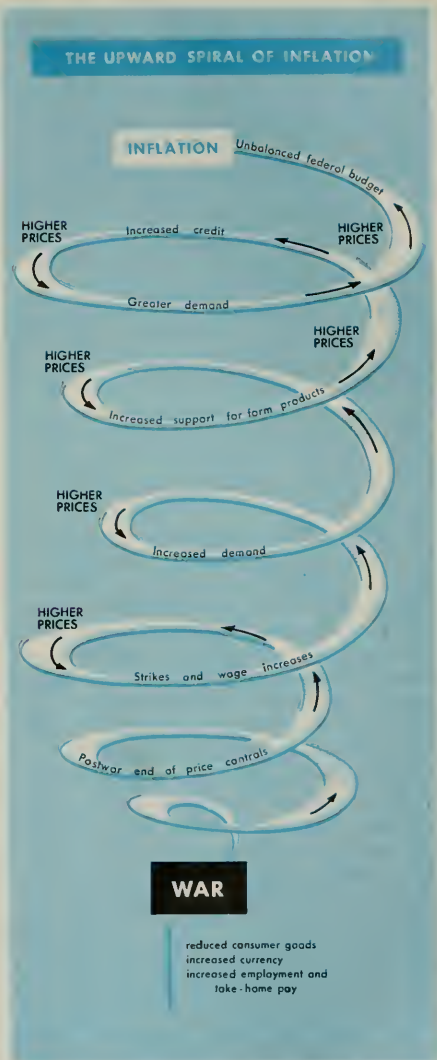
maintained high by prewar standards and poured money into the economy.

Private industry cooperated to promote rapid transition toward a peacetime economy. A Committee for Economic Development (CED), set up in 1942, pooled the theoretical knowledge of economists and the practical knowledge of businessmen to make plans for averting a postwar slump. Heading CED was Paul Hoffman, president of the Studebaker Company, known as a "super-salesman." Hoffman traveled throughout the country selling businessmen the idea that if they wished to avoid further government controls, they must provide full employment. By the war's end, over three thousand cities and towns had worked out detailed plans for quick conversion to peacetime production and reemployment of the 12,000,000 men of the armed forces who would return to civilian life.

Perhaps the most important factor in preventing a postwar depression was full employment itself, which provided an immense reservoir of purchasing power. Prosperity became a responsibility of the federal government with the passage of the Employment Act of 1946, the stated purpose of which was to "promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power." This law furnished the President with a Council of Economic Advisers to make annual reports on the state of the economy together with recommendations for any action needed to keep it in high gear. In signing the bill President Truman said that he considered it "a commitment to take any and all measures necessary for a healthy economy."

Inflation

The immense government spending that had created war prosperity carried with it the danger of continued inflation. During the war years, higher taxes on a broader base of incomes raised federal revenue from \$5,000,000,000 to \$46,000-



A constant difficulty since the first years of World War II has been the ever-rising spiral of inflation that raises prices and wipes out savings.

000,000. Yet so great was the cost of the war effort that the national debt increased from less than \$50,000,000,000 to nearly \$270,000,000,000. The federal government had borrowed much of this sum from Federal Reserve banks. The banks in turn issued new money with federal bonds as security. The result was currency inflation. There was four times as much money in circulation in 1945 as in 1938.

Another force tending to produce inflation was the immense backlog of unsatisfied consumer demand for peacetime goods. Consumers and retailers became impatient with ration stamps and controlled prices. Black markets increased. There were shortages of everything—nylon stockings, building materials, shoes, beefsteak. Manufacturers and cattlemen wanted to sell in a free market and predicted that competition would keep prices down. President Truman urged that price controls be continued through the wartime Office of Price Administration (OPA), but Congress was reluctant to continue it. Finally, a bill was passed that continued OPA, but with such drastically curtailed powers that Truman declared it would be useless to prevent inflation and vetoed it. OPA closed down in late June 1946, and within three weeks commodity prices rose by 25 per cent.

While prices went up, pay checks shrank, as factories returned to a 40-hour week and workers ceased receiving overtime pay. Caught in a "double squeeze," workers demanded a higher wage. If it was refused them, they often went off the job. In 1946 there were five thousand strikes, an all-time high. Nearly 4,600,000 men were involved, approximately a quarter of the unionized workers of the nation. Most alarming were strikes involving basic industries, such as steel, automobile, and coal. The public was fearful of the power of minority groups to paralyze the whole economy. Even President Truman, who generally favored labor, asked Congress for power to draft striking railroad

workers into the army. A United Mine Workers' strike was halted by a federal injunction. On an appeal, the Supreme Court held that the Norris-La Guardia anti-injunction law (see pp. 621, 641) did not prevent the federal government from ordering laborers back to work to prevent "a public calamity."

The Eightieth Congress

Labor unions and their activities were a central issue in the midterm congressional election of 1946. The fear inspired by the big strikes and by the power wielded by such a leader as John L. Lewis was probably a major factor in inducing voters to favor conservative candidates. In any case the Republicans showed new vigor as they campaigned on the slogan "Had Enough?" They gained control of both the House and the Senate for the first time in sixteen years.

An immediate result of this swing toward conservatism was the Taft-Hartley Act, passed over President Truman's veto in June 1947. This complicated measure, which may be regarded as in effect a series of amendments to the Wagner Act (see p. 638), was designed to restrain the power of labor unions and prevent labor abuses. Among practices it forbade were closed-shop contracts (which forced employers to hire only union members); jurisdictional strikes (designed to force an employer to recognize one union instead of another); "featherbedding" (pay for services not rendered); and high initiation fees. Union officers were required to take an oath that they were not members of the Communist party—this provision applied also to employers. The use of union funds in political campaigns was forbidden. If a strike threatened to tie up the national economy, the President could get a court injunction to enforce an eighty-day "cooling off" period.

The Taft-Hartley Act was one of the most controversial measures ever passed by Congress.

Labor spokesmen denounced it as a "slave labor law," erasing gains the unions had made since

QUESTION • What people, if any, should be required to take an oath that they are not Communists?

1933. They resented the non-Communist oath as an affront to their loyalty, especially since

prominent labor leaders, including John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, and Walter Reuther, had fought to drive Communists out of the labor movement. Defenders of the act argued that it merely restrained irresponsible labor unions, as the Wagner Act restrained anti-labor activities of employers.

The Eightieth Congress lowered wartime taxes, especially those that fell on large incomes. It passed a law to establish a commission to recommend methods of improving the efficiency of the executive departments. To emphasize the fact that this was a nonpartisan measure, Truman appointed former President Hoover as chairman of the commission. But Congress produced little other domestic legislation, for it found itself in a deadlock with President Truman. At various times the President proposed measures in the tradition of the New Deal, such as slum clearance and the expansion of social security coverage. All failed to win legislative support.

Truman and Civil Rights

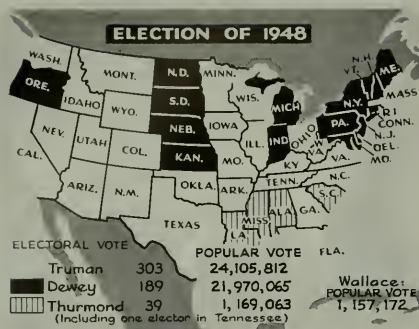
Truman came from a former slave state, and members of his mother's family had been ardent Confederate sympathizers. But in his early political career he had fought the Ku Klux Klan, and as President he defended no cause more ardently than equal rights for Negroes. When Congress refused to pass legislation continuing the wartime Fair Employment Practices Commission, Truman resorted to executive action. In 1946 he appointed a fact-finding Commission



During the panic days after Pearl Harbor, Japanese Americans on the West Coast were unfairly arrested and herded into concentration camps for fear that they would engage in sabotage and espionage.

on Civil Rights; he told its members that he wanted to make the Bill of Rights apply equally to every American. In 1947 the Commission issued an eloquent report, *To Secure These Rights*, which made a number of recommendations designed "to guarantee the same rights to every person regardless of who he is, where he lives, or what his racial, religious or national origins are." The commission's recommendations extended beyond erasing discrimination against Negroes. It urged, for instance, that immigration quotas be abolished and that the West Coast Japanese-Americans who were deprived of freedom and property at the opening of World War II be repaid for their losses.

In 1948 Truman, in his role as commander in chief, issued an order that there should be equality of opportunity and treatment for all members of the armed forces. The most important result of this was the rapid elimination of segregated units. By the time Truman left office in 1953, segregation had been abolished in the army, navy, and air force. For the first time in the history of America, large numbers of Negroes and whites lived together on a basis of equality.



The 1948 election results surprised the nation. Even the most careful political observers had underestimated the effectiveness of Truman's one-man campaign and the New Deal's continuing appeal.

A Political Miracle: Election of 1948

One reason for the deadlock between the President and the Republican leaders of the Eightieth Congress was that both sides were jockeying for political advantage. The 1948 Republican Convention again nominated Thomas E. Dewey. The New York governor campaigned as though the election result were a certainty; he avoided discussion of issues and called on Americans to join him in promoting "unity."

The Democrats renominated Truman, but only after prominent party members had failed to persuade General Eisenhower to run. The party was badly split. Southern members resented Truman's efforts to promote racial equality. Some of these formed a separate States' Rights party, nicknamed "Dixiecrats," and nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for President. In the North, Henry A. Wallace, former Secretary of Agriculture and Vice President, bolted the Democrats and ran for President under the Progressive label used by Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 and Robert M. La Follette in 1924. Wallace promised to "get along" with Russia and to greatly expand the New Deal.

Nearly all political experts and public opinion polls predicted a Dewey victory. Betting odds ran 15 to 1 in his favor. Perhaps 90 per cent of the press supported him. One of the few Democrats who did not privately concede the election was Truman himself. Traveling 22,000 miles, the President delivered hundreds of speeches to increasing numbers gathered at ball parks, city squares, and "whistle-stops." He made his target the "do-nothing" Eightieth Congress, arguing that it represented "the privileged few, and not the common, everyday man." Especially he called on farmers and laborers to protect the gains they had made under the New Deal.

The election was so close that the result was uncertain until the day after the polls closed. Although he lost four southern states to Thurmond and a million northern votes to Wallace, Truman was returned to office. Among the explanations for this amazing upset were Republican overconfidence; successful Democratic efforts to get voters to the polls; and the continuing strength of the New Deal, especially in major agricultural states. The three-way Democratic split that looked ruinous may have been a blessing in disguise. The Dixiecrat rebellion helped Truman's cause with Negro voters in the North; Wallace's campaign blunted efforts to pin the Communist label on the President. The professional pollsters were caught off base because they failed to note a last-minute swing of undecided voters toward the Democratic column. In any case, the result was an immense personal triumph for Truman: his whistle-stop campaign had turned the tide.

The Fair Deal

In his state of the union message of January 1949, Truman proposed a "Fair Deal," which meant a continuation and extension of the New Deal. The President urged slum clearance, subsidies for public schools, government-fostered

medical insurance, aid to agriculture, and higher minimum wages. But although the new Congress was Democratic, it was generally controlled by an unofficial coalition of Republicans and conservative southern Democrats. Hence only part of the Fair Deal program became law. Farmers were promised subsidies if the market prices of major farm products fell below certain fixed parity prices, based upon a cost-of-living index. Federal funds were voted for slum clearance. A Minimum Wage Act raised the minimum hourly wage for businesses engaged in interstate commerce from 40 to 75 cents. Social security benefits were extended to new groups, including teachers and the self-employed.

In 1949 there was a halt in postwar prosperity. Heavy industry slackened off; unemployment rolls increased. But the situation was never as bad as in any year during the 1930's. There was no panic, nor serious need for large-scale relief. In contrast to the situation before the New Deal, there were now various "built-in stabilizers" that operated almost automatically against a downward plunge in the economy. These included price supports for agricultural products, unemployment insurance, increased social security benefits, and minimum wage laws. The Full Employment Act also helped to create confidence because the federal government was now committed to action to stop a catastrophic drop like that of 1929–1932. Private enterprise contributed to economic stability by such measures as company pension plans.

The Korean War, beginning in 1950, changed the economic picture sharply, as a rearmament program competed with the demand for consumer goods.

The "Truman Scandals"

During the latter years of Truman's presidency it was revealed that there was corruption in high places. Men close to him had re-

ceived valuable presents in return for political influence with government bureaus. Members of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Department of Justice, and the Internal Revenue Service took bribes in return for favors. Democratic city machines were shown to have close ties with gangsters. While the President was not personally involved and misdoing was on no such scale as under the Grant and Harding administrations, the "Truman scandals" provided the Republicans with a ready-made issue for the 1952 presidential election.

OPENING OF THE COLD WAR

Overshadowing all domestic problems during the Truman administration was the opening of the Cold War between the United States and the rest of the free world on the one hand, and Russia with her satellites and China on the other. This struggle could be foreseen even before World War II came to an end, when Stalin violated the Yalta agreement concerning free elections in Poland. The Cold War was fully joined when Truman helped Greece and Turkey to resist Communist aggression in 1947, and it has not stopped since. It is a strife like none other in which Americans have been engaged. Only twice, in Korea and in Vietnam, has it involved putting armies into combat. It has meant, however, a state of constant military preparedness, and military support for enemies or possible victims of communism all over the globe. It has been fought in the economic sphere, as both sides attempted to "buy" allies with gifts, ranging from foodstuffs to steel plants. Above all, it has become a struggle for the minds of men. This has produced propaganda of every sort—posters, broadcasts, overseas libraries, student exchanges. Ultimately, the Cold War involves the question of which system *deserves* to survive by offering the most opportunities for good lives.



"From Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the continent," warned Churchill in a Fulton, Missouri, speech in 1946.

The Iron Curtain

The quarrel was not of our choosing. On the contrary, Americans wanted to get along with Russia. According to James F. Byrnes, Truman's Secretary of State after the war: "As a result of our sufferings and sacrifices in a common cause, the Soviet Union . . . had in the United States a deposit of good will, as great, if not greater, than that of any other country." Byrnes and Truman sincerely attempted to reach accommodations with the USSR, even when it meant making concessions that they regretted. It became increasingly clear, however, that it was no more possible to appease Stalin than Hitler. Russian actions changed American good will to fear and distrust.

By 1946 Stalin had apparently decided that no peace was possible between the capitalist and Communist worlds. Not only did he say so publicly, but his actions destroyed the big-power unity which Roosevelt had tried to forge during World War II. In the countries of Central Europe that Russian armies had liberated from the Germans, the Communists established one-party governments which took orders from Moscow. All opposition, dissent, or free expression of opinion was ruthlessly suppressed.

In March 1946, in a speech delivered at Fulton, Missouri, with President Harry Tru-

man on the platform, Winston Churchill declared: "From Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the continent." The West, said the former British prime minister, must meet the challenge, by force if necessary, because the Communists had contempt for weakness. Truman and his diplomatic advisers came to agree with Churchill that a "get tough" policy toward Russia had been forced upon them.

The Strength of Communism

The new antagonist was in many ways more dangerous than the Axis. Although the USSR and its satellites held no such military superiority as the Axis powers enjoyed early in World War II, the Communists had more effective psychological weapons. The Nazis were hated and feared even before their armies conquered neighboring countries. They had glorified Germans as a master race with a right to turn France into a warriors' playground, to reduce the Slavic people to hewers of wood and drawers of water, and—reverting to a barbarism more terrible than that of the Huns or the Tartar hordes of Genghis Khan—to exterminate the Jews. And in Asia the "divine mission" of the Mikado to rule China and nations to the south had little appeal to non-Japanese, who had little desire to trade one master for another.

In the long run the Communists are probably more dangerous opponents than were the Fascists, because the Communists' message has a wider appeal. Most of the world lives in desperate poverty, and many millions are unemployed—the Communists promise work and a decent living for all. Millions suffer discrimination because of race or religion—the Communists declare that all men (at least all who work with their hands) are brothers. Many people, especially the young, want to find identity by dedicating themselves to a cause—the Communists call on all men and women of good will to join in a crusade against poverty and oppression. The Communists profess belief in government by the people and call the states they control “people’s democracies.” Often it is only after they have taken over a country that its people learn that the bright promises of communism are false and that they mask a totalitarian system of tyranny over body and mind.

The strength of communism rests not merely on Russian and Chinese armies and the attractions of the Communist message, but also on agents all over the world. Unquestioning party members, and their dupes, are willing, on orders from Moscow or Peking, to engage in spying, sabotage, and the promotion of unrest. Sometimes they win enough support to organize guerilla forces and to attempt to gain power through civil war. Such tactics have been used, with varying success, in Greece, China, Malaya, Indochina, and the Philippines.

The Communists see the world as a place of struggle between themselves, representing the forces of enlightenment and progress, and the capitalist countries, representing repression and reaction. “For the Communist,” writes a recent observer, “every non-Communist is either a potential convert or simply an opponent who must be fought. Communists participating in any non-Communist organization seek

to subvert it, and thus bend it to their purposes, or, failing that, to destroy it.” There may be truce with the Communist world because of fear of mutual annihilation, but no stable peace in the immediately foreseeable future.

THE UNITED NATIONS

As the last chapter suggested, no country had done more to promote the formation of the United Nations than the United States; no country had wanted it more; no country had higher expectations for it as a means of ridding the world of the scourge of war. It was fitting that the magnificent capitol buildings of the UN should be in this country. American expectations were, indeed, somewhat exaggerated, since the UN lacked power to enforce its decisions and in some situations even lacked the power to make a decision. It must also be remarked that the United States was somewhat to blame for the weakness of the UN. The Americans were just as responsible as the Russians for writing the big-power veto into the UN Charter. In 1946 the United States Senate further weakened the international organization when it voted the crippling Connally Amendment to American acceptance of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. According to the Connally Amendment, the United States would decide for itself whether or not it

QUESTION • Why would a majority of the Senate vote for the Connally Amendment?

would accept the jurisdiction of the World Court in any particular case. When the

most powerful nation in the world refused to grant the judicial branch of the UN independent power, it postponed indefinitely the hope that international disputes might be decided by rule of law.

UN Failures

The most obvious reason the UN did not live up to the bright hopes that surrounded its birth was the Cold War. "To the Communists," writes a recent observer, "the UN is no more than an instrument of conflict," rather than an agency for international cooperation. Meetings of UN bodies were often paralyzed because diplomats from both sides of the Iron Curtain spent their time denouncing each other, or because action was blocked by Russian vetoes.

The expectation that the UN would have a peace-keeping army of its own, as provided by the charter, was soon abandoned because the Russian and American positions were so far apart. Efforts at disarmament by international agreement failed for the same reason. The most appalling failure in this area came with the effort to outlaw atomic warfare. In 1946 the United States, then the only country possessing the atomic bomb, urged that control over atomic development be turned over to an International Atomic Authority under the UN. It would not be subject to the veto, and would have the right of inspection to see that its purposes were carried out. The non-Communist nations in the UN were prepared to accept this generous offer, but the Russians blocked it. They would allow no foreign inspectors behind the Iron Curtain.

The tragic result of failure to put atomic energy under international control was a race to produce new weapons. The USSR had manufactured an atomic bomb by 1949, the British by 1952. Meanwhile, the United States developed the even more terrible hydrogen bomb. The radioactive "fallout" from a single explosion could destroy or endanger the lives of all people living in an area as large as New Jersey. According to the great scientist Albert Einstein, the destruction of all life on earth was now "within the range of technical possibilities."

UN Achievements

Although failing to bring peace in the Cold War, the UN has done much to avert or halt armed conflicts. During the first five years of its existence, it arranged an uneasy truce between Israel and Arab states and another between India and Pakistan in the disputed province of Kashmir. It brought war to an end in the Dutch East Indies and fixed terms under which the Republic of Indonesia came into existence.

Keeping the peace is not the UN's only function. Its "specialized agencies," such as the World Health Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the Food and Agriculture Organization, do vital work in such widely varying fields as combating epidemics, stabilizing currencies, and supplying loans for development of industry and commerce in the less prosperous countries.

Still, it is as a peace-making agency that the UN is judged. Here its one undeniable value has been that it is a bridge between the Communist and non-Communist worlds. It is a place where both sides can appeal to world opinion. According to John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State from 1953 to 1959:

The United Nations . . . is, in its own right, weak; but its power to expose gives it influence. If the spotlight is turned on one who is perpetrating a theft, he will often drop his booty. The power to turn on a light so bright that all the world can see is itself an enormous power.

Perhaps the greatest value of the UN as a peace-keeping mechanism is the least spectacular, because it does not reach the headlines. The UN provides a channel constantly open for communication between the nations of the world. Many international disputes have been averted or allayed by quiet, informal discussion among UN delegates. It is easier to compromise

differences by "corridor diplomacy" than by making speeches or passing resolutions.

The Organization of American States

At the San Francisco Conference in 1945 the United States insisted that the United Nations Charter allow for regional organizations of states, even at the expense of weakening the UN itself. The purpose of this action was to promote closer cooperation among American countries. An Inter-American Conference had already met in Mexico and issued the Act of Chapultepec (March 1945); proclaiming the solidarity of the American republics and their devotion to the peaceful settlement of international disputes. A conference at Bogotá, Colombia, in 1948, set up an Organization of American States (OAS) for mutual protection against aggression either by member states or from outside this hemisphere. The OAS Charter provides

for formal meetings of an Inter-American Conference every five years, for meetings of foreign ministers to consider action in time of crisis, and for an executive council in continuous session.

THE WEST ORGANIZES

The essential policies for meeting the threat of Communist expansion were developed during the Truman administration and have been carried on, with no major change, by succeeding Presidents. They owed much to General George C. Marshall, who became Secretary of State in 1947, and to Dean Acheson, who succeeded him in 1949. Truman would have been helpless, however, had not something of the bipartisan spirit that Congress displayed during World War II continued after hostilities ended. A high proportion of Republican members of Congress who were bitterly opposed



The most significant contribution of the United Nations may prove to be the work of the specialized agencies of the Economic and Social Council. These agencies channel the resources and technical knowledge of more prosperous nations to help underdeveloped nations.



to the President's domestic measures nevertheless backed most of his foreign policies. In particular, Arthur H. Vandenberg, ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, collaborated closely with Truman in formulating policy and winning support for it. The President, in turn, publicly thanked Republicans for their support and usually consulted congressional leaders before taking important actions.

Containment of Communism

The Truman policies did not always win bipartisan backing, and they were often decided only after bitter public discussion. They were attacked by isolationists as too militaristic, by philanthropists as too stingy, by taxpayers as too expensive, by professional patriots as being "soft on communism." Amidst so many pressures it was not surprising that American policy was not always consistent. In general, a fairly clear line of action emerged, known as "containment." Its essential idea was to keep communism within its existing boundaries: to say to Moscow, and later to Peking as well, "Thus far shall you go and no farther!"

The Truman Doctrine

Containment began in Europe. Early in 1947, the British government secretly informed Washington that it must soon withdraw its troops from Greece. American experts in Greece sent word that this would mean a Communist take-over in the country. Already guerrillas, with military support from beyond the Iron Curtain, controlled much of the north of Greece. In this crisis President Truman lost little time in deciding that the United States must act. If Greece fell to the Communists, Turkey would go next, then perhaps Italy, or the Middle East. Therefore in March 1947, Truman told a joint session of Congress that the United States must "help free people to

maintain their free institutions and their national integrity" against direct or indirect aggression. Congress voted military and economic aid to both Greece and Turkey, and the Greek government eventually suppressed the Communist rebellion.

This Truman Doctrine was in direct contrast to that portion of the Monroe Doctrine which declared that the United States would not interfere in the internal affairs of European countries. It dramatized the change from the isolation of the nineteenth century to the world-wide responsibility of the twentieth.

The Berlin Air Lift

In 1945, Russia was granted control of eastern Germany except for Berlin, which was divided into four sections under American, British, French, and Russian authorities. In the summer of 1948, the USSR tried to starve the Western powers out of Berlin by stopping all traffic from West Germany. The western allies overcame the Berlin blockade by an "air lift," whereby supplies for over two million people were flown to the German capital. Hour after hour, day after day, for over a year, American and British cargo planes carried food, medical supplies, clothing, even coal, to the German capital. In May 1949, Russia lifted the blockade. "When we refused to be forced out of the city of Berlin," wrote Truman, "we demonstrated to the people of Europe that with their cooperation we would act, and act resolutely, when their freedom was threatened."

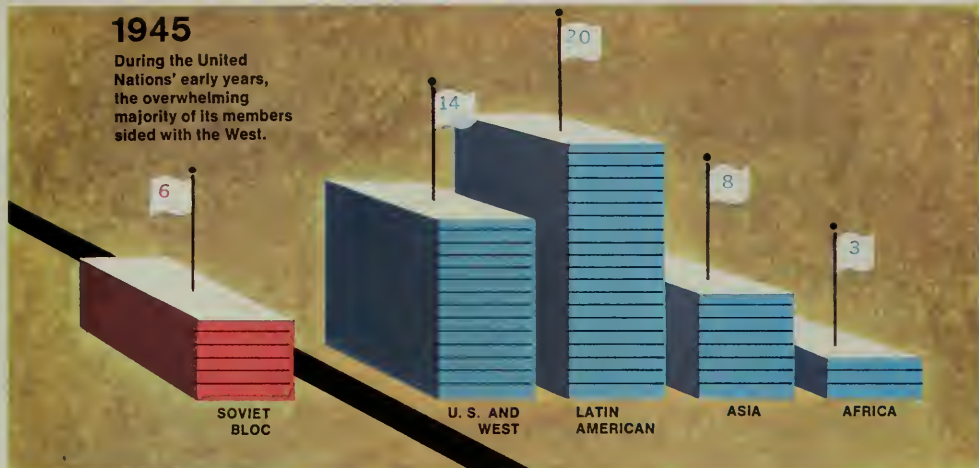
The Marshall Plan

The suppression of communism in Greece and the air lift to Berlin were accompanied by efforts to rebuild the economic and military strength of Western Europe. Immediately after the war, the United States helped to save Europe from starvation through heavy contribution to the United Nations Relief and Rehabili-

ALIGNMENT IN THE UNITED NATIONS, 1945-1966

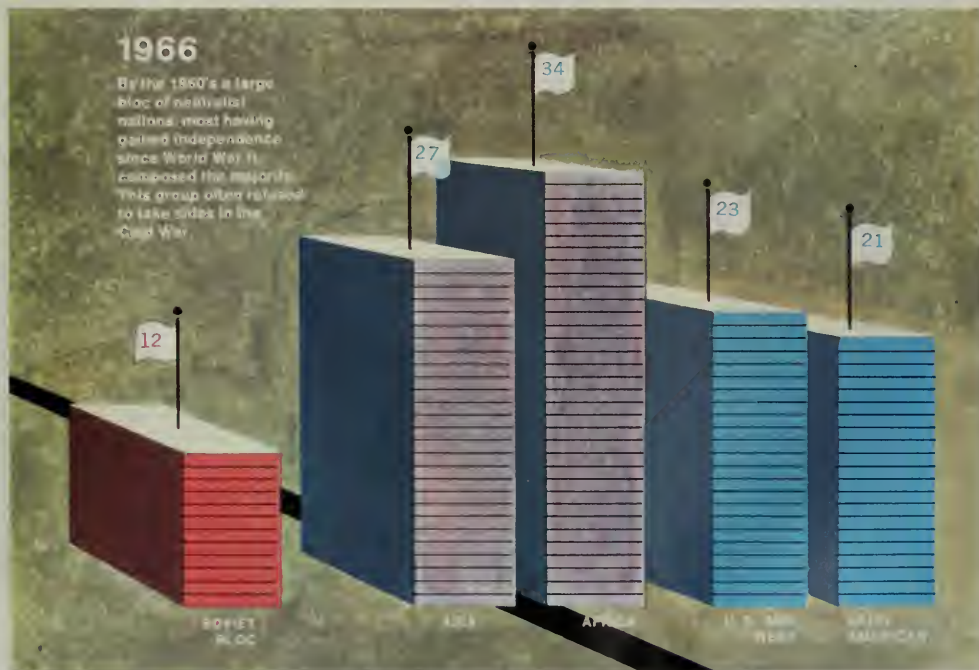
1945

During the United Nations' early years, the overwhelming majority of its members sided with the West.



1966

By the 1960's a large bloc of neutralist nations, most having gained independence since World War II, composed the majority. This group often refused to take sides in the Cold War.



tation Agency (UNRRA). But soup kitchen relief provided no permanent solution, and the economy of Europe was shattered. In France alone over six hundred miles of railroad bridges had been destroyed, so people almost starved to death because crops could not be moved to market. In the American and British zones of Germany, food rations provided little more than a thousand calories a day; American cigarettes passed as currency; one pack was said to equal the monthly wage of a laborer. In Great Britain during the severe winter of 1946–

1947, electricity was turned on for only three hours a day. Such a situation provided a seed-bed for communism, and the Communist party in France attracted more voters than any other; in Italy it received the support of a third of the electorate.

In June 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed that the United States help European nations in a united effort to raise production. Marshall included Russia and the countries behind the Iron Curtain in his offer. But the USSR denounced the whole scheme as

George C. Marshall, Soldier and Statesman



George C. Marshall has been called the "architect of victory" in World War II, although he spent little time on the battlefield.

A "man's man," with an unexpectedly salty sense of humor, he disliked his position in the rear echelon. But as Army Chief of Staff from 1939 until November 1945, he organized the American effort. Well before Pearl Harbor, in December 1941, he had begun to raise, train, and equip a citizen army of ninety divisions.

Marshall opposed the British plan to carry the invasion of Europe northward from Italy, fighting successfully for the direct cross-Channel assault on the Continent. During the war he helped to plan strategy at all the important conferences—Washington, Casablanca, Quebec, Teheran, Cairo, Malta, Yalta, and Potsdam.

After World War II, President Truman sent Marshall to China to attempt to arrange a truce in the civil war between the Nationalists, led by Chiang Kai-shek, and the Communists, led by Mao Tse-tung. He failed in this endeavor, as was probably inevitable. Once hostilities had been resumed, Marshall used his influence against all-out support of the Nationalists, on the ground that the United States had neither the will nor the power to make a large enough commitment in China to defeat the Communists. No one knows whether or not this was true, but Marshall inevitably received blame when the Communists took over all of China except Taiwan and a few small islands in 1949.

In January 1947 Truman named Marshall Secretary of State. Europe was close to economic collapse, and it looked as though the Communists would pick up the pieces. On June 5, at the Harvard University commencement exercises, Marshall announced the plan for American aid to Europe which has become known as the Marshall Plan. It was enthusiastically approved in London, and the French ministry called a special meeting to discuss French participation. In the same year, basic planning began on what became the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Western world, which—through lack of imaginative leadership—had nearly defaulted to communism, again moved forward.

(Theme 2, see p. xii)

"Yankee imperialism." The Western European nations cooperated gladly, however, and drew up detailed plans not merely for restoring production and controlling inflation, but also for breaking down trade barriers—tariffs, quotas, differing currencies—which were impeding the flow of commerce.

During the next four years, Congress voted almost as much money for the Marshall Plan as was used for the entire expenses of the federal government during the last two years be-

QUESTION • Were the Marshall Plan and other foreign aid means of buying friendships, of supporting American industry, of combatting communism, or all of these?

fore World War II—that is, 1937 and 1938. The first director of the Economic Cooperation Administration, which oversaw the plan, was Paul Hoff-

man (see p. 697). By 1950, European industrial production had risen 64 per cent. It continued to rise thereafter at a rate faster than that of either the United States or the USSR. As the prosperity of Western Europe came to exceed all previous levels, the appeal of communism diminished and its parties lost strength.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

To rebuild Western Europe's economy without increasing its military strength might simply invite Russian aggression. In April 1949, nine European countries, plus Iceland, Canada, and the United States, formed a military alliance called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). By the NATO agreement, each country was bound to consider an attack on one as an attack on all. The members of the alliance agreed to build up their military strength, the United States helping with money, arms, and troops. General Eisenhower became the first commander of NATO forces (see map, Tension—Europe and the Middle East, p. 714).

NATO was exactly the kind of "permanent alliance" that George Washington had long ago warned Americans to shun. When the Senate ratified the North Atlantic Treaty without reservations by a vote of 69 to 13, it was clear that the United States had abandoned its traditional policy of isolation from the power politics of Europe.

COMMITMENTS IN ASIA

In Asia the purposes of the United States at the close of World War II were simply to restore peace and to assist, where possible, the desire of native peoples to be free of foreign rule. But here, as in Europe, the Communists were on the march. They took over China, invaded South Korea, and threatened Southeast Asia. As Communist purposes were revealed, the United States turned to the policy already evolved for Europe: containment.

The United States had a special responsibility in three areas: the Philippines, Japan, and China. In the first two countries, American policy was largely successful; in the last it suffered a severe setback. Communist aggression drew the United States into the military defense of South Korea, with results that might be called a standoff.

The Philippine Republic

On July 4, 1946, the Stars and Stripes were hauled down from public buildings in the Philippines, as the United States fulfilled the promise of independence made in 1934. The new Philippine Republic was allowed tariff concessions in American markets until 1973 and was given over \$600,000,000 to repair war damage and restore productive capacity. In return, the Filipinos granted commercial opportunities and military bases to the United States. Later, when the Philippines were threatened by the Hukbalahaps, a Communist-led terrorist movement,

the United States sent both military aid and economic assistance. The Hukbalahaps were eventually suppressed. Although the new republic had difficult economic and political problems, the change from colony to nation was to a large degree successful.

Occupation of Japan: 1945-1951

In July 1945, shortly before atom bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, an inter-Allied conference at Potsdam, outside Berlin, drew up plans for postwar treatment of Japan. The essential provisions were: (1) militarists should be punished and Japan disarmed; (2) Japanese sovereignty should be restricted to the home islands; and (3) the people should be educated in democracy. Troops were to occupy Japan until these aims were accomplished. To carry out this Potsdam Declaration, General Douglas MacArthur was appointed supreme commander of the Allied powers (soon abbreviated to SCAP).

Although two inter-Allied commissions were appointed to advise him, MacArthur in fact wielded dictatorial power. Under his able direction, Japan underwent a notable period of reform. Its armies were disbanded, and its war industries destroyed. A few militarists were tried for war crimes; many more were purged from government jobs. Political democracy was advanced by abolition of the secret police, by a new constitution, and by woman suffrage. The emperor remained as a symbol of national unity but was no longer treated as a god. Economic opportunity was promoted by attempts to break up the great trusts owned by a few families, by encouragement of trade unions, and above all by redistribution of the land among the peasants. A reorganized educational system taught democratic ways instead of national myths and blind obedience. At first the intention had been to make Japan pay reparations, but the economic difficulties of the island kingdom proved

so great that instead the United States provided nearly two billion dollars in aid.

The Japanese showed courtesy, even friendliness, toward their conquerors and willingly accepted most SCAP reforms. When MacArthur finished his reign at Tokyo, the Japanese were heading toward remarkable prosperity and recovery of their sovereignty. In 1951 the country was granted independence in a treaty signed at San Francisco. The United States retained, however, military bases on the island of Okinawa.

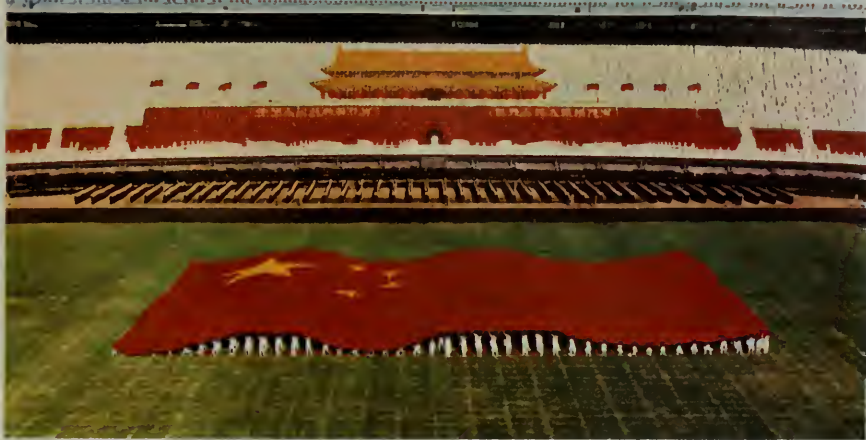
In some ways the Japanese conquered their conquerors. In America, as a result of close exposure to their culture, there developed a growing appreciation of the achievements of the Japanese in architecture, gardening, philosophy, and art.

Communist Triumph in China

Few peoples have ever undergone such suffering as did the Chinese in the twentieth century. For nearly forty years after the overthrow of the last emperor in 1911, the country was never free of civil war, foreign invasion, or both. By the end of World War II, the Chinese were profoundly war-weary, but new troubles were in store.

Throughout the twentieth century the United States had favored an independent, unified China. American missionaries and educators had devoted their lives to the welfare of the Chinese people. It was the flat refusal of the United States to accept the Japanese conquest of China that led to the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941. And yet there had been a large measure of unreality in American policy. Until the Pearl Harbor attack, American statesmen had been willing to preach the Open Door policy and the integrity of China, but had been unwilling to back it up with military force.

In planning for the peace, Roosevelt had insisted that China should be treated as a great



China's hundreds of millions of people harnessed to a militant doctrine of communism and a developing industrialization capable of producing nuclear devices pose one of the major problems of foreign policy for the United States, Russia, India, and the countries of Southeast Asia.

power—witness its permanent seat in the UN Security Council—in spite of the doubts of Stalin and Churchill. When hostilities came to an end in 1945, the United States assisted the Nationalist armies of Chiang Kai-shek to reoccupy their country, and American engineers helped rebuild Chinese railways.

Ever since the early 1930's there had been a civil war in China between the Nationalist government and Communist rebels led by Mao Tse-tung. The struggle against Japan had provided the Communists with a golden opportunity. While Chiang's forces were driven far into the southwestern provinces, Mao extended the territory under his control from 35,000 square miles containing perhaps 1,500,000 people to 225,000 square miles containing 65,000,000 people. Mao's troops were well disciplined; he befriended the peasants; and his policies at this time were so moderate that many American observers did not think him a true Communist but merely an "agrarian reformer." Meanwhile the war had immensely weakened the Nationalists. The Japanese had controlled the cities, where the Nationalists had most of

their popular support. In its long exile, the government led by Chiang Kai-shek had become inefficient and corrupt. Its one-party organization, the Kuomintang (pronounced "Gwomindong"), was undemocratic and oppressive.

In 1946 General Marshall went to China to try to arrange a peace between the Nationalists and the Communists. He managed to effect a brief truce, but could find no permanent basis for compromise. The lull in the fighting assisted the Communists, and full-scale war broke out in 1947. As Mao's forces gained ground, some of Truman's advisers urged that he give massive support to Chiang, including military "advisers." But Marshall, now Secretary of State, thought that it was more important to defend Western Europe from Stalin than China from Mao. He opposed the use of American troops to save Chiang's tottering regime. The Nationalists did receive economic aid and arms from the United States, but that was not enough to avert collapse. The Communist armies swept all before them, and by 1950 Chiang's forces held only Formosa and a few offshore islands.



Once in power, the Chinese Communists proved themselves even more ruthless than the Russian Bolsheviks. They slaughtered or silenced all opponents and attempted to weaken the intense family loyalty that had been the basis of Chinese civilization. They preached undying hatred for the United States.

In failing to prevent Communist victory in China, the United States suffered "the major reverse in all the history of its dealings with foreign nations." The China policy of the Truman administration naturally came under violent attack. Its critics maintained that a more accurate estimate of Communist purposes and strength, plus all-out aid to the Nationalists, would have saved the situation. Others argued that the time to have saved China was in the 1930's, when Japan first attacked. Still others maintained that the United States was never in a position to "save" China on the grounds that public opinion would not have supported risk of war with Japan in the 1930's, nor large-scale military intervention in the late 1940's. It is difficult to judge between these positions, since the Chinese situation was fantastically



The Korean War brought great suffering to the inhabitants. At its close, the fighting resembled that in France in World War I, as is suggested by this sketch of infantrymen coming back from the front as American artillery lays down a barrage.

complex, and the whole affair became a bitter political issue.

Divided Korea

Promised "freedom and independence" at the Cairo Conference in 1943, Korea suffered a tragic fate after liberation from thirty-five years of Japanese rule. At the close of World War II, Russian troops occupied the country north of the 38th parallel of latitude. Aided by native Communists, they lost no time in setting up a "people's republic." Like other satellite states, it was cut off from the outside world. In 1947 a UN commission was not allowed to set foot north of the 38th parallel.

Meanwhile, in the south the United States fostered a Republic of Korea under Syngman Rhee, who had spent much of his life in exile in this country. In 1948 the UN recognized the republic in the south as the lawful government of the peninsula. In 1949 the United States withdrew its troops. American military experts advised that Korea should be regarded as outside the "defense perimeter" of the United States, since it could be defended only at great

cost. The Communists therefore decided to try for a cheap victory.

Korean War, 1950–1953

On June 25, 1950, Russian-trained North Korean armies invaded South Korea without warning. This action provided a vital test for the UN. If it backed down in the face of this unprovoked aggression, it would be powerless in the future. On the very afternoon of the attack, the Security Council met, found North Korea guilty of a “breach of the peace,” and called on UN members to aid South Korea. Fortunately, Russia was boycotting the Security Council at the time and so was unable to use its veto. Two days later—without waiting for formal action by Congress—President Truman ordered American military forces into action. Several other UN countries also sent military, naval, and medical units to aid South Korea. The United States Seventh Fleet was sent to protect Formosa from possible invasion by Communist China.

After early Communist successes, General MacArthur, in command of the UN forces, made a brilliant surprise landing at Inchon, behind the Communist lines. He then swept northward toward the Yalu River, boundary between Korea and Manchuria. But in November the tide turned again, as Chinese “volunteers” poured across the Yalu and drove the UN forces back almost to the 38th parallel.

The UN policy in Korea was to fight a limited war. Thus UN planes were forbidden to bomb Chinese bases in Manchuria. General MacArthur resented such limitations. In April 1951, Joseph W. Martin, Republican leader in the House of Representatives, published a letter from the general, criticizing the failure to use Chinese Nationalist troops in Korea. Faced with this deliberate challenge to the supremacy of civil over military power, President Truman removed MacArthur from command.

The “Great Debate,” 1951

When MacArthur came home to receive a hero’s welcome, the country was bitterly divided between him and the President. The result was a great debate on foreign and military policy. The general’s desire to extend the war into China was countered by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. According to General Omar Bradley, a full-scale attack on Red China would have involved the United States “in the wrong war at the wrong time in the wrong place with the wrong enemy.” MacArthur demanded that the United States act independently of the UN if

QUESTION • The policy MacArthur urged would have created full-scale war with Communist China. What would have been the outcome?

that body sought to limit U.S. use of military power. “There is no substitute,” he declared, “for victory.” He further argued that de-

fense of Asia was more vital than that of Europe. Administration supporters insisted that to weaken the UN was to weaken the United States, and that Western Europe, the second-greatest industrial region of the world, must be defended at all cost.

The great debate failed to alter American policy, except that there was a stiffening in attitude toward Red China. American naval forces now protected Formosa. The United States flatly opposed admitting Communist China to the UN, because, said Secretary of State Dean Acheson, “we cannot allow governments that want to get into the United Nations to shoot their way in.”

The Korean War settled down to a prolonged stalemate. An Indian peace proposal, presented in 1952, was acceptable to the free nations, but not to the Communists. When Eisenhower was elected President in 1952, he declared that a Korean settlement should be one of his first tasks. Finally, after seemingly



top members of the Communist party in the United States were convicted of advocating the overthrow of the government. The federal courts held that it was not a denial of the First Amendment, protecting freedom of speech and assembly, to punish membership in an organization whose purpose is "to overthrow and destroy the government of the United States by force."

In the face of the Communist threat, there was a tendency to take extreme precautions against conspiracy—precautions which hurt innocent people and narrowed the liberties of loyal Americans. Security checks of government officials and those being considered for government posts went to such lengths that they hurt morale, lowered efficiency, and reduced the number of candidates for important positions.

Perhaps even more serious was a tendency to confuse criticism of American institutions and demands for reform with disloyalty. As Judge Harold Medina told the jury which convicted the twelve Communists, denial of the right to criticize does not strengthen the country, but weakens it by allowing abuses to go unchecked. In a unanimous decision, in 1952, declaring a state loyalty oath unconstitutional, the Supreme Court pointed out that laws directed against Communists may make it dangerous for others "to think, speak, or write critically."

The China disaster and the Korean stalemate helped to produce a mood in the United States not unlike the "red scare" that followed World War I. The public looked for scapegoats, and opponents of the Truman administration were ready to find them. The President had "lost" China and Korea because, his critics said, his advisers were Communists or Communist dupes. The State Department, charged Robert A. Taft, leader of the Republicans in the Senate, was riddled by subversives who had "surrendered to every demand of Russia . . . and promoted at every opportunity the Communist cause in China." Far more reckless in his charges was Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, who declared that the Democratic Party was guilty of "twenty years of treason" in the course of which Roosevelt had deliberately sacrificed the fleet at Pearl Harbor to get the United States into war, and had sold out to Russia at Yalta. McCarthy claimed to have lists of 205, or 57, or 81 "card-carrying Communists" in the State Department. While not one of these was ever discovered and a Senate committee declared the charges were "a fraud and a hoax," in the atmosphere of the time McCarthy enjoyed an ever-increasing influence.

The new witch-hunting went far beyond the federal government. Private vigilante groups sought to pin the Communist label on liberal and reformist people in every walk of

life. They were successful in driving allegedly "pink" professors from universities, in getting supposedly subversive textbooks banned from schools, and in blackballing certain broadcasters and entertainers from television, as well as actors from the stage and films.

ESTIMATE OF THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION

President Truman's stock has risen since he left the White House. It is evidence of his overall achievement that most of the Fair Deal measures he recommended have since been enacted into law, and the essential foreign policies of the United States have been those initiated during his administration. In the foreign sphere especially, the wonder is not that there were failures, but that on balance they were so few. Given the complexity and novelty of the problems that the President and his advisers faced, a public weary of foreign adventures, a Congress often suspicious or hostile, the fact that Truman led the country from isolationism to responsibility was an immense achievement.

But Truman did not do it alone. Ultimately he could act only with public support. He succeeded as far as he did because the people of the United States had reached a fundamental decision: that their responsibilities and commitments must match their wealth and power. In 1952 a group of scholars from Oxford University in England paid America this tribute:

The faults and shortcomings of America—which, unlike those of the Soviet Union, are wide open to the world and freely discussed by the Americans themselves—have led too many people . . . to ignore the plain fact that the U.S.A. has been the best "top nation" since Rome. It establishes order, resists the aggressor, defends the attacked, strengthens the weak, and succors the poor. The U.S.A. is the first world power to give money away, to tax itself for the foreigner in peacetime. We are too little astonished at the unprecedented virtuosity of U.S. foreign policy and at its good sense.

Activities: Chapter 30

For Mastery and Review

1. What was the general estimate of Harry Truman in 1945? What is likely to be history's estimate of him? Why?

2. Why did the shift to a peacetime economy promote prosperity? What were the causes of inflation? How did this inflation affect labor? What were the purposes and main features of the Taft-Hartley Act? In what ways did President Truman contribute to Negro progress?

3. What factors explain Truman's unexpected re-election in 1948? Why were political forecasts inaccurate?

4. Explain the gap between Truman's "Fair Deal" proposals and what was enacted into law. Why did the recession of 1949 not become a depression?

5. Explain the strengths of communism. Explain the origin and continuance of the Cold War. What were some United Nations' failures? Some achievements?

6. Summarize the activities of the Truman administration in organizing the West against communism.

7. In what areas of the Far East did the United States actively concern itself after the close of World War II? Explain the nature and estimate the success of American activities in each area.

8. How far do you consider the Truman administration to have been a success?

9. What were the effects of the Cold War within America? What were security checks? What tactics were used by Senator McCarthy?

Unrolling the Map

1. On an outline map of Europe, indicate the countries for which the Truman Doctrine was directly formulated, the nations members of NATO, the nations cut off from the West by the Iron Curtain, and the division of Germany into zones of occupation.

2. On an outline map of Asia indicate areas of tension between the Communist World and the West.

Who, What, and Why Important?

CED	Truman Doctrine
Full Employment Act, 1946	Berlin airlift
Taft-Hartley Act	Marshall Plan
Commission on Human Rights	NATO
election of 1948	Philippine Republic
Thomas E. Dewey	SCAP
Dixiecrats	OAS
the Fair Deal	Mao Tse-tung
Iron Curtain	Formosa
Connally Amendment	Korean War
containment	the "great debate"
	Joseph R. McCarthy

To Pursue the Matter

1. Examine the charge that the Truman administration "lost" China, or that Truman ought not to have settled for less than total victory in Korea. Sources: Winks, *The Cold War from Yalta to Cuba*, pp. 53-70; Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, Chapter 4; Latourette, *The American Record in the Far East, 1945-1961*; and Feis, *The China Tangle*.

2. Organize a debate or panel discussion on the continuing dispute over the Taft-Hartley Law. A useful source: Rayback, *A History of American Labor*.

3. Allocate credit for the origin of the Marshall Plan. See Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 482-486.

4. A lively account of the whistle-stop campaign by Truman himself is found in Arnof, *A Sense of the Past*, pp. 479-481. Has TV made such a political maneuver obsolete?

5. Compare and contrast ideological bases of "Americanism" and communism. For an excellent treatment of this vital topic see Winks, *The Cold War: From Yalta to Cuba*, pp. 36-53.

6. How has the Cold War changed Americans? When we maintain security checks and government secrecy, keep a large armed force active, and give billions of dollars to foreign nations, are the results worth the costs? See Ransom, *Can American Democracy Survive the Cold War?*

Chapter 31

The Middle Way

It seems to me that no great intelligence is required in order to discern the practical necessity of establishing some kind of security for individuals in a specialized and highly industrialized age. At one time such security was provided by the existence of free land and a great mass of untouched and valuable natural resources throughout our country. These are no longer to be had for the asking; we have had experience of millions of people—devoted, fine Americans, who have walked the streets unable to find work or any kind of sustenance for themselves and their families.

On the other hand, for us to push further and further into the socialistic experiment is to deny the validity of all those convictions we have held as to the cumulative power of free citizens, exercising their own initiative, inventiveness and desires to provide better living for themselves and their children.

—DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

When approached to run for the presidency in 1948, General Eisenhower had flatly refused. "The necessary and wise subordination of the military to civil power," he then wrote, "will be best sustained when life-long professional soldiers abstain from seeking high political office." In 1952, however, he reluctantly gave in to members of the liberal, internationalist wing of the Republican party, who were anxious to head off the candidacy of the midwestern conservative Senator Robert A. Taft. An intense struggle for delegates to the national convention resulted in a narrow victory for Eisenhower. The Democrats nominated Adlai E. Stevenson, who had stood aloof from pre-convention campaigning, but whose record as a vigorous and popular governor of Illinois made him an attractive candidate.

The ensuing presidential campaign was exciting, as the rivals—now using airplanes instead of railroad trains—traveled more widely than ever before. The Illinois governor proved an effective speaker, somewhat reminiscent of Woodrow Wilson in his scholarly eloquence. He labored, however, under the burden of having to defend the Truman administration that no longer enjoyed the confidence of the country. The Republicans effectively insisted that it was "time for a change." Their campaign was based on the themes "Corruption, Communism, Korea." They promised to clean up "the mess in Washington," to ferret Communists or their dupes out of high places in Washington, and to bring the frustrating stalemate in Korea to an end. Eisenhower announced that if elected he would go to Korea at once.

More important than issues, real or imagined, was the fact that the Republicans had nominated the most popular man in the country. Their most effective slogan was simply, "I like Ike."

The number of ballots cast for the two candidates increased by one-fifth over the previous highest total, registered in the Roosevelt-Willkie election of 1940. The result was an Eisenhower landslide. The general carried the electoral college, 442 to 89, and won support even in the traditional Democratic stronghold, the "Solid South." The result was more a personal victory for "Ike," however, than a triumph for the Republican party. The Republicans had a majority of only seven votes in the House of Representatives and controlled the Senate only through the casting vote of the Vice-President.

For the first time in twenty years, the country faced the task of transferring the reins of government from one party to another. The problem was effectively handled. Eisenhower went to Korea in a plane furnished by President Truman. The President-elect's major appointments were promptly announced, and Democratic officials immediately called the new appointees into consultation. Thus there was no such dangerous period of drift as occurred in 1860–1861 and in 1932–1933 (see pp. 343 and 609).

EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION: DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Once in the White House, Eisenhower revealed that his long career as an army officer did not mean that he expected simply to give orders. On the contrary, he professed the "Whig theory" that the President should limit his sphere of action and authority. He should not attempt to dominate or dictate to Congress, but instead should share leadership with the legislative body. His two predecessors, Roose-



Diplomacy Abroad: In a series of trips to countries throughout the world, President Eisenhower did much to gather good will for the United States. Above he is shown with President Prasad of India.

velt and Truman, had, he held, warped the Constitution by excessive use of executive power.

Within the executive department itself, Eisenhower attempted to decentralize decision-making and make his top officials a "team." The cabinet assumed new importance and became a genuine consultative body. For the first time in history, it had a regular agenda, regularly kept minutes, and a full-time secretary. Eisenhower made his assistant Sherman Adams a "chief of staff" and gave him power to decide what matters were of sufficient importance to be referred to the direct attention of the President.

The advantages of Eisenhower's orderly arrangements for sharing and delegating authority were seen when he was stricken three times with illness: in all cases the White House staff carried on without serious difficulty. But by insisting that information and opinion should come to him only "through channels" the Presi-



Diplomacy at Home: One of the features of post-war diplomacy has been the frequent meetings of heads of state. Here President Eisenhower shows President de Gaulle of France around Gettysburg.

dent isolated himself and became an unknowing prisoner of his subordinates. At some crucial times the President even seemed to be in the dark about important decisions for which he had nevertheless to assume responsibility.

Eisenhower retained throughout his eight years in office the trust and affection of the American people. Whatever his shortcomings, they liked his simplicity, sincerity, modesty, and genuine desire to do right.

Down "the Middle of the Road"

As the quotation at the head of this chapter suggests, Eisenhower explicitly declared that he was traveling down "the middle of the road." He meant to steer a course between the path charted by those who would return to unrestrained *laissez-faire* on the one hand and on the other those who would greatly extend the welfare activities of the federal government.

Eisenhower's cabinet and the circle of friends with whom he played bridge and golf contained a high proportion of businessmen, and in several ways he reflected the outlook of the business community. During his first weeks in office he ordered the end of wage and price controls that had been imposed during the Korean War. "Now," said the President, "as well as in the long run, free competitive prices will best serve the interests of all the people." In May 1953, Congress, backed by Eisenhower, passed a bill granting to coastal states control of offshore mineral and oil deposits. This reversed a Supreme Court decision that these were under federal control. Later the same year the Reconstruction Finance Corporation closed its operations. The military services also abandoned numerous enterprises, including "railroad and ship operation, scrap metal baling, hotel operation, furniture repair, baking, sawmilling... life insurance, motion pictures, and the manufacture of clothing, paint, and ice cream."

In a return to more conservative financing, Eisenhower's first order of business was an attempt to balance the federal budget. Government services were reduced and defense spending cut back. Taxes were kept high, although lower taxes had been a 1952 campaign promise. Eisenhower insisted that a balanced budget would make America stronger. It would halt the continuous inflation that consumed people's savings and undermined confidence in the dollar. By 1956, the federal budget showed its first surplus in eight years. For a time, too, the cost of living remained stable.

Eisenhower once condemned the TVA as "creeping socialism." His administration attempted, unsuccessfully, to arrange that private industry should provide new power plants in the TVA region. The President's belief was similar to that of Herbert Hoover (see pp. 591

and Appendix, pp. 808–810): that the federal government should produce power only if another purpose—such as irrigation or flood control—was clearly involved. Some federal power projects were shelved, and private enterprise was encouraged to move in. For instance, in 1954 the Idaho Power Company was granted the right to build dams in Hell's Canyon on the Snake River, thereby heading off a half-billion-dollar public project.

Concern for "the Little Fellow"

In spite of these and other evidences of a swing toward conservatism, the new Republican administration followed a line in domestic policy much closer to Franklin Roosevelt than to Calvin Coolidge. Repeatedly Eisenhower impressed on his cabinet that an administration friendly to business must also show concern for "the little fellow." At his urging Congress extended the Social Security Act to 10,000,000 more people and increased its benefits. He advocated slum clearance and a greatly expanded road-building program, with the federal government paying 90 per cent of the cost. Without success, he urged Congress to enact a program of health insurance to be partially underwritten by the federal government.

An achievement of his administration in which Eisenhower took genuine pride was the St. Lawrence Seaway. Presidents Hoover, Roosevelt, and Truman had failed to persuade Congress to join with Canada in this great project. Now Canada threatened to build it alone. Eisenhower insisted that it was necessary for defense, for the economic well-being of the United States, and for friendly relations with the great country that bordered our northern frontier. Congress passed the necessary legislation in 1954. In 1959 The President and Queen Elizabeth of England formally opened the Seaway. This great engineering feat opened

the Great Lakes to ocean-going shipping, creating a second Mediterranean Sea.

Continuing Prosperity

During Eisenhower's first term, American prosperity, already high, reached new peaks. The steel industry, a standard barometer of business activity, was operating at full capacity much of the time and was behind in its orders.

There was only one halt in good times. In 1953–1954, starting shortly after the close of the Korean War, there were signs of a coming depression. At almost every cabinet meeting in the spring of 1954 the President talked about how to prevent "another 1929." Labor leaders demanded a big public works program, and Walter Reuther, president of the automobile workers union, charged the administration with "creeping McKinleyism" for not embarking on one at once. But the administration held off, except for speeding up government purchases already authorized by Congress and easing credit through the Federal Reserve banks. Eisenhower preferred to wait and see whether the country could not again make the shift to a peacetime economy without further assistance. The event justified his hope: by mid-1954 prosperity had returned.

A more serious recession occurred in 1957 and continued for two years. At its depth in 1958 more than five million workers were unemployed. But again, as in 1949–1950 and 1953–1954, there were no stock market panics, no bank failures, and remarkably little slackening off of domestic and industrial production. The "built-in stabilizers" mentioned in the last chapter, such as old-age pensions, helped to prevent the appalling downward spiral of the Hoover period. Again the Eisenhower administration resisted demands for large-scale relief spending, and again the patient recovered. By 1960 business activity reached new heights.

During the 1950's wage workers often gained affluence, while farmers were plagued with chronic problems. Above, the multi-million dollar resort of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. Below, farm surpluses in the mid-western wheat belt must be stored in the streets.



Farm Problems and Policies

Most farmers did not share in "Eisenhower prosperity." Between 1948 and 1956 the farmers' share of the national income dropped from about 9 per cent to 4 per cent. It was estimated that in Eisenhower's first term alone half a million farmers gave up and left the soil.

Men with large capital could buy the latest farm machinery, use the latest scientific meth-

ods, buy or lease the best lands, and reduce their costs so much that they could make a profit even in a falling market. Federal loans and subsidies, furthermore, helped the large one-crop farmers more than the small farmers who raised several crops. Thus both natural and artificial causes were working against the traditional one-family farm. By 1959 half the farmland in the country belonged to the 1 farmer in 25 who owned 1,000 acres or more.

Ezra Taft Benson, Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture, strongly believed that farmers should rely more on themselves. He proposed "flexible" price supports for major products. These would allow for gradual reduction of the price of a crop in which there was already a surplus. Such reduction, argued Benson, would persuade farmers to shift to crops in more demand. Democratic leaders in Congress were joined by Republicans from agricultural states in denouncing the Benson policies, which would, they charged, "eliminate farmers instead of surpluses." They favored "rigid" price supports that practically guaranteed the producer against serious loss, but did little to reduce

vast, unsaleable surpluses. Eisenhower stood squarely behind Benson. He was willing, however, to accept a "soil bank" program, rather like a second AAA. It provided that farmers would be paid for taking land out of cultivation, but at the same time improving the soil in case there were a need for more crops in the future. As a conservation measure the new arrangement was a success, but it did little to reduce the cost of agricultural subsidies or to halt the relative decline in farm income.

Labor Advances

In contrast to the plight of the farmers, the Eisenhower years saw laboring men make steady gains in wages and other benefits. These came for the most part without governmental action. Indeed, the President believed that federal intervention in labor matters was unwise unless a strike threatened to paralyze the economy. The advance of labor came instead from new attitudes on the part of both management and labor.

"Scientific management" was once a term that referred only to increasing the mechanical efficiency of workmen: eliminating waste motion, putting in better machinery, improving lighting and safety devices. Now a new philosophy of management stressed the idea that workers are human beings first and machine tenders second. With considerate treatment a man is less likely to be discontented, more likely to do good work. Furthermore, business was becoming more and more a profession with professional standards of conduct, and a disposition to look beyond immediate self-interest. Senator Wallace Bennett of Utah, a former manufacturer, told a business convention:

We must have a sense of social responsibility to see that our economic machine is operated for the benefit not only of our stockholders, but also of our customers and employees and the whole people.

On the other side of the bargaining table, labor unions and their leaders were less militant than they had been during the great organizing drives of the New Deal period. Now generally accepted as part of the natural order of things, unions no longer had to fight for their very right to exist. Labor peace was also advanced when the American Federation of Labor and the CIO settled their twenty-year-old feud and formed, in 1955, a vast new "union of unions," the AFL-CIO. The merger greatly reduced the nuisance of jurisdictional disputes which occurred when two unions were struggling to organize workers in a particular plant or industry.

Strikes continued, to be sure, but on no such scale as in the years immediately after World War II. Most disputes were settled by direct bargaining, and companies increased wages along with rising productivity. "Welfare capitalism" in the form of pension plans, vacations with pay, and medical care became the rule rather than the exception.

Unions themselves often furnished their members with services that went beyond their usual functions. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, for instance, provided its members with health insurance, cooperative housing, and summer vacation camps in the Pocono Mountains. Between 1946 and 1954 the United Mine Workers distributed \$641,000,000 in benefits among its members.

Labor Difficulties

Despite advances, labor unions faced difficult problems. One of the most serious was corruption among labor union officials. The Senate Committee on Improper Activities in Labor and Management, headed by Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas, discovered in 1957 that Dave Beck, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, had been using union funds as his own. The McClellan Commit-

tee made other discoveries even more alarming. Investigation of the teamsters' union revealed that many of its officers had criminal records and that the union increased its natural bargaining power by violence or the threat of it. Some racketeering union leaders received pay-offs from employers for making "sweetheart contracts," in which they were permitted to hire workers for less than union rates. Workers who protested were in danger of violence.

The dishonesty of the officials of a few unions was not typical of labor unions as a whole. The AFL-CIO had made a determined effort to enforce a Code of Ethical Practices among all its members. Unable to persuade the teamsters' union to clean house, the AFL-CIO expelled it from its ranks in 1957.

Even friends of labor unions agreed that major federal legislation was needed to protect both workers and the general public from irresponsible or corrupt union officials. In September 1959, Congress enacted a measure designed to curb racketeering and other abuses spotlighted in some unions by the congressional investigations. Union leaders criticized the bill as weakening their bargaining position, but the decisive majorities by which the bill was passed by Congress indicated that public opinion favored the measure.

The number of workers organized in labor unions had increased from less than 4,000,000 on the eve of the New Deal to over 18,000,000 in the mid-1950's, but then started to decline. This was partly the result of resistance to unionization expressed in state "right-to-work" laws that prohibited the union shop. More important, it appears to have been the result of the fact that the generally higher wage scale made unions seem less useful. Furthermore, proportionately fewer workers were engaged in industry and more in service occupations and white collar jobs, where unions had never gained much foothold.

Threats to Presidential Power

Two major attempts to reduce the President's power were made during Eisenhower's first term—one through a proposed constitutional amendment, another through a reckless attack on him and his advisers.

The Bricker amendment, named after Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio, was designed to reduce the President's treaty-making powers. One provision forbade the President to make executive agreements, such as those at Yalta, without the consent of Congress. A second stated that no treaty should have the force of law until Congress, and in some cases even all state legislatures, had formally voted to accept its provisions. The proposed amendment had strong support in the Senate and in the country at large.

Although he was usually unwilling to meet Congress head-on, Eisenhower became convinced that the measure would be a disaster. In a strong letter to the Republican majori-

QUESTION • What would have been the effect of the Bricker amendment upon Article VI, Clause 2, of the Constitution?

ty leaders in the Senate he wrote, "The President must not be deprived of his historic position as spokesman for the

nation in its relations with other countries. Adoption of the Bricker amendment would be notice to our friends as well as our enemies abroad that this country intends to withdraw from leadership in foreign affairs." Eventually the amendment failed, by a single-vote margin, to gain support from the Senate.

It had been predicted that the election of a Republican President would put an end to Senator McCarthy's wild charges that the federal government was honeycombed with Communists. But McCarthy continued his "crusade." In 1953–1954 he subjected the Eisenhower administration to a series of humiliating "inves-

tigations." Two of his aides toured American libraries overseas and directed that books they considered subversive should be withdrawn. He accused the Secretary of the Army of "coddling Communists." He arranged a private "treaty" whereby certain Greek shipowners agreed not to trade with Red China. For a time McCarthy was successful in giving the impression that he was saving the Republic from subversion. A public opinion poll early in 1954 reported that 50 per cent of those questioned were favorable toward him and another 21 per cent had no opinion. Opposition to him in the Senate had subsided after he used his influence to drive out of office four or five senators who had spoken against him.

President Eisenhower privately detested McCarthy and thought his methods were "un-American," but he refused to come to the public defense of himself or of his subordinates. He did not wish to demean himself or his office, he said, and he felt that ultimately the senator would destroy himself. In 1954 the tide turned. In a series of televised hearings of his subcommittee, the public had an opportunity to see McCarthy's disregard of law and decency. After the hearings were over, a resolution was introduced into the Senate to condemn him for his conduct. In December 1954, it was passed by a vote of 67 to 22.

From this time on the senator's influence rapidly declined and with it the much larger, not easily definable witch-hunting movement known under the heading of "McCarthyism."

Eisenhower's Illness: the Vice-Presidency

As the election of 1956 approached, Republican chances rested on Eisenhower's willingness to run. In September 1955 the President suffered a heart attack. The shock to business confidence was so great that the stock market dropped more sharply than at any time since

1929. The President recovered rapidly, however. Given "a parole if not a pardon" by his doctors, he announced in February 1956, that he would run again if nominated. Another illness, followed by an operation in June, did not change this decision.

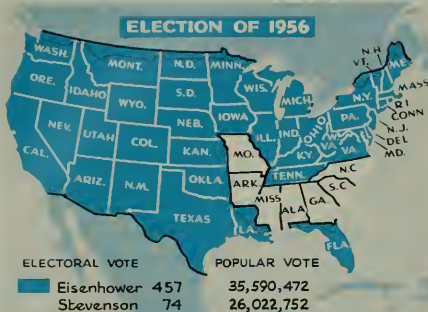
The President's illness focused attention on the vice-presidency. The Constitution does not make proper arrangements for this office. In the first place, it does not give the Vice-President enough to do (see p. 115), as Benjamin Franklin observed when he dubbed him "His Superfluous Excellency." Secondly, the Constitution does not say who shall decide when the Vice-President should take over in case the President is unable to perform his duties. Congress had never passed legislation to remedy the situation. Truman had helped to clear up the first difficulty by giving the Vice-President more responsibility. Eisenhower went so far in this direction that a popular magazine wrote of Vice-President Richard M. Nixon:

Nixon is Eisenhower's stand-in, alter ego, and right-hand man. He not only makes speeches for the President, he presides at meetings in his absence, does major liaison work with Congress, and generally helps shape Republican Party policy the way Ike wants it.

Although workable arrangements were made for carrying on business during the three times Eisenhower was stricken with ill health, he urged that Congress enact legislation or initiate a constitutional amendment that would make formal arrangements for transfer of power when the President is unfit to carry on his duties. Congress did not act, partly because there was wide disagreement as to a proper solution to the problem.

Eisenhower's Second Term

Renominated unanimously as Republican candidate, Eisenhower again ran against Adlai Stevenson in 1956. As in 1952, there were no



Eisenhower won more electoral votes in 1956 than he did when first elected in 1952. In spite of his personal popularity, the Democrats won control of Congress.

major issues between parties or candidates. The Republicans claimed that the administration had brought peace and prosperity. ("Everything is booming but the guns"). Capitalizing on fears about the President's health, the Democrats concentrated their fire on Nixon, again vice-presidential candidate. Declining farm prices made them confident of support in agricultural areas. Their hopes soared when Democratic candidates showed surprising strength in the Maine elections, held in September.

When radio and TV brought the election returns into millions of homes on the night of November 6, they revealed an extraordinary result. Eisenhower was re-elected by a landslide vote, carrying 41 states to Stevenson's 7. But the President's popularity did not rub off on his party. Republican congressional candidates ran so far behind him that the Democrats controlled both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

As he began a second term, Eisenhower was more independent of party than any President in modern times. He had followers in his

own party, the so-called "modern Republicans," but many of the "Old Guard" regarded him as dangerously tainted with New Deal philosophy and with internationalism. The President found allies, however, among Democrats. The two chief Democratic leaders in Congress—Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, both Texans—were as much believers in "the middle way" as the President himself. Thus there was formed a rather shaky alliance of "modern Republicans" and moderate Democrats, opposed by Old Guard Republicans and conservative southern Democrats. The most striking achievement of the liberal coalition was the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, designed to guarantee Negroes the right to vote.

Other important legislation of Eisenhower's second term included the admission of Alaska to the Union in 1958 and of Hawaii in 1959, both partly as a result of presidential prodding. The Congress followed the advice of the President and Secretary of Agriculture Benson in some lowering of agricultural subsidies; also persuasive were mountains of surplus corn, wheat, cotton, and butter.

As the country approached the 1958 congressional elections, the Republicans were hurt by the decline in prosperity and by the blow to national prestige that occurred when the Russians sent up "Sputnik," the first man-made satellite. Another blow was the revelation that a few officials had used their positions to promote private ends. Most prominent of these was Sherman Adams, the President's executive assistant, who resigned under fire. Even though Adams was guilty of no more than impropriety, his case was embarrassing to an administration that had come into office pledged to "clean up the mess in Washington."

As it turned out, the Democrats scored their biggest mid-term triumph since 1934. In the Senate they won 13 new seats, giving them 62

to the Republicans' 34; in the House their margin was 282 to 153. A clear result of the elections was the strengthening of the liberal wing of the Democratic party, since all the seats taken from the Republicans were outside the conservative South.

THE DULLES-EISENHOWER FOREIGN POLICIES

President Eisenhower delegated much of the conduct of foreign affairs to his able Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. The grandson of one Secretary of State and nephew of another, Dulles had long experience in high-level diplomacy. He had been a delegate to the Versailles Conference of 1919, the San Francisco Conference of 1945, and half a dozen sessions of the United Nations. He had negotiated the peace treaty with Japan in 1950–1951.

Both before and after coming into office Secretary Dulles preached a vigorous foreign policy. During the 1952 presidential campaign he denounced mere "containment" of communism and advocated "liberation" of the subject peoples behind the Iron Curtain. He threatened that renewal of Communist aggression would meet "massive retaliation." A magazine interview reported that Dulles declared that the art of diplomacy in the Cold War included willingness to go to the very brink of war if necessary—hence the nickname "brinkmanship" to characterize his methods.

The Defense Department adapted its military strategy to the concept of massive retaliation. It cut down on conventional ground forces, such as had been used in Korea, and concentrated instead on developing nuclear weapons and airplanes to deliver them to their targets. This was said to promise "more bang for a buck."

In actual practice, the foreign policy of the Eisenhower administration was far more cau-

tious than Secretary Dulles' slogans would suggest. To President Eisenhower nuclear war was unthinkable, since it might mean the destruction of western civilization. He and Dulles therefore continued the policy of containment of Russian and Chinese aggression, but made no effort to dislodge Communist governments already established.

Peace in Korea; War in Southeast Asia

In July 1953, a settlement ended the Korean War. Unhappy Korea was still divided along a line held by the opposing armies when hostilities ceased. The struggle had been frustrating and costly for the United States, but it accomplished its primary aim of repelling Communist aggression.

Hardly was the fighting ended in Korea than the United States was faced with the problem of dealing with Communist expansion elsewhere in the Far East. When the Japanese surrendered Indochina in 1945, the French attempted to resume their prewar position as rulers. But the Japanese victories early in World War II had destroyed the myth of European invincibility and whetted the appetites of Asians for self-rule. In Indochina there were three different nationalities, each wishing a state of its own: the Cambodians, the Laotians, and the Vietnamese (see map, p. 715). To complicate matters further, the strongest leader of the Vietnamese independence movement, Ho Chi Minh, was a dedicated Communist, trained in Russia and China. Ho was head of a movement called the Vietminh, which in 1946 began a war to drive France from Indochina. The United States was not engaged, but it paid for more than a third of the war materials used by the French forces. When the key fortress of Dienbienphu was besieged in 1954 by the Communists, and a military disaster threatened, the question arose: Should the United States enter the war? A French defeat might



The bloody eight-year war of the French in Indochina came to an end in 1954 with their defeat at Dienbienphu. But peace did not come to the area, which remained a battleground throughout the 1960's.

lead to Communist domination of Burma, Thailand, Malaya, and Indonesia. As President Eisenhower explained at a press conference:

You have a row of dominoes set up, and you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go very very quickly.

To save the first domino, the French suggested that American planes bomb Communist positions and Dulles favored such action. But Eisenhower refused to get into a "hot war" in Indochina without support from other nations or from Congress. In May 1954, Dienbienphu fell, and the Vietminh took over northern Vietnam. By the truce arranged at Geneva, Switzerland, in July, southern Vietnam remained under French control.

France soon pulled out of Vietnam, but that did not leave the South open to the Vietminh.

The United States moved into the vacuum and supported a rather shaky regime headed by an anti-Communist Vietnamese, Ngo Dinh Diem. American economic support enabled Diem to survive and to embark on some land reforms to aid the peasants. Increasingly, too, American "advisers" and "instructors" trained Diem's army.

After the Dienbienphu disaster Secretary Dulles attempted to put Indochina under international protection. At a conference in Manila in September 1954, the United States joined Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines in setting up a Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) to resist Communist aggression. Superficially similar to NATO, this alliance was in fact much weaker. Indonesia, Malaya, Burma, and India refused to join because they did not want to line up with the West against the Communists. The countries most in danger—Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam—were not members. The governments of these countries did not attract strong popular support and there was a constant threat of rebellion or infiltration by Communist guerillas, who often terrified villages into submission. The exposed and unwieldy state of Laos was especially vulnerable. By the end of Eisenhower's administration local Communists aided by the Vietminh and Communist China had taken over most of that country.

Formosa and China: Uneasy Stalemate

During the Korean War President Truman had ordered the United States Seventh Fleet to patrol the waters between Formosa (Taiwan), held by Chiang Kai-shek, and mainland China, held by the Communists. The Eisenhower administration continued the policy. It also refused to recognize the government of Mao Tse-tung and opposed its entrance into the UN.

In addition to Formosa, Chiang Kai-shek still retained a few small islands near the mainland. Early in 1955 the Communists took the northernmost of these, the Tachens, and threatened two more, Quemoy and Matsu (see map, p. 715). Eisenhower thereupon asked Congress for a resolution authorizing him to use American forces to defend Formosa. It passed both houses by overwhelming votes, but did not make clear whether it applied also to Quemoy and Matsu. It may have served, however, to make the Communists cautious. In any event, they decided against all-out attack and tension was eased.

In August 1958, heavy bombardments of the offshore islands again threatened a Communist attempt to seize them. But Eisenhower warned Red China that the United States would help to defend them, and American naval vessels convoyed supplies to the islands. At the same time the United States made clear that it was not sympathetic to an attempt by Chiang to attack the mainland. The Communists again ceased fire.

Thus, as Eisenhower left office, the China problem remained exactly where it was when he came in. There was neither war nor peace.

Bandung Conference: Neutralism

In May 1955, world attention was focused on a conference at Bandung, Indonesia, attended by representatives from 29 Asian and African states. The two thousand delegates represented countries having more than half the people on earth. Most of these had recently won freedom from Western rule, and resentment of their former white masters continued.

In such an atmosphere there was danger that Chou En-lai, Red China's able foreign minister, might gain a diplomatic victory by harping on the familiar claim that Communists were the enemies of "colonialism." To the relief of the West, many African and Asian states-

men proved as fearful of future Communist aggression as they were of former Western imperialism. The Bandung Conference therefore proved indecisive in the Cold War.

Bandung focused attention on a point of view known as neutralism, which was especially connected with Prime Minister Nehru, of India. Nehru insisted that India was an "uncommitted nation" and that it was degrading for African or Asian nations to become "camp followers" of either side in the Cold War. At various times he denounced Russia for suppression of Hungarian freedom and invasion of Korea, Red China for invasion of Tibet, the United States for military aid to India's uneasy neighbor Pakistan, and Britain and France for warring on Egypt.

Neutralism was hotly debated in the United States. Some Americans, Secretary Dulles among them, took the view that no man or nation has a right to be neutral in a struggle between tyranny and freedom. Others compared neutralism to the early isolationist policy of the United States—necessary for a new, comparatively weak nation.

The Middle East—a Powder Keg

For a number of reasons, the United States was drawn into the problems of the Middle East, an ill-defined area extending from the Mediterranean to the boundaries of India. During World War II, American lend-lease supplies reached the Soviet Union from the Persian Gulf through Iran. American capital had previously entered the Middle East to develop its fabulously rich oil deposits. Many Americans were intensely interested in the state of Israel, set up in 1948 in the original Jewish homeland of Palestine.

The Middle East was a "powder keg ready to explode." The Arab states detested Israel but often distrusted each other, making cooperation almost impossible. In many areas there was

terrible poverty and discontent. Finally, there was always the threat of a Russian thrust southward toward the oil fields and warm water ports.

By 1955 it was clear that the Russians were contemplating a move into the Middle East. Powerful radios in the southern USSR broadcast anti-Western propaganda to the Arab world. In the UN, the Soviet Union blocked action to promote peace between Israel and her neighbors and joined the Arabs in denouncing French rule in Algeria. The Western answer to this was to organize the "northern tier" of Middle Eastern countries—Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan—into a Middle Eastern Treaty Organization (METO), to be modeled on NATO (see map, p. 714). Great Britain joined in signing this so-called Baghdad Pact. The United States lent support, but did not join.

Russia's answer to the Baghdad Pact was to "leapfrog" METO and make close connections with the more southerly Arab states. In 1955 the USSR arranged a "commercial treaty" with Gamal Abdel Nasser, the ruler of Egypt; according to its terms, Egyptian cotton was exchanged for tanks and guns. These weapons suggested an early renewal of war against Israel.

Suez Crisis, 1956

Meanwhile Secretary Dulles had been attempting to woo Nasser. In 1954 he had helped to persuade the British to write a treaty with Egypt whereby Britain withdrew its forces guarding the Suez Canal. Even after the arms deal with Russia, Dulles tried to win over Nasser by promising American funds to start construction of a great irrigation dam at Aswan on the Nile. But when Nasser bartered Egyptian cotton for military supplies not only with the USSR but with Red China, Dulles suddenly changed his tack. Without warning he publicly

canceled the Aswan loan. Nasser replied to this humiliation by seizing the Suez Canal from its French and British owners in July 1956. For three months thereafter, Dulles and other western diplomats vainly attempted to persuade Nasser to agree to international control of the vital waterway, but the Egyptian leader refused to budge.

Dulles' inept diplomacy infuriated the British, the French, and the Israelis. The three nations decided to act independently of the United States. On October 25, Israeli troops invaded Egypt, seized the Sinai Peninsula, and advanced toward the Suez Canal. Five days later, British and French military forces seized the northern portion of the canal.

This sudden attack threatened a general war, since Russia threatened to send "volunteers" to Egypt. During a frenzied UN debate over the Suez crisis, the world saw the extraordinary spectacle of the United States voting

QUESTION • Can the small nations in the UN commit the organization to expenses and actions that the great powers oppose?

with the USSR to condemn the actions of Israel, Great Britain, and France. Under UN pressure Sir Anthony Eden, British prime minister,

announced that British and French troops would withdraw as soon as a hastily organized UN force should occupy the war zone. Israel also agreed to withdraw. The result was an uneasy truce.

The crisis had been highly embarrassing to the United States. Israel owed its existence, in part, to American economic and diplomatic aid, while Britain and France were supposedly America's closest allies. Yet the three countries had gone to war without consulting America beforehand. The whole affair might have led to very serious weakening of the Western alliance. But as we shall soon see, the suppression of

In 1958 United States Marines landed in Lebanon to avert a take-over of that country by possibly pro-Communist elements. This was in line with the policy expressed in the Eisenhower Doctrine: that the Middle East was "out of bounds" to Communist expansion.



the Hungarian revolution, which took place at the same time, persuaded the Western powers to close ranks against Russia.

The Eisenhower Doctrine

The Suez crisis, by weakening the prestige of the United States and its allies, appeared to open the door to Communist penetration of the Middle East. To forestall such action President Eisenhower appeared before Congress in January 1957, and asked for power to deal with the situation. He proposed that Congress grant him power to use American military forces to repel Communist aggression in the Middle East, and that it vote him funds to be used in the area as he saw fit. His purpose was to make clear that the region was "out of bounds" to Communist expansion.

This new application of containment, which became known as the Eisenhower Doctrine, provoked criticism. It offered no solution to the most pressing problems of the Middle East, such as control over the Suez Canal, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the fate of nearly a million Arab refugees from Israel. The President was accused of "rewriting the Constitution" and weakening the presidential office by asking Congress for permission to use troops. As commander in chief, he had power to use them already, as Presidents have done ever since John Adams fought an undeclared war with France (see p. 184), and Jefferson punished

the Tripolitan pirates (see p. 198). In spite of grumblings, however, Congress voted Eisenhower the power and funds he requested.

The Eisenhower Doctrine was put into effect with dramatic suddenness in mid-1958. On July 14 the pro-western monarch of Iraq, King Faisal II, was killed by a group of army officers. They obviously had the support of the USSR and were in league also with Colonel Nasser. Their action immediately threatened the two small states of Jordan and Lebanon (see map, p. 714). The very next day in a message to Congress, followed by a radio and television address to the nation, Eisenhower announced that at the request of the Lebanese president he had ordered American forces to Lebanon. A few hours later a navy task force started to land several battalions of marines on Lebanese beaches. On July 17, two thousand British paratroopers landed in Jordan.

Again the United Nations convened to consider a Middle East crisis, and again some sort of compromise was arrived at. In return for guarantees that Lebanon and Jordan would be safe from either attack from without or subversion from within, the British and American occupying forces were withdrawn.

So for the fourth time UN action had patched up a peace of sorts in the Middle East. But the powder keg was still explosive, because the basic problems of the area—poverty, misgovernment, inter-Arab rivalry, Arab-Israeli

strife, and the threat of Communist subversion—still sought solution.

Rifts in the Western Alliance

On entering office in 1953 Eisenhower attempted to strengthen the North Atlantic Treaty Organization by encouraging the formation of a European Defense Community (EDC) that would have a single army under unified command. But in 1954, the French, fearful of a rearmed Germany, voted not to join and the movement collapsed. The defense of the West was somewhat bolstered, however, when West Germany was allowed limited rearmament and membership in NATO. Greece and Turkey had already joined the alliance in 1952. The NATO military forces had never been strong enough by themselves to resist a Soviet attack on western Europe. They were supposed to provide a "trip wire." If attacked, they would immediately engage the Russians and in doing so would bring all the members of the organization into action.

The union of west European countries and the United States faced other difficulties besides that of coordinating military power. Within Europe itself there were age-old divisions and fears, and many Europeans had no great love for the United States. Socialists as well as Communists saw America as a dollar-crazy land where workers were exploited to swell the profits of a few great trusts, a land where all values were based on the simple question: "Will it sell?" Conservatives often liked the United States no better. They saw Europe in danger of being "Coca-colonized," as their young people took to wearing blue jeans, reading comic strips, and listening to jazz. Many Britishers thought the United States partly to blame for Britain's loss of power and prestige in the Middle and Far East. Similarly in France, America received blame for the loss of Indochina and the Suez fiasco.

Fortunately for the survival of the Western alliance, the USSR could be depended on to create fears that persuaded west European nations and the United States to maintain a common front.

Unrest behind the Iron Curtain

The Russian answer to the Marshall Plan had been the establishment of a Council for Economic Aid, allegedly designed to help the satellite countries. The counterpart of NATO was a military alliance, the Warsaw Pact of 1955. But both helped to breed disillusionment and discontent behind the Iron Curtain. It became clear that the Council for Economic Aid was an agency for plundering the "people's democracies," and the Warsaw Pact a means of keeping Russian troops perpetually on their backs.

In late October 1956, two satellite countries rose against the Soviet overlords and their lackeys. In Poland leaders of the local Communist party demanded an end of "Stalinism." There were anti-Soviet riots in the cities, and Polish soldiers exchanged shots with Russians. The USSR backed down and granted concessions, such as a reduction in the number of Soviet troops in Poland and cancellation of Polish debts to Russia. The new Polish premier, Wladyslaw Gomulka, granted some freedom of worship to the Roman Catholic Church and permitted limited freedom of speech and press. The Polish government was still Communist, but no longer a puppet with all the strings pulled in Moscow. In 1957 and 1958 it even asked for, and received, loans from the United States to purchase food and machinery.

Revolution in Hungary, 1956

A rebellion in Hungary had drastically different results. It started much like that in Poland—with demands from within the local Communist party itself for the end of terror and



A statue of Stalin was pulled down from its pedestal when the Hungarians in Budapest drove out their Communist masters in 1956 and for a brief period enjoyed the heady wine of freedom. Russian tanks soon put an end to the uprising. In spite of Dulles' talk of "liberation," the United States took no action to prevent the reimposition of Russian control of Hungary, since hostilities might lead to nuclear war.

Russian domination. When Hungarian Communist leaders tried to suppress the movement, they stirred up a hornet's nest. Almost overnight the Hungarian people rose against the police state that oppressed them and the Russian troops behind it. On October 29, after less than a week of fighting, the Budapest radio jubilantly told the Hungarians, "You have won!" Russia had made an agreement to allow Hungary to seek its own destiny. For five days Hungary had a brief taste of freedom. Former political leaders came out of jail or hiding; suppressed newspapers reappeared; a new government was set up. But on November 3, Russian troops and tanks suddenly attacked Budapest and overcame its gallant defenders. It was an ironic fact that the backbone of resistance to the re-establishment of the "workers' paradise" was provided by factory and mine workers.

As these events unfolded, the United Nations tried to aid the Hungarians. The General Assembly demanded that Soviet forces withdraw

from Hungary. But the USSR refused even to allow UN observers into Budapest. Great as was American sympathy for Hungary, President Eisenhower made no attempt to liberate the unhappy country; the only way to do so would have been to wage atomic war. American action was limited to sending relief and providing homes for thousands of Hungarians.

A third area of trouble was the beleaguered city of Berlin. West Berlin was a continuing reproach to the USSR because it was so much more prosperous than the eastern sector of the city held by the Communists. Moreover, it provided a route through which hundreds of thousands of people escaped from East Germany. Khrushchev repeatedly said that the situation was "intolerable" and tried to frighten the West into backing down. But the Western alliance firmly refused all compromise on the issue of the freedom of West Berlin or the right of free access along the transportation routes connecting the city with West Germany.

Emerging Africa

Until recently the great continent of Africa was controlled by European nations. As late as 1955 there were only five independent countries. By January 1961, this number had increased to 27, and African states soon constituted more than a quarter of the membership of the United Nations.

Until the close of the Eisenhower administration, the United States took little active interest in African affairs. Americans were traditionally sympathetic to anti-colonial movements, but there was a reluctance to take active part on the side of the emerging African nations against America's European allies, France and Great Britain. Even after independence there was no immediate occasion for the United States to be drawn in. The transfer of power to the African governments usually went smoothly, and most of the new countries retained close social and economic ties with their former imperial masters. These happy results were partly the result of the foresight of the British and French in training an elite in technological skills and government.

The Belgian Congo was granted independence in 1960, but with no preparation for self-rule. There were said to be only 17 native university graduates in an area three times the size of Texas, and the first local governing council met only three weeks before the Belgians pulled out. Immediately there were outbreaks of intertribal warfare and of violence against Europeans. The province of Katanga, rich in minerals, attempted to secede. To make the situation even worse, two Congolese leaders called for Russian military aid, and Khrushchev assured them that the USSR would supply it.

The threat that the Congo might become a battleground of the Cold War was averted by the United Nations. Under the skillful leadership of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld,

the UN slowly took charge. Hammarskjöld himself was killed in a plane crash while trying to arrange a cease-fire between rival Congolese factions. A UN army kept order; UN technological and economic assistance averted starvation and helped to reorganize the economy. Soviet intervention and large-scale civil war were averted. Gradually uneasy peace and a measure of prosperity came to the Congo.

There was fear of Soviet intervention in other African states, but even the Republic of Guinea, which had the closest ties with Russia, expelled the Soviet ambassador in 1961 and suppressed a local Communist party. The new African nations were, in fact, strongly neutralist. They were too weak militarily and had too many problems of their own to take sides in the Cold War. "When the bull elephants fight," remarked the Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah, "the grass gets trampled down."

Trouble in the Americas

The Western Hemisphere did not escape the world-wide Communist drive to gain power. In 1954 it was clear that the Communists had thoroughly infiltrated the government of Guatemala, and shipments of arms were being sent to that country from behind the Iron Curtain. If the United States acted on its own to overthrow the Guatemalan government, it would mean the abandonment of the nonintervention policies developed under Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt and reawakening of Latin American fears of the "Colossus of the North." But joint action with other Latin-American countries was possible. In March, an Inter-American Conference, meeting at Caracas, resolved in words recalling the Declaration of Lima, that extension of the Communist political system in this hemisphere would be considered a threat to the Americas. In June the regime in Guatemala was overthrown by anti-Communist forces, who



were probably secretly trained and armed by the United States.

On the surface, the Latin-American countries and the United States were members of a partnership. But all was not sweetness and light. Latin Americans had good cause to believe that they were "forgotten neighbors." They saw billions of dollars being poured into remaking Europe's economy and shoring up weak governments in Asia, while they received little assistance. In 1952-1953, for instance, the Latin-American republics received less than \$75,000,000 out of \$6,000,000,000 voted for foreign aid; in 1960 South Korea alone received more aid than all the Latin-American republics put together.

It took a visit to Latin America by Vice-President Nixon and his wife in the spring of 1958 to make this country realize the results of such neglect. In the majority of the eight countries he visited, Nixon had to face hostile demonstrations. In Peru and Venezuela he was in actual danger from angry mobs.

Re-examination of Policy Toward Latin America

Nixon's unpleasant experience led to re-examination of our Latin-American policy. A special report by Milton S. Eisenhower, the President's brother, made three major criticisms: (1) the United States failed to inform Latin Americans about this country; (2) it had neglected Latin America as a field for economic assistance and investment; and (3) in dealings with Latin-American countries, the United States had not distinguished between relatively democratic governments and brutal dictatorships. In fact it had supplied the latter with tanks and machine guns that enabled them to suppress their people and stay in power. Milton Eisenhower's report proposed an expansion of United States information services and more cultural interchange between this country and

its southern neighbors. To satisfy the need for credit, he proposed both an expansion of existing facilities, such as the World Bank and private enterprise, and the formation of a new financial agency tailored to fit the special circumstances of Latin America. As for the problem of the dictators, Milton Eisenhower pointed out that our nonintervention policy prevented the United States from any active attempt to overthrow them. He agreed, however, with Vice-President Nixon, who had suggested that we reserve our "*abrazo*" (embrace) for democratic leaders and give dictators "a cool handshake."

The new policy toward Latin-American dictators had its first test in Cuba, where the corrupt and ruthless government of General Fulgencio Batista faced a rebellion headed by the radical Fidel Castro. The United States stopped all aid to Batista, an action which helped Castro and his bearded followers toward victory; they entered Havana on January 1, 1959. Castro was generally popular in the United States. But enthusiasm for the new government waned as the Cuban leader began to denounce the United States, to confiscate private property, and to seek the friendship and military support of Russia and Red China. President Eisenhower applied an embargo on trade with Cuba, barring the country from the great United States sugar market, and eventually broke off relations with the Castro government; but these actions provided no answer to the unhappy fact that the Communists had gained a beachhead in the Americas. (See map on pp. 756-757).

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

One stubborn problem in Latin-American affairs appeared well on the way to solution. The island of Puerto Rico, acquired from Spain in 1898, had long chafed under the rule of the United States. In 1950 the United States Con-



In no country in the world has economic advance been so rapid as in Puerto Rico since "Operation Bootstrap" was initiated under the leadership of Governor Luis Muñoz-Marín in the early 1950's. Investors from the United States have built factories and tourist attractions that bring more and more dollars to the island.

gress, recognizing the justice of the Puerto Ricans' demands for self-government, authorized them to draft their own constitution. That document, ratified by popular vote in 1952, made Puerto Rico a commonwealth. Although within the defense and tariff systems of the United States, the island is self-governing and handles its own finances. No federal taxes—income or excise—are collected there.

Under the dynamic leadership of Governor Luis Marín, Puerto Rico undertook a remarkable series of reforms, collectively nicknamed "Operation Bootstrap." Literacy reached 86 per cent in 1960 and per capita income climbed to \$571, a gain of 320 per cent over 1940. Large estates were broken up, agriculture was diversified, and production of electricity increased tenfold. Tax concessions attracted hundreds of new industries from the United States. Delegations from under-industrialized nations from all

over the world have studied Operation Bootstrap because it revealed how standards of living may be raised through democratic methods.

Operation Bootstrap did not solve all problems. Dramatic as the increase in wealth was, the per capita income of Puerto Ricans was less than half that in the United States. Unemployment was high. But the most persistent problem was overcrowding.

The Puerto Rican death rate dropped more rapidly than its birth rate, with resulting heavy density of population (over 600 per square mile). Free migration to the United States offered an apparent safety valve, and there was an exodus in the 1950's of nearly a million people to the United States, especially to eastern cities. More than one-half million Puerto Ricans live in New York City alone, where they have faced, alas, many of the discriminations and frustrations of previous immigrant populations.

NEW DIMENSIONS IN FOREIGN POLICY

The Cold War against communism has involved the traditional aspects of international rivalry—diplomacy, armaments, rival alliances, armed conflict. But the Cold War also had a new dimension that became more apparent after the death of Stalin in March 1953. His passing was followed by a distinct “thaw” in Russian policies at home and abroad. The Soviet peoples were allowed a little more freedom and more personal interchange with the rest of the world. Stalin, previously hailed as a demigod, was denounced by his successor Khrushchev as a brutal tyrant and made a scapegoat for many of the oppressive measures and failures of the Bolshevik regime. Evidence of the “thaw” in foreign affairs was the Korean truce and the later willingness of the USSR to withdraw troops from Austria in 1955. Making a radical change in the party line, Russian Communist leaders now talked of “peaceful co-existence” between Communists and non-Communist nations rather than of an inevitable war which in the atomic age would be so horrible that after it, said Khrushchev, “the living will envy the dead.”

Eisenhower was willing to gamble that the new Russian attitude might increase chances for peace. Expressing the hope that “a new dawn may be coming,” he met the Russian leaders, Khrushchev, Nikolai Bulganin, and Marshal Georgi Zhukov, along with the prime ministers of France and Britain, in July 1955. At this summit conference, held in Geneva, Switzerland, the President made a strong plea for disarmament. The Geneva meetings were almost cordial, but nothing was settled. Neither then nor later was there real progress on matters such as the reunification of Germany, which the conference had been called to discuss. There was no relaxation in the race to produce new, more terrible weapons.

Failure of “Summitry”

In 1959 Khrushchev paid a state visit to the United States and was received with courtesy, if not enthusiasm. At Eisenhower’s retreat, Camp David, the Soviet leader and the President discussed plans for the easing of world tensions and, especially, the prospects of a second summit meeting. Just before the second conference was to meet in May 1960, however, an American high-level U-2 plane, engaged in photographing Russian military installations, was shot down deep inside the USSR. Explanation of the affair was badly bungled by the Eisenhower administration. As a result of it, Khrushchev made a complete about-face that perhaps had already been planned under pressure from Red China. He deliberately wrecked the Paris conference, threatened American allies for permitting the United States to use air bases in their territory, and denounced Eisenhower as a prisoner of the “war-mongers.” “Summitry” had failed.

During his last two years in office, President Eisenhower embarked on a series of visits to other countries as a means of improving relations and promoting peace. The most successful of these was one to neutralist India, where vast and friendly crowds gave him a warm welcome. But a Russian journey planned for the spring of 1960 was abandoned after the failure of the summit conference, and later an ill-timed visit to Japan had to be given up when neutralist Japanese students violently demonstrated against the President’s coming.

Peaceful Competition

The policy of peaceful coexistence meant that the USSR and the United States were also engaged in peaceful competition of various sorts. Thus the launching of Sputnik, the first artificial satellite, in 1957, was an immense psychological victory for the Russians, who were seen not merely to have caught up to the Ameri-

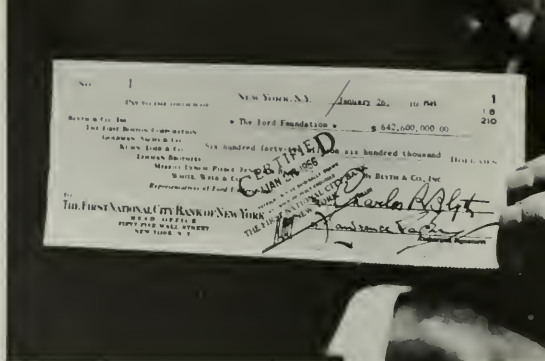
cans in one kind of advanced technology, but to have surpassed them. And Sputnik was followed by other Russian "firsts," such as photographing the other side of the moon and putting the first man in space. The Eisenhower administration, which had been cool toward the "space race," was forced by reasons of prestige to try to catch up with the USSR in missiles and artificial satellites.

The Soviet "new look" called for economic competition with the West. Like the United States, the Soviet Union now offered to supply goods, machines, and technicians to underdeveloped countries. These tactics opened the way for a kind of international blackmail, as the leaders of underdeveloped countries played one side against the other, and each side attempted to "buy allies."

The very backwardness of Russia sometimes gives it advantages in economic competition. Since Russian farms and factories are less productive than American, the USSR has more need of foreign imports. To take Egypt as an example, in 1956 the USSR agreed to accept Egypt's only important export, cotton, as payment for arms. American dealings with Egypt were handicapped by the fact that the United States already produces a surplus of cotton. Furthermore, the Russians are able to move more quickly and divert a portion of their national income as their leaders desire without the checks of a legislative body and public opinion.

American Advantages in Foreign Aid

On the other hand, the United States possesses commanding advantages in the field of foreign aid. It has greater wealth and generally higher technical standards. Furthermore, it need not rely simply on government action, which always arouses suspicion that strings are attached. All over the world various American private organizations have been active in im-



The enormous sums available to private foundations such as Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Ford exceed many national budgets. Above, a check for \$642,640,000, drawn to the account of the Ford Foundation.

proving other peoples' lives. On the Mediterranean island of Sardinia, the Rockefeller Foundation wiped out malaria. In Mexico the same foundation carried on a spectacularly successful program to develop higher-yielding strains of corn, beans, and wheat. When the program started in the mid-1940's, Mexico was importing food, and many of its people were living on a deficient diet. In the 1960's the land easily supports twice as many people; yet the per capita consumption of food has increased from an average of 1,700 to 2,700 calories a day, and Mexico is a food-exporting nation. In Pakistan the Ford Foundation trained thousands of agricultural experts, teachers, mechanics, and engineers, who pass on their knowledge to fellow citizens. American business concerns, seeing the tie between their long-term self-interest and the well-being of the countries in which they invest, have engaged in many activities to improve men's lives. Thousands of men and women from American religious groups have engaged in selfless service, whether it be stamping out cholera and typhus in Nepal, or teaching the inhabitants of a Greek village how to can vegetables, raise better crops, and improve their livestock.

The whole question of foreign aid transcends the mere question of winning friends in the

Cold War. The brutal fact is that three-quarters of the people of the globe are desperately poor, while the technologically advanced nations are producing more wealth than ever before. How to close the ever-widening gap between the poverty-stricken and the affluent? One of the main reasons why President Eisenhower sought a lessening of the tensions of the Cold War was so that the United States and the USSR might substitute "cooperation in human welfare for competition in the means of destruction."

THE CHANGING SCENE

The prosperity of the 1920's was characterized by the meteoric rise of three new industries—automobile, radio, and motion picture. The corresponding symbol of the period following World War II was television. In 1945 there were only six television broadcasting stations, and less than one receiving set for every 20,000 people. Within a few years TV sets were as common as telephones.

The Impact of Television

Television brought politics into living rooms. Its possibilities were first realized in the broadcast of a UN debate in 1950. A second landmark was the televising of hearings before a crime commission headed by Senator Estes Kefauver. With the election of 1952, television arrived politically. TV cameras invaded party conventions, recording not merely speeches on the floor, but even committee debates in "smoke-filled rooms." During the campaign, both parties spent millions of dollars on broadcasts costing as much as \$2,000 a minute. Although TV brought vivid awareness of political events, it also raised disturbing questions. Would TV favor the candidate who could present the best dramatic performance, or one who could afford to buy most time? Would televising congressional investigations promote the search for truth and justice?

Fears were expressed that television would lower the level of American culture. Supported as they were by advertisers appealing to a mass audience, TV programs, it was argued, had to appeal to the lowest common denominator of public taste. In order not to offend potential customers, they tended to avoid controversial issues and to concentrate on entertainment designed "to fix the attention but not engage the mind." TV was accused of destroying the desire to read, of allowing people "to remain stupid without finding it dull."

Yet there were countercurrents that at least partially confounded the prophets of doom. There were TV programs that certainly did "engage the mind." Educational TV, still in its beginnings, promised to be unexpectedly successful in stimulating the imagination as well as in extending the influence of master teachers and educators.

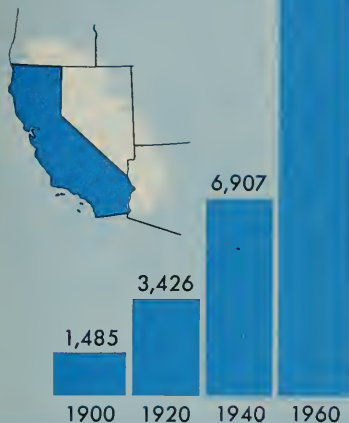
New Uses for Leisure

Almost as if to refute the charge that television would destroy reading came the "paperback revolution" in book publishing. As the costs of manufacturing conventional books rose to the point where they reduced sales, publishers started to issue cheaply printed books in paper covers. The first large paperback editions came out in 1939, and in 1940, 6,000,000 copies were sold. By 1958 they were on sale at almost every drugstore and newsstand, as well as in bookstores, and sales mounted to 350,000,000. Much of what was published was trash; yet paperback editions of old classics and difficult works of sociology and philosophy also had amazing sales. According to Clifton Fadiman:

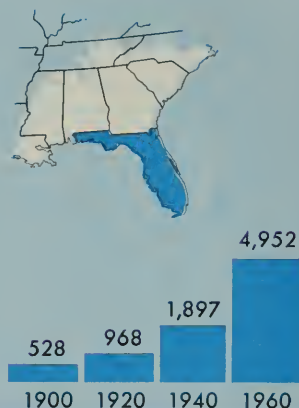
What is important is that the success of the paperbacks proves that on *all levels* there is a hunger for the *word*. The picture magazines, the movies, television . . . have supplied us with so many pictures that we are surfeited with them. They have finally succeeded in irritating our minds

GROWTH OF POPULATION (in thousands) 1900-1960

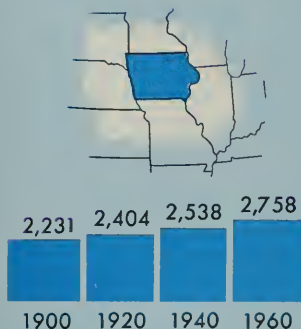
CALIFORNIA



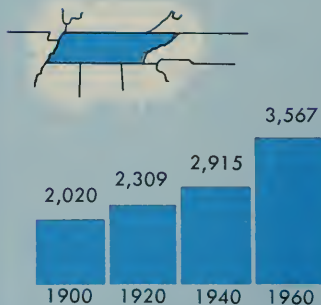
FLORIDA



IOWA



TENNESSEE



The population figures for California and Florida show an amazing increase in recent years, while Tennessee has increased moderately and Iowa relatively little. Explain these differences as suggested in History and the Social Sciences on page 776.

by giving those minds nothing to do. Hence the reaction in favor of the word . . . as long as it offers the mind the pleasure of even the faintest resistance.

The notion that Americans were spending all their leisure hours in passive contemplation of shadows on a screen was refuted by developments in music and art. The invention of FM radio and high fidelity phonographs made "canned music" almost as good as live performances, and the result was an almost fantastic demand for musical recordings. Simultaneously, live musical performances were flourishing as never before. In 1958 it was reported that no less than 728 organizations staged operas. Music festivals in all parts of the country became major tourist attractions. Growing interest in art matched that in music. Imaginative curators transformed American art galleries from lonely mausoleums into lively and crowded community centers. Tens of thousands took up the study of art, whether in school, college, or adult-education classes. The public bought works of art—both reproductions and originals—as never before.

Crisis in Education

The proportion of high school students entering college nearly doubled between 1935 and 1960. The biggest jump in college enrollment came at the end of World War II, when Congress passed a law (nicknamed "the GI Bill of Rights") sponsored by the American Legion. Under its provisions, the federal government paid veterans' expenses at colleges and vocational schools. In general, the GIs were the most serious, mature, and industrious students that had ever attended American colleges. They created new demands for higher education; even after they left, college enrollments remained at higher levels than ever before.

The postwar years saw elementary and public schools in serious difficulties. Inflation caused

a rise in educational costs often not met by increased public support. Teachers resigned because their pay was frequently less than that of unskilled labor. In the fifth century B.C., Socrates remarked that Athenian fathers worried more about those who trained their horses than those who educated their children. In twentieth century America, a jockey might earn ten or twenty times as much as the best-paid teacher. Furthermore, American schools were overcrowded. War prosperity caused an increase in the birth rate that affected elementary schools by 1950 and high schools a few years later. Larger enrollments resulted in crowded classrooms or double sessions. New suburbs or trailer towns often poured a flood of new pupils into schools already bursting at the seams.

As lack and inequality of educational facilities approached a crisis, there was increasing demand for federal aid to schools. Early in 1955 President Eisenhower proposed that Congress appropriate \$7,000,000,000 to meet a threatened shortage of over 300,000 classrooms; late in the same year he called a White House Conference on Education attended by nearly two thousand people. Yet no important legislation resulted. There was fear that federal aid would lead to federal control of education. Also many northern congressmen would vote no funds for schools where white and Negro children were kept apart, while southern Congressmen would not vote funds unless they could be used for segregated schools.

The launching of the Russian Sputnik in October 1957 had an impact on American education. Obviously this magnificent technological achievement could only have been carried out by highly trained scientists. How had they been produced? Investigation of the Soviet educational system revealed that Russia spent a higher proportion of its national income on education than did the United States. There were also somewhat exaggerated claims that Russian

children were better taught than American in mathematics, foreign languages, and science. Congress responded to public alarm by appropriating funds to improve teaching in these three areas of study.

The Sputnik scare strengthened the hands of educators who demanded that American schools give more attention to the academically talented. Among these men was James B. Conant, former president of Harvard University, whose study of public secondary education, *The American High School Today*, appeared as a paperback in 1959. Conant proposed that the American high school continue its great mission of educating all boys and girls and of training students for a democratic society. But he also argued that the able be given much more intensive training in academic subjects.

Progress in Medicine

In the twentieth century, man made more progress in medicine than in all previous history. Scourges such as yellow fever, smallpox, and typhoid fever were practically eliminated, at least in Europe and America. World War II revealed how rapidly medicine was advancing. In the Spanish-American War, fought in 1898, more men died of disease than of wounds. In World War II the death rate of the fighting men was no higher than it would have been at home. The threat of malaria in Pacific Islands and Burmese jungles was met by the development of a synthetic drug, atabrine, to replace quinine. Penicillin and sulfa drugs greatly reduced the infection of wounds.

In April 1955, the country heard of one of the most dramatic advances in the history of

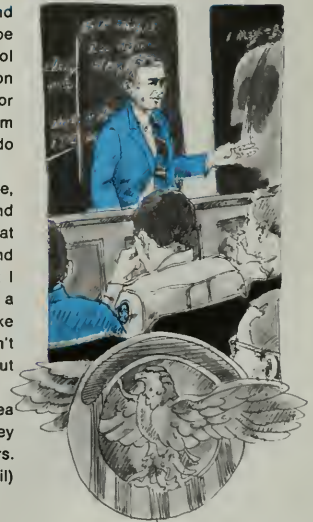
GI Joe Goes to College

The college professor leaned back in his chair behind the registration desk and asked the kind of questions he had raised so many times with other would-be students: "Why do you want to do it? You tell me that you didn't like high school and had a hard time getting a diploma. You were going to work with a construction gang, but the war came along and interfered. Now you want to go to college for four years and study history and economics. I know you have the money from the GI Bill, but can you afford to take four years out of your life? How do you know you can succeed?"

The answer he received was familiar, but still stirring. Leaning forward a little, the bronzed young man said: "Look, I got in early—didn't wait for the draft—and rolled right up the Pacific from Guadalcanal to Okinawa. And do you know what I was doing most of the time? Nothing. It gave me a good chance to think, and I decided that if I was one of the lucky ones who came back, I'd do the best I could with my life. Four years of college will make me better able to make a better world. I may even teach. But anyway, you let me into college and it will take a team of horses to drag me out. I didn't study in high school because I couldn't see any sense to it. But now I know why I want to go to college. I'll make out all right."

By September 1957, more than three million veterans of World War II and Korea had gone to college under the GI Bill. Not only did they benefit, but they stimulated a desire for more education among their younger brothers and sisters.

(Theme 6, see p. xii)



medicine—the development of the Salk vaccine for warding off infantile paralysis (poliomyelitis). This was the climax of many years of research, supported by small donations of millions of people to the annual March of Dimes. Salk vaccine was declared effective after a gigantic trial run on 440,000 children. Soon it was available to all, and for the first time the numbers killed and maimed by polio decreased.

As a result of these and other discoveries, life expectancy increased, and the average person could expect to reach Biblical old age—"three score years and ten." Between 1900 and 1960, the number of aged multiplied more than five times. Yet it

QUESTION • By 1980 about one-third of the population will be over 65. What effects will this have on tax-supported old-age benefits?

had become a practice to retire men and women from regular employment at about the age of sixty-five, whether or

not they were able and willing to continue at work. Many felt useless and rejected. Thus improvements in health created a new problem with which society had to deal.

More Women in Jobs

The great demand for labor during World War II drew millions of women into industry. Afterward, so many continued to hold jobs that in 1960 women workers composed more than a third of the labor force. With more working mothers and the almost complete disappearance of domestic servants, there developed a new feature of American family life, the "baby sitter." The clear-cut division between the male as wage earner and the female as homemaker was breaking down. More and more husbands helped wash the dishes, put the children to bed, and learned to cook. In the professions, women found new opportunities, gaining admission to medical schools and law schools formerly open

only to men. The changing status of women made for many difficult adjustments, but it was the continuation of a trend that started when the first English settlers reached America (see pp. 17, 19).

Progress in Race Relations

In contrast to the 1920's, which had seen the growth of the Ku Klux Klan as a national organization, the period after World War II was one in which Americans made great advances in tolerance between people of different religious and racial backgrounds. The most striking evidence of this was the rising status of Negro citizens. The improvement had begun during World War II, when President Roosevelt established the Committee on Fair Employment Practices to see that there was "no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries because of race, creed, color, or national origin." During the period of its activity, the employment of Negroes in defense industries rose from 2,300,000 to 8,500,000. After the war several northern states passed anti-discrimination laws. President Eisenhower carried on from where President Truman left off in abolishing discrimination and segregation in the armed services.

In the North, taboos that had kept Negroes out of certain jobs disappeared in many areas. Places were now open to them on the basis of ability in fields as diverse as the professions, white collar jobs in business, and professional baseball. It has been estimated that the average earnings of Negroes more than doubled between 1940 and 1953. There was progress also in the South, where several states at last attempted to spend as much per child on Negro education as on white. The number of Negroes who voted in most southern states also multiplied.

Meanwhile the federal courts extended the constitutional rights of Negroes. The most notable case was that of *Brown v. Board of Educa-*

Adoption of the Gandhian tactic of non-violent resistance has aided the civil rights movement. The method was first used successfully in the Montgomery Bus Strike of 1955. Here, civil rights workers chain themselves together in protest against job discrimination in the North.



tion, in which the Supreme Court declared in May, 1954, that separate schools for Negro children were unconstitutional. This was a complete reversal of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which had supported the right of a state to provide "separate but equal" public facilities. Now a unanimous court held that segregation of Negro children was a violation of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the first clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Following this case both the Supreme Court and the Interstate Commerce Commission struck down segregation on public transportation such as railroads and buses. Meanwhile, as we have seen, Congress passed the first Civil Rights Acts since Reconstruction days to protect Negro voting rights (see p. 726).

So rapid had been the advance of Negroes during the decade after World War II that in 1955 a Negro leader said:

No man would have dared prophesy the great changes that have occurred in the last ten years. In whatever light we view the social scene today, it cannot be denied that a century of progress, based on past standards, has been telescoped into a decade.

Protest Against Second-Class Citizenship

The relative gains of Negroes obscured the fact that in many ways the Negro was still a second-class citizen, kept in a subordinate position by custom in the North and by custom reinforced by law in the South. Furthermore, the pace of Negro advance slowed down in the late 1950's. Although the desegregation decision was generally obeyed in the North and in some of the border states, it was observed very little or not at all in most of the former Confederate states. The Eisenhower administration did not take vigorous measures to enforce the decision, relying instead on southern respect for law to win "gradual compliance." It was not until Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas defied a court order to allow Negro students into a Little Rock high school, that President Eisenhower took formal action to enforce school desegregation by dispatching federal troops to the scene.

Negro impatience with the slow pace at which they were gaining equality led to organized demonstrations. In 1955, when Rosa Parks, a Negro seamstress, was arrested in Montgomery, Alabama, for refusing to sit in the rear of

a bus, local Negroes organized a boycott of the entire city bus system. After losing money for a year and after the Supreme Court declared that its discrimination against Negroes was illegal, the bus company gave in and desegregated all its buses. The leader behind the Montgomery boycott was the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who imitated the nonviolent techniques of the great Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi. Soon Gandhian techniques were used in many places in the South to fight segregation and discrimination in transportation, lunch counters, and restaurants. Negroes who engaged in boycotts and "sit-ins" faced arrests, fines, mob action, and loss of employment, but more often than not their quiet persistence was effective. In scores of cities segregation of public facilities was abandoned.

Eisenhower's Last Warning

As President Eisenhower neared the end of his second term, there was a widespread feeling that vital domestic problems, such as poor public transportation and the sprawling blight of

slums and jerry-built suburbs, were being neglected because so much public money went into defense. Eisenhower himself was worried about the way the immense armaments called for by the Cold War had increased the power of the military in American life. On January 17, 1961, three days before he left office, he gave a farewell message to the American people over television; it was devoted to a solemn warning against the "military-industrial complex" which reached into every corner of American life and spent more than \$40,000,000,000 a year. The President's warning was all the more impressive because it came from a man who had spent most of his life as a professional soldier. His last words were:

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Activities: Chapter 31

For Mastery and Review

1. Account for Eisenhower's success in the election of 1952. What line did his administration take in domestic affairs? In foreign affairs?
2. Draw up a "conservative-liberal" balance sheet of the first Eisenhower administration. Be sure to include agricultural policy and the means taken to avert depression.
3. Describe developments in the area of organized labor during the 1950's.
4. For what reasons was there a decline in the power of the presidency during the Eisenhower administration?
5. Explain the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policies: in Korea, in southeast Asia, and toward Formosa and China.

6. For what reasons has the Middle East been described as a "powder keg"? What were the causes of the Suez crisis? What is the Eisenhower Doctrine, and where has it been applied?

7. What rifts became visible in the Western alliance? Why was there unrest behind the Iron Curtain, and in what ways was it revealed? Why did the United States take a strong line in Berlin but not in support of Hungary? How has conflict between East and West been prevented in Africa?

8. Describe difficulties that have arisen in our relations with Latin America. What is the OAS? How was a radical government in Guatemala unseated? How did Cuba go Communist? Why has Puerto Rico been called "the Caribbean showcase of the United States"?

9. What were new dimensions in our foreign policy during the Eisenhower administration and what lay behind them? What have been the outcomes of Eisenhower's top-level diplomacy? What does scientific and economic competition between the East and West actually involve?

10. How did television relate to politics and to the cultural level during the 1950's?

11. Describe problems that beset education in the 1950's.

12. Describe changes during the seventeen years after World War II in medicine, in the economic status of women, and in race relations.

Unrolling the Map

1. On a map of Europe and Asia depict the geography of containment, showing where it has involved the United States in active military aid (Greece and Turkey, Berlin, etc.), in military alliances (NATO, etc.), in formal declarations of intent to defend (Eisenhower Doctrine, etc.), and in active hostilities (Korea and Vietnam).

2. On an outline map of Africa, place the names of the independent nations, with the dates of their independence. Source: latest *Information Please Almanac*.

Who, What, and Why Important?

election of 1952	Suez crisis
Adlai E. Stevenson	Eisenhower Doctrine
Sherman Adams	Warsaw Pact
"middle of the road"	Hungarian revolution
St. Lawrence Seaway	Congo crisis
Ezra Taft Benson	Guatemala
AFL-CIO	Fidel Castro
McClellan Committee	Luis Muñoz Marín
Bricker Amendment	"Operation Bootstrap"
McCarthyism	Nikita Khrushchev
Richard M. Nixon	the "U-2"
election of 1956	television
Alaska and Hawaii	"paperback revolution"
"Sputnik"	"GI Bill of Rights"
John Foster Dulles	Salk vaccine
"massive retaliation"	<i>Brown v. Board of</i>
SEATO	<i>Education</i>
Bandung Conference	Martin Luther King

To Pursue the Matter

1. Reference is made on p. 721 to certain "built-in stabilizers" which protect against depression. Enlarge the list of stabilizers and explain how each works.

2. The agricultural policies of the federal government have been controversial for more than 30 years. After study of the issues (see *Agriculture* in the Index) make your own tentative decision as to the proper solution for today. A class debate might be held.

3. Debate this statement: "*Resolved*: That the power of organized labor has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished," or "*Resolved*: That the Taft-Hartley Law and state right-to-work laws should be repealed." See Rayback, *A History of American Labor*.

4. Was it desirable or not for the presidency to decline in power as it did in the first Eisenhower administration? Had it gained too much power under previous Presidents? Which Presidents were the chief contributors to the strength of the office?

5. Because of the influence of the United States in the United Nations, Communist China is denied membership there, while Nationalist China, a government-in-exile on Formosa, acts as a major power and holds a permanent seat in the Security Council. Read Winks, *The Cold War: From Yalta to Cuba*, pp. 36-73, for an understanding of the background. A class debate, "*Resolved*: That the United States should recognize Red China," could be enlightening.

6. Make a comparative study of "neutralism" as Nehru defended it and as U.S. foreign policy, 1793-1812.

7. It has been argued that Russian triumphs in space missiles constituted a triumph for the Russian educational system. Examine this argument.

8. The Supreme Court decisions (1954 and 1955) in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education* are among the most important events of the century, since they gave impetus to the civil rights movement. The text of the decisions, with annotations and explanations, is in Bragdon *et al.*, *Frame of Government*, pp. 274-285. Why have critics called the decision "mere sociology"? On what grounds was *Plessy v. Ferguson* reversed?

Chapter 32

New Frontiers

*This is a dangerous and uncertain world. . . .
No one expects our lives to be easy, not in this
decade, not in this century.*

—JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

In the 1960 presidential campaign the Republicans ran Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, and the Democrats, Senator John F. Kennedy. The backgrounds of the two men presented striking contrasts: Kennedy, a Roman Catholic from Massachusetts, was the son of a wealthy man who had served as chairman of the Securities Exchange Commission and as United States ambassador to Britain; Nixon, born a Quaker in California, had to work his way up from relative poverty. But both were young; Nixon was forty-seven years old, and Kennedy was forty-three. Both were experienced and astute politicians, who showed at the national conventions that nominated them that they intended to dominate their parties and run their own campaigns. Both insisted on relatively liberal platforms. Yet Nixon, with UN Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge as his running mate, was apparently able to retain support of the right wing of his party. Meanwhile, Kennedy headed off a possible southern revolt by persuading Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, his principal rival for the Democratic nomination, to join his ticket as candidate for the vice-presidency.

Four TV debates were a unique feature of the 1960 campaign. In these the candidates answered a barrage of questions tossed at them

by newsmen. The time allowed was so short that neither man could discuss issues in depth,

*QUESTION • Should TV
debates become a regular
part of presidential elec-
tion campaigns?*

and the arrangements demanded that answers be given off the cuff. Not surprisingly, the candidates made rash statements on foreign policy. The debate aided Kennedy: he showed more poise under fire and he had been less in the public eye than his rival. As election day approached, opinion polls predicted that Kennedy would win, but the unspoken religious issue caused doubt.

The outcome was uncertain right up to the time the electoral college met on December 19. There was talk of recounts, and some Democratic electors threatened to vote for someone other than Kennedy. The final result was a Kennedy victory by one of the narrowest margins in the history of American politics. He carried the electoral college, 303–219, but in several states a switch of a few thousand votes would have swung the electoral vote the other way. Although Kennedy ran behind his party, he laid to rest the idea that a Roman Catholic could not be elected to the presidency. Essentially he won because he carried the great urban

areas of the Northeast and Middle West and relied on Lyndon Johnson to bring in Texas and several other southern states.

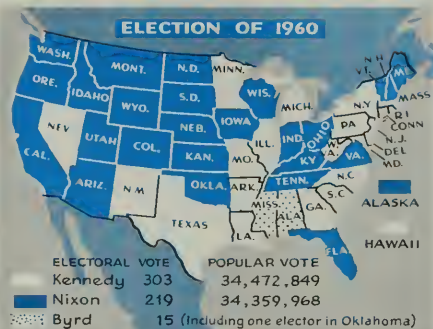
THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION

There were unusual human touches in the ceremonies that attended John F. Kennedy's inauguration as thirty-fifth President of the United States. The participants almost visibly shivered in the intense cold—a blizzard had hit Washington the day before. The white-haired poet Robert Frost could not see to read the lines he had composed for the occasion, and a heater at the speakers' feet caught fire because of defective wiring. While the fire was being put out, the tens of millions of TV viewers saw the incoming and outgoing Presidents in animated conversation, with Eisenhower gesturing as he described the tactics on D Day in 1944.

Kennedy's brief inaugural address was full of echoes from American political literature and from the Bible. It was entirely devoted to defining the position of the United States in a hungry and divided world. America had been summoned, he said, "to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle... against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself." He urged that both sides in the Cold War "begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction." To his fellow citizens he made the plea: "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

The "New Frontier"

The Kennedy administration acquired as a label the "New Frontier." Its style was certainly new. For the first time the destiny of the United States—or for that matter, of any major country



In the 1960 presidential election, Democrat John F. Kennedy won a slim victory. Senator Byrd polled 8 electoral votes in Mississippi, 6 in Alabama, 1 in Oklahoma. How could Nixon have won?



—was in the hands of men both in the twentieth century. Kennedy was next to the youngest President ever to hold office—Eisenhower had been the oldest—and his closest advisers were brilliant, articulate men in their thirties and forties. The social life of the White House was more than ever the subject of attention, as beautiful Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy sought to make it a center of culture. In his public appearances the President combined idealism with realism and informality with dignity.

But when it came to policy there was not much that was new about the New Frontier. In foreign affairs the Kennedy administration continued to follow the policy of containment that had originated in the Truman administration and been carried on by Eisenhower. In domestic affairs the New Frontier offered a rather cautious continuation of the New Deal and the Fair Deal.

Domestic Program Frustrated

Kennedy, like Eisenhower before him, found it difficult to translate personal popularity into influence over Congress. To be sure, Congress



Like Franklin Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy used press conferences to project his ideas to the American people. Here the President is briefing the press on the Communist infiltration of Laos in 1961.

followed the President's recommendations in voting funds for slum clearance and aid to certain "depressed areas," where business was stagnant and unemployment high. It also extended the coverage of federal wage-hour legislation and increased the minimum wage from \$1.00 to \$1.25 an hour. In regard to other domestic legislation, however, conservative southern Democrats, strongly entrenched in such key positions as committee chairmanships, joined Republicans to frustrate administration measures, as previously they had opposed Truman's Fair Deal proposals. The President met defeat when he urged large subsidies to public schools in 1961, and again in 1962 when he recommended massive aid to colleges. In 1962, Congress voted down a "Medicare" bill to provide hospital services for the aged.

In legislation pertaining to foreign affairs Kennedy was generally successful, again following a pattern set by the Truman administration. At the President's urging, Congress freely voted

funds for the Peace Corps and the Alliance for Progress in Latin America (both shortly to be described). It responded favorably to requests for increased appropriations for defense and for a stepped-up space-missile program ("a man on the moon by 1970"). The Kennedy administration's greatest legislative victory was the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. This authorized the President to negotiate with foreign nations and, in return for concessions to American producers, to reduce American tariffs by as much as 50 per cent on some goods and to eliminate them entirely on others.

In mid-term elections the party in power generally loses seats in Congress, but in 1962 the Democrats more than held their own, the first time such a thing had happened since the height of the New Deal in 1934. The elections revealed changing voting patterns. In the traditionally Democratic South the Republicans won seats in Florida, North Carolina, Texas, and Tennessee. But supposedly Republican Vermont elected its first Democratic governor in over a century.

When the new Congress met in January 1963, Kennedy again urged the passage of an ambitious program of reform legislation involving public health, care of the aged, education, public transportation, and youth problems. He also proposed to cut federal income and corporation taxes to spur the economy and reduce unemployment—the threats of huge deficits and inflation were held to be offset by the release of more purchasing power. In June 1963, the President abandoned his former cautious approach to civil rights legislation. In an eloquent address over television, he urged Congress to pass laws ending racial discrimination. "Every American," said Kennedy, "ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated." But a conservative Congress held up most New Frontier legislation.

Spotty Prosperity

The years 1961 and 1962 saw the country pulling gradually out of the mild depression of 1957–1959, but progress was not uniform. Some industries and industrial areas were not prosperous, and unemployment remained high. Another difficulty, which started in the Eisenhower administration, was that the United States now had a persistently unfavorable balance of payments: more dollars went out of the country than came in. This deficit resulted in a steady drain on American gold reserves which, if long continued, might force this country to devalue the dollar, reduce foreign aid, or abandon military installations abroad. Any one of these moves would weaken the free world.

On coming into office, Kennedy recommended measures to reduce the balance of payments deficit. He proposed to stimulate American exports (hence the aforementioned Trade Expansion Act), to make economies in foreign aid and military spending abroad, and especially to try to stop the steady wage-price inflation that had been going on since the end of World War II.

The administration urged labor unions to moderate their demands for higher wages. Under prodding from Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, the steel industry and steelworkers signed the first contract since 1945 that did not contain such increased wages that higher prices were a foregone conclusion. When, in April 1962, several companies announced a simultaneous rise in prices, the President revealed one of his rare flashes of anger. Using all the resources of his position, he forced the steel companies to rescind the price increases.

A NEW TACK IN FOREIGN POLICY

The Kennedy administration pursued a slightly new tack in foreign affairs. The essential aims did not differ from those of the Truman

and Eisenhower administrations, and there was no relaxation of the effort to contain communism, but there was greater willingness to seek accommodation with the Communist world if it could be done without sacrificing vital American interests. There was also less insistence that all who are not with us are against us and therefore more tolerance of neutralism. By the same token, there was more emphasis on economic aid to promote prosperity in developing countries and less on military aid to equip armies.

Neutralist Laos

The new attitude could be seen in the treatment of Laos. When Kennedy came into office, there was an intensification of the Laotian civil war, and a Communist victory seemed imminent. With the USSR supporting the local Communists and the United States having hitherto backed a right-wing group, there was danger of "another Korea." Kennedy was determined to prevent a Communist take-over of Laos. At one time he sent American marines to neighboring Thailand to show he was willing to commit military forces. But he was willing—as the Eisenhower administration had not been—to accept a neutralist regime. After prolonged negotiations at Geneva, a compromise was reached whereby a predominantly neutralist government was set up.

In March 1961, Kennedy offered a new approach to foreign aid with the establishment of the Peace Corps. This body was a force of American men and women who volunteered for service to humanity. Peace Corps members submitted to rigorous training and received in payment only living expenses, small vacation allowances, and \$1,500 at the end of two years of service. They lived with the people to whom they were sent, ate the same food, and spoke the local language. Twelve countries asked for and received Peace Corps volunteers in 1961. They did work as varied as laying out sewage

systems in Bolivia and building a model town in Pakistan. Above all, they taught English and practical skills. Although volunteers were of all ages—some even in their seventies—most were young men and women just out of college, seeking a chance to be on their own and to test themselves in difficult situations.

In spite of Communist attacks on Peace Corps members as spies, in spite of those in America who sneered at “idealistic do-gooders,” the Peace Corps was obviously a success. Selectivity was high; of the first 700, only 2 had to be sent home. In 1962 and every year from then on, a previously sceptical Congress voted increased appropriations. All the original twelve countries requested more volunteers, and by 1968, forty-seven more countries asked for them.

Disaster and Success in the Americas

When during the Eisenhower administration it became clear that Castro's Cuba was a Communist bridgehead in the Western Hemisphere, plans were laid to support an anti-Castro revolution. The United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) trained and equipped Cuban refugees in Central America. The CIA believed that the landing of a Cuban exile force would touch off an uprising against Castro. It was able to persuade Kennedy and his advisers of the

QUESTION • How were Kennedy and his advisers ever led into such a fantastically botched adventure as the Bay of Pigs disaster?

feasibility of the plan. In April 1961, therefore, the United States supported bombing of Cuban airfields by planes flown by Cuban exiles, followed by a landing of 1,500 armed refugees at a place called the Bay of Pigs. The expectation that the landing would trigger a rebellion was not fulfilled; instead, nearly the entire force was killed or captured within three days. The appalling failure of this “invasion by

proxy” was a heavy blow to the prestige of the new Kennedy administration: Castro was strengthened in power; Khrushchev posed as the defender of Latin America against the “Colossus of the North”; there were anti-United States riots in Latin-American cities.

The actions of the United States in regard to another dictator, Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, were more successful. In January 1961, the Organization of American States voted an embargo against Trujillo's corrupt and cruel regime; in May, the dictator was assassinated by a local band of his enemies. Later the United States, working in close cooperation with other Latin-American countries, prevented the slain ruler's family from re-establishing his tyranny.

The Alliance for Progress

The Castro movement, known as “Fidelismo,” threatened to spread to other countries. Promoted by Cuban agents, it often found ready support among the poverty-stricken and discontented. Partly to meet this threat, President Kennedy proposed a long-term effort to build up the Latin-American standard of living. In August 1961, an Inter-American Economic and Social Council drew up plans for an “Alliance for Progress,” somewhat on the lines of the Marshall Plan. Over a ten-year period the United States proposed to help Latin-American countries help themselves in such endeavors as better schools, housing, and public health; more diversified economies; stabilization of prices and currencies; fairer methods of taxation; reduction of poverty and social injustice. Chances of success were by no means certain. Conservative Latin Americans often saw the Alliance as fostering revolution and threatening their property. Communists and other leftists regarded it as a cloak for imperialism. In some countries—notably Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela—it helped promote reforms. In others, opposition from the

right, from the left, or from both sides at once, prevented the Alliance from doing much good.

Second Cuban Crisis

During the summer and early autumn of 1962 there was increasing fear that in addition to being a Communist satellite Cuba might become a Russian military base. Russian technicians proposed, for instance, to build a "fishing port" on the Cuban coast, and this might double as a base for Soviet submarines. It was known that Russia was arming and training Castro's army. So long as Kennedy remained convinced that the military preparations in Cuba were defensive, he held back, even in the face of a mounting public demand that he act.

In mid-October, however, aerial photographs offered proof that the Russians were building missile bases in Cuba and providing missiles that threatened nuclear attacks on the United States and Caribbean countries. Keeping his intentions secret until the last moment, Kennedy told the nation in a televised broadcast about the Soviet threat. He declared a naval "quarantine" of Caribbean waters. American naval vessels were already deployed to intercept and search ships approaching Cuba. The President demanded prompt dismantling of the missile sites. He gave a clear ultimatum to Russia: "Any hostile move anywhere in the world against the safety and freedom of peoples to whom we are committed . . . will be met by whatever action is needed." There was an agonizing pause of five days before it was known whether Khrushchev would retreat from the brink of war. During this period the President was rewarded for his earlier restraint. The Organization of American States supported the action of the United States by a vote of 19-0. The *New York Times* termed this "the clearest show of hemispheric unity since World War II." Finally, Khrushchev backed down and promised to send the missiles back home.

Relations with Canada

During the Kennedy years, relations between the United States and Canada were not entirely happy, although the two countries cooperated in many ways and there was never the slightest chance of really serious conflict. One of Canada's troubles was just the reverse of that of Latin America—not too little capital investment from the United States, but perhaps too much. A third of the foreign investments of this country were devoted to developing the resources of its northern neighbor. Canadians feared that their country might become an economic colony of the United States. There was also criticism of United States quotas on such Canadian products as oil and of disposal of surplus United States wheat in world markets at less than cost. Early in 1963 a dispute between the two countries came into the open. The State Department took the extraordinary step of issuing a statement criticizing the Canadian government for refusing to cooperate in agreed-upon defense policies. After angry debates in the Canadian parliament, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker resigned and called for a new election. He campaigned on the issue of United States interfer-

The installation of Russian missiles in Cuba as detected by American reconnaissance planes brought Kennedy and Khrushchev to an "eyeball to eyeball" confrontation. Below, a U.S. ship keeps pace with a Russian trawler removing a missile.





Perhaps nothing symbolizes more the division between the Communist and Western worlds than the erection of the Wall in Berlin. The Wall attempted to seal in the population of East Germany. Despite its barbed wire and machine gun posts, many have risked their lives to cross it.

ence in Canada, but his Conservative party lost. Lester Pearson, the Liberal winner, expressed more friendliness toward the United States and its armament policy.

Confrontation and Negotiation

In his inaugural address, Kennedy had urged renewed efforts to find means of relieving the tension of the Cold War, saying, "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate." In June 1961, he flew to Europe for meetings with heads of states—with Charles de Gaulle in Paris, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in London, and Khrushchev in Vienna. The President reported that his meeting with the Russian premier was a "very sober two days." The two men treated each other with courtesy, but could find no area of agreement. Kennedy later told the American people:

For the facts of the matter are that the Soviets and ourselves give totally different meanings to the same words: war, peace, democracy, and popular will. We have different views of right and wrong, of what is an internal affair, and of what is aggression. And above all, we have totally different concepts of where the world is and where it is going.

Perhaps thinking that he could intimidate the young President who had recently emerged from the Bay of Pigs fiasco with a damaged reputation, Khrushchev handed Kennedy a near-

ultimatum on East Germany and Berlin. He insisted that the Western powers recognize the Russian puppet state and that the four-power occupation of Berlin be ended. When the President refused, the Communist answer was a wall across Berlin, barring free movement between their district and the rest of the city. This weakened the economy of West Berlin, which had drawn much of its labor from the Russian sector. It closed off the flight of refugees from East Germany. Many who attempted to escape were mercilessly shot down by East German police. "The Wall" was visible testimony that the "people's democracy" of East Germany was a vast prison.

Even more alarming than tension over Berlin was the fact that in the autumn of 1961, Russia resumed nuclear testing in the atmosphere. It exploded over forty bombs, one with 3,000 times the power of that which destroyed Hiroshima. Kennedy unwillingly followed suit, but redoubled efforts to persuade the Russians to agree to ban above-ground testing. Russia would agree to no satisfactory system of inspection, but this became less important as means were found to monitor explosions from outside the country. Demands for on-site inspection were therefore abandoned, and in August 1963 the United States, Great Britain, and the USSR signed a test-ban treaty.

Division in the Marxist World

Khrushchev's retreat in the second Cuban crisis and the test-ban treaty gave hope that the Soviets as well as the Americans realized that in such a "balance of terror" nuclear war was unthinkable. There was other evidence—such as greater freedom within Russia and less rigid control of satellite countries—to suggest that Russian communism might be becoming less militant and more willing to reduce friction with the West. Probably the most important reason for the new Russian line was a division in the Marxist world between Russia and China. It was becoming increasingly apparent that the two great Communist powers were drifting apart. They especially disagreed about relations with the capitalist world. The Russians insisted that coexistence was the only alternative to mutual destruction, while the Chinese continued to preach the "hard" line that the rivalry between communism and capitalism must end in violence.

TRAGEDY AND A NEW PRESIDENT

Kennedy's years in office came to a sudden and appalling end when he was assassinated while visiting Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. Throughout the world, men and women felt a sickening sense of loss. This first President born in the twentieth century had brought to the White House an infectious zest for life, cool courage, and a sense of purpose without pretense or pomposity. In a country that had suspected "eggheads," Kennedy made trained intelligence popular. His tragedy, and ours, was that he was too young to die, and in such a senseless fashion.

Lyndon B. Johnson, Legislative Craftsman

Lyndon B. Johnson, who succeeded to the presidential office, had many qualities that the public mind associates with his native state of



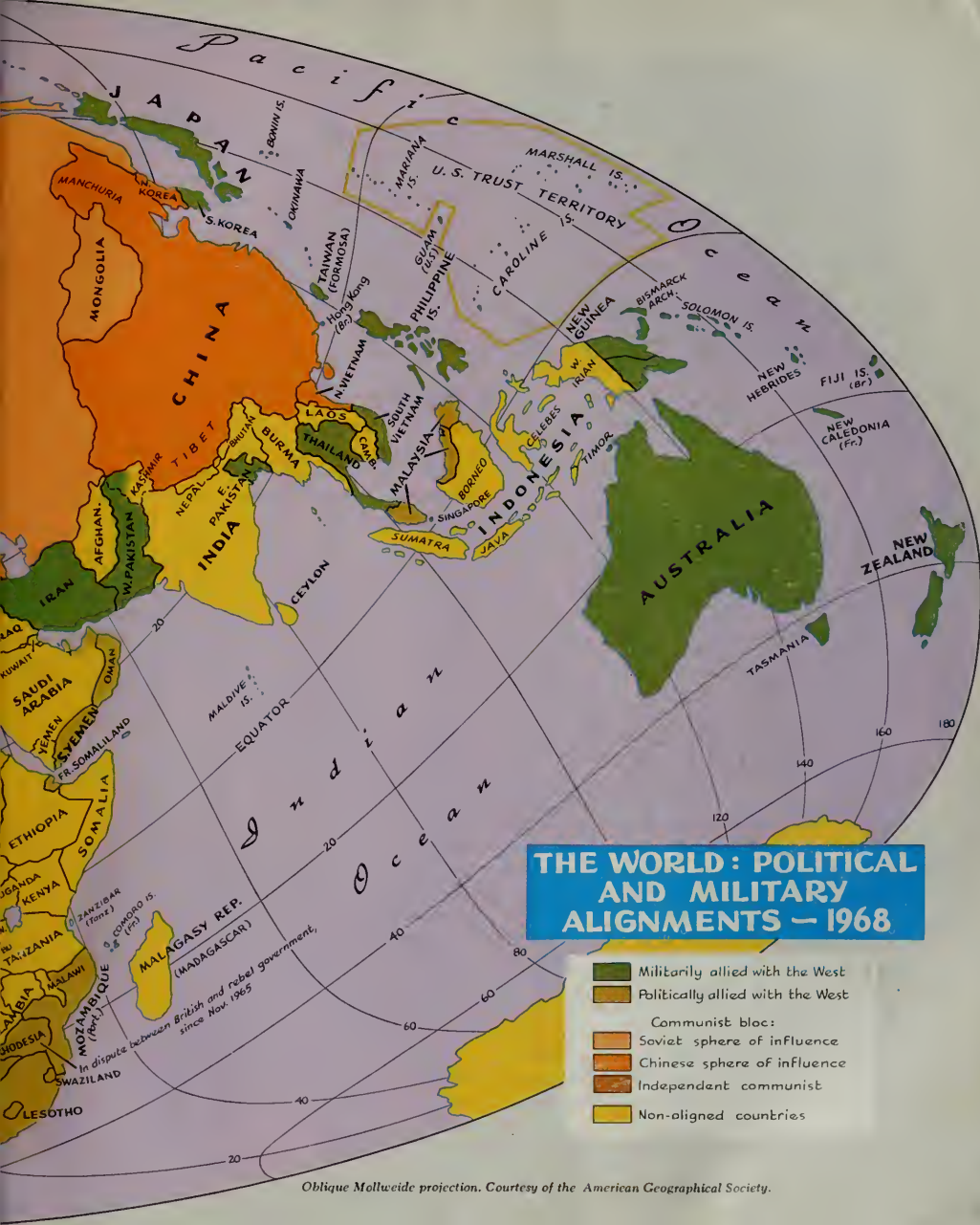
Lyndon B. Johnson took the oath of office a few hours after the assassination of President Kennedy in Dallas. The shock and grief on the faces of those present reflected the feeling of the stunned nation. In this solemn atmosphere, Johnson assumed his heavy duties.

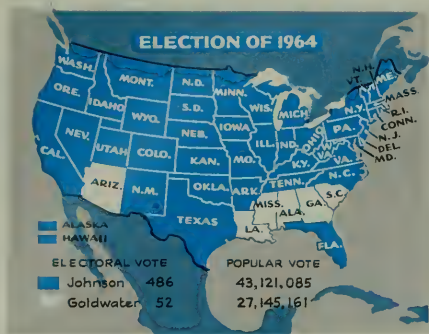
Texas. He was a big man, possessed with immense energy and drive. Almost fanatically gregarious, he enjoyed entertaining hundreds of people at a barbecue on his 4,000-acre ranch. After long experience as majority leader in the Senate he was a skilled legislative craftsman. In 1964, Johnson persuaded Congress to enact into law several measures that it had previously repudiated. The most notable of these were far-reaching civil rights acts, laws establishing an anti-poverty program, the issuance of food stamps for the needy, a program of slum clearance, aid to education, and medical assistance to the aged.

Landslide of 1964

Johnson was inevitably selected as the Democratic candidate in the presidential election of 1964. He chose as his running mate Hubert H. Humphrey, an able senator with a strong liberal following. The conservatives in







Lyndon Johnson won a landslide victory over Barry Goldwater, his conservative Republican opponent. Paradoxically, the only states Goldwater carried, except his own state, Arizona, were in what was formerly the solidly Democratic South.

control of the GOP convention at San Francisco refused concessions to moderate or liberal members of their party. Determined, they said, to give the voters "a choice, not an echo," they nominated Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, a right-winger. Goldwater declined to repudiate "extremists," such as members of the John Birch Society, who were attracted to his banner. His opposition to the 1964 Civil Rights Law alienated Negroes and other minority groups; his coolness toward social security made older people fearful; his support of the open shop hurt him with organized labor; his dislike of agricultural subsidies lost him votes in farming districts. Above all, perhaps, the senator's proposal that subordinate military commanders be empowered to decide whether to use atomic weapons aroused fear that his election might mean the horror of nuclear war.

Johnson meanwhile promised a "Great Society" that would presumably be promoted by welfare legislation. He won some business support by his financial conservatism. Long before election day, polls predicted he would win by a landslide. He became the second presidential candidate in history to win more than 60 per

cent of the popular vote. His margin in the electoral college was 486 to 52. Outside of his own state of Arizona, Goldwater carried only five states—all in the deep South, where former "Dixiecrats" (see p. 700) switched to the Republicans. The Democrats gained forty seats in the House of Representatives, and the new members represented the liberal wing of the party.

"THE ROAD TO THE GREAT SOCIETY"

In his state of the union message to Congress in January 1965, Johnson spelled out what he thought was needed to put America on "the road to the Great Society." He hoped to open "opportunity to all our people" and to improve "the quality of American life." In the ensuing ten months, Congress passed a series of laws that were matched in volume and importance only during the hectic first "100 days" of the New Deal. The legislation completed much of the unfinished business left over from Johnson's Democratic predecessors, Franklin Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy.

Assisting the Poor and Neglected

The new legislation extended federal influence into areas previously reserved for local government or private enterprise, and it was especially directed toward assisting the poor and neglected. Both of these aspects of the Johnson program were revealed by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. For the first time the federal government gave direct, massive aid to both public and parochial schools. The money was to be allocated so as to be of special benefit to children of low-income families. A parallel act to aid colleges provided scholarships to able and needy students. Still a third law established a Job Corps to train the unskilled, especially school dropouts.

Another cluster of laws was designed to give direct assistance to the poor. A vast Anti-Poverty Program was undertaken, and its directing agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), was empowered in some cases to overrule local governments that opposed its activities. The purpose was not simply to provide relief, but to help the poor to help themselves by fostering community spirit and co-operative action in fields as diverse as pre-school training for children, cleaning up parks, and establishing playgrounds. After nearly twenty years of controversy, Congress finally passed a "Medicare" Act that provided people over sixty-five with hospital and nursing-home care, the cost to be paid for by higher social security taxes on payrolls. Medical centers were also to be established in areas where medical care was scarce. Medical schools were granted funds to increase enrollments and so avert a shortage of doctors. Rural poverty was attacked by the experimental Appalachia Program, designed to raise living standards in the Appalachian area.

The continuing concern of the Johnson administration for civil rights was shown by a law providing voting registration by federal agents in communities containing a high proportion of Negroes where less than 50 per cent of adults were on the voting rolls.

New Immigration Policy

For over forty years the immigration policy of the United States had discriminated in favor of people from northwestern Europe at the expense of all others. A system of national quotas was both unjust and ridiculous. Thus, out of a normal total of 157,000 immigrants admitted per year, Great Britain and Ireland together were allocated 83,000; but India, with a population of 450,000,000, and Andorra, with 6,400, each had the minimum quota of 100. Truman,

Eisenhower, and Kennedy had all assailed the racist implications of the quota system, but without persuading Congress to end it. By the Immigration Act of 1965, national quotas were entirely abolished. The law established a "global" quota on a first-come, first-served basis. The only discrimination was in favor of men and women with special skills.

Other Legislation

Other legislation of the 89th Congress was designed to improve the environment in which Americans lived. A new Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was created, headed by Robert C. Weaver, the first Negro to sit in the cabinet. Plans were initiated to improve rail transportation in the great metropolitan area that extends from Washington to north of Boston. Wilderness areas were expanded and funds appropriated to end pollution.

President Kennedy's assassination promoted new demands that Congress make improved provisions for presidential disability and succession. In the summer of 1965, therefore, both houses of Congress passed and submitted to the states a constitutional amendment that sets forth methods whereby the Vice-President may take over when the President is incapacitated and whereby a new Vice-President may be selected when a President is removed or resigns from office. In 1967, this became the Twenty-fifth Amendment.

"Consensus"

Lyndon Johnson owed some of his success as a legislative leader to his belief in "consensus," which in terms of practical politics meant something for everybody. Businessmen were pleased when Congress at his request abandoned excise taxes on hundreds of items—furs, jewelry, TV sets, theater tickets. This tax cut, at a time when the economy was slackening

a little, stimulated further prosperity by releasing purchasing power and lowering prices. Johnson's legislative program included the now almost traditional subsidies to farmers to reduce acreage. To aid labor unions, the President urged repeal of Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Law that allowed states to pass "right-to-work" laws outlawing the union shop. The farm bill went through, but the repeal of Section 14-b failed to pass the Senate when Everett Dirksen, Republican minority leader, organized a successful filibuster against it.

The President had reason to boast that the record of the 89th Congress was "without equal or close parallel in the present era." But to translate the legislative blueprint for the Great Society into constructive achievement required large sums of money. It was necessary therefore to reduce or at least keep in check the even vaster amounts that were being spent by the Department of Defense for military preparations, weapons, and space projects. Full-scale domestic reform demanded peace abroad.

JOHNSON AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Like Woodrow Wilson half a century before him, Lyndon Johnson was less prepared by previous experience and by inclination to deal with foreign affairs than with domestic policy. It is perhaps significant that in this area he retained two of Kennedy's closest advisers—Presidential Assistant McGeorge Bundy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. In most areas of the world the Truman-Eisenhower-Kennedy policies were continued. The surprising fall of Nikita Khrushchev in the autumn of 1964 produced little change in dealings with Russia. The policy of coexistence and limited cultural interchange between Americans and Russians continued—but the Berlin Wall remained intact as a symbol that the Iron Curtain was still drawn. In

Europe there was further weakening of the NATO alliance. President de Gaulle of France kept Great Britain out of the European Economic Community (Common Market) and resisted American pretensions to leadership of the free world.

Dominican Intervention

In the Americas, Johnson continued support of the Alliance for Progress and the Cuban boycott. He handled with forbearance and skill a difficult situation in Panama, where anti-American riots endangered the Canal Zone. The President aroused fear in Latin America, however, and controversy in the United States by armed intervention in the Dominican Republic. In April 1965, a rebellion broke out against a rightist government that had seized power in the island country. Three days later President Johnson ordered 20,000 marines to the Dominican Republic. This intervention—the first of its kind since 1927—was necessary, argued the President, to protect the lives of 2,500 United States citizens on the island and to prevent a Castro-like Communist take-over. Critics of the President's action argued that the United States could have taken whatever action was necessary by working through the Organization of American States.

The Dominican situation revealed some difficulties of United States policy toward Latin America in the Cold War period. In case of an attempted Castroite revolution the Communists gained whether the United States intervened or refrained from doing so. In the former case, Latin-American opinion was invariably aroused against the "Colossus of the North"; in the latter case the Communists extended their influence. Fear of "Fidelismo" also induced the United States to give active support to some reactionary Latin-American governments whose repressive policies made eventual revolutions probable.

Involvement in Vietnam

During the Kennedy and Johnson years the situation in South Vietnam got steadily worse. Local guerilla fighters (the Viet Cong), with support from the Communist government of North Vietnam and arms supplied by Russia and China, carried on an increasingly successful civil war and came to control more and more of the countryside. The rapid succession of South Vietnamese governments that followed the overthrow and assassination of President Diem in 1963 received no great popular support, nor did they fight the Viet Cong effectively. The difficulties had been foreseen by Kennedy. As a senator, he had said in 1954:

To pour money, material, and men into the jungles of Indochina would be dangerously futile and self-destructive . . . I am frankly of the belief that no amount of American military assistance can conquer an enemy which is everywhere, and at the same time nowhere, an enemy of the people which has the sympathy and covert support of the people.

Once in the White House, Kennedy saw matters differently. Faced with withdrawing from Vietnam or increasing the American commitment, he did the latter, and every increase of commitment made it more difficult to withdraw.

After Johnson came into office, the situation continued to deteriorate to such a degree that it became obvious that the United States must soon choose one of three unpleasant alternatives: carry on in a hopeless position and suffer eventual defeat, make a humiliating retreat, or carry the war to the north with danger of bringing in Red China.

In August 1964, North Vietnamese torpedo boats had unsuccessfully attacked three United States destroyers in the Tonkin Gulf off the Vietnamese coast. Congress responded by passing, with only two dissenting votes, a resolution that authorized the President to use armed



Three U.S. Marines carry a wounded fellow soldier from the ruins of Huế, South Vietnam.

force to assist any nation in Southeast Asia that asked American assistance in defending its freedom.

In February 1965, when the Viet Cong attacked an American air base in Vietnam, inflicting over a hundred casualties, Johnson decided to retaliate. He "escalated" the war by ordering the bombing of North Vietnamese supply routes and military establishments. United States forces now abandoned their "advisory" role and actively entered the fighting.

The position in which the United States now found itself was even more difficult than the one it had faced in Korea. There the fact of Communist aggression had been clear; the United States fought as the agent of the United Nations; and the South Koreans fought well to defend themselves. Now the United States was intervening in a civil war as well as resisting Communist aggression from outside; many non-Communist South Vietnamese were indifferent or hostile to the war effort; and the United States had military support only from South Korea, Thailand, Australia, and New Zealand. The hostilities themselves have been character-





CITIES

- Over 1,000,000
- 500,000 to 1,000,000
- 100,000 to 500,000
- Under 100,000
- Capitals

THE UNITED STATES

Scale : 200 miles to one inch

0 200 400

ized as "a dirty, ruthless, wandering war." The Viet Cong employed revolting terrorism against civilians as well as soldiers. American bombs and napalm dropped on villages supposedly held by the Viet Cong took the lives of thousands of noncombatants.

As the Vietnam war dragged on with no near prospect of victory and with mounting American casualty lists, it provoked violent controversy at home. Highly vocal opposition at first centered on college campuses, where it often took the form of massive demonstrations of protest. Many clergymen of all faiths joined the "doves," as those who favored peace were called. A way-out fringe of the peace movement resorted to illegal or bizarre forms of protest, such as burning American flags. But there was also increasing opposition to the war from responsible journalists, such as Walter Lippmann; from staid newspapers, such as the *New York Times*; and even from military men, such as General James M. Gavin, who had served President Kennedy as United States ambassador to France. There were doves highly placed in Congress, several in the President's party. They included Mike Mansfield, Senate majority leader, and J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Although those who opposed the President's actions in Vietnam tended to be more in the public eye than the "hawks" who favored them, the latter had their way. Johnson's policies received support from the majority in Congress, and polls revealed that this reflected public opinion. Apparently the majority of the people could see no reasonable alternative to the President's policy, and withdrawal from Vietnam would, according to the "domino theory," open the way to Communist aggression elsewhere.

The doves and hawks did not fall into two neat categories, but included a whole spectrum of opinions. Dovish attitudes ranged from those who demanded immediate, unconditional with-

drawal to those such as General Gavin who recommended stopping the bombing of the North and pulling back American forces into more defensible "enclaves." At one extreme the hawks included persons who disliked Johnson's policies but saw withdrawal as bringing greater woes; at the other extreme were those who thought the President should escalate the war further, even to the use of atomic weapons against both North Vietnam and Red China.

Early in 1966 there was a glimmer of hope that peace might be arranged. After a Christmas and New Year truce, President Johnson called off bombing raids on North Vietnam during the entire month of January. He made public offers of negotiation and, rather belatedly, instructed Ambassador Arthur Goldberg to lay the dispute before the United Nations. But Ho Chi Minh, president of North Vietnam, made the condition that the United States withdraw all troops before negotiations could begin. Reluctantly, Johnson ordered bombing resumed on February 1. On the advice of the military, he gradually increased the American ground forces until by the end of 1967 they numbered over half a million men.

Middle Eastern Flare-up: The Six Day War, 1967

In 1967 there was a sudden flare-up in the Middle East. The truce that had existed there since the Suez crisis of 1956 had been an uneasy one, punctuated by frequent petty clashes between Israel and its Arab neighbors, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt. Russia now posed as the defender of the Arabs and provided Egypt with an abundance of modern weapons with which to avenge previous military defeats.

The new crisis began on May 16, when Egypt demanded that UN peacekeeping troops abandon positions they held in order to police the Gulf of Aqaba, Israel's outlet to the Red Sea. U Thant, Secretary-General of the UN,

withdrew the forces entirely, whereupon President Nasser of Egypt moved his army in and closed the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli ships. This was an act of aggression, and Nasser suggested that it might be a prelude to outright war when he remarked, "Israel's existence is itself an aggression."

In spite of efforts by the Security Council of the UN to avert hostilities, Israel suddenly seized the initiative by attacking Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian airfields on June 5. This was the opening of the amazing Six Day War in which brilliantly led Israeli forces overwhelmed the Arabs surrounding them and captured territory nearly four times as large as Israel itself.

It was well that the war was so swift and conclusive. Had it been prolonged, the USSR and the United States might have been drawn into it. As it turned out, the USSR suffered a severe blow to its prestige. Perhaps a billion dollars' worth of Russian arms had been destroyed or captured by the Israelis, and the USSR had shown itself unwilling to commit its own forces on behalf of its Arab allies. Soviet diplomats attempted to save face by persuading the UN General Assembly to condemn Israel and, by implication, the United States. But the Assembly could be persuaded to do no more than urge Israel to return to Jordan that part of Jerusalem it had taken.

Although the USSR lost prestige in the Middle East as a result of the Six Day War, the United States did not gain any. On the contrary, the Arab world bitterly resented the American partiality toward Israel and held the United States partly responsible for the defeat.

A by-product of the Middle East crisis of 1967 was a summit conference on June 24-25 between President Johnson and Soviet Premier Kosygin at Glassboro, New Jersey—a site chosen because it was halfway between the White House and New York City, where Kosygin was attending sessions of the UN. The meeting was

cordial, and the crowds attracted by the event were friendly. In two conversations, one over five hours long, no important agreements or change of position emerged.

AFFLUENCE AND INSECURITY

In 1958 the economist John Kenneth Galbraith wrote a book, *The Affluent Society*, in which he declared that the recent American prosperity was something new in the world. In all previous societies, productivity had been so low that most people could expect nothing but backbreaking toil and poverty. The economies of most countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are in this category. The United States and a few other highly developed countries are, however, in sight of a day when all people can live in abundance.

Not only has American productivity run far ahead of increases in population, but wealth has become more equally divided. During the "golden twenties," the top 5 per cent of the people amassed 35 per cent of the nation's income. By 1960 this share had sunk to 18 per cent, even before taxes; and most Americans earned enough for luxuries as well as for the necessities of life. The proportion of home owners increased from 40 per cent in 1940 to nearly 60 per cent in 1960. So many could afford cars that new super-highways became overcrowded as soon as completed. There was more leisure; hours of work were shortened, and millions of workers enjoyed vacations with pay. An automobile for nearly every family, combined with annual vacations, led to the development of a new business: the motel. First appearing in the late 1930's, motels soon were built along every highway from Maine to California. Leisure time also produced booms in gardening equipment and power tools.

Most Americans became more secure as well as better off. Unemployment insurance and

social security were extended to the majority of jobholders. Such programs were supplemented by a variety of private welfare plans, promoted by employers or trade unions. Business executives, facing high income taxes, often preferred to be paid in annuities after retirement rather than in higher salaries. Federal subsidies protected farmers against serious loss. Federal legislation also protected bank depositors, investors, and mortgage holders.

In spite, however, of the greater diffusion of prosperity, the United States had not reached

the point where everyone received enough for a satisfying life. There remained a hard core of poverty, both rural and urban. Indeed, the bottom 20 per cent of the population gained no greater share of the wealth than in the 1920's.

Scientific Advances

During the 1960's, scientific advances continued to improve men's lives and to extend their horizons. The achievements most visible were those in medicine and in the conquest of outer space.

Arthur Goldberg, Conciliator

In 1965, Arthur Goldberg had reached the pinnacle of the legal profession as a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. When, however, Johnson asked him to resign and succeed Adlai Stevenson as United States Representative to the UN, Goldberg immediately agreed. He said he could not rest easy in a world where the issue was human survival; if the President thought he could help mankind to survive, he would eagerly offer his assistance.

The job of representing the United States to over a hundred foreign nations is a grueling one, but hard work was not new to Goldberg. Son of a poor Russian immigrant, he went to work at twelve for a weekly wage of \$3.80. While holding a full-time job, he completed high school, college, and law school at twenty.

As a lawyer, Goldberg specialized in representing labor unions. Chief counsel for both the Steelworkers' Union and the CIO, he earned \$100,000 a year. He developed an extraordinary ability to settle management-labor disputes. He knew his facts; he could see both sides; he kept his head. A reporter who observed him during difficult negotiations wrote: "He wraps resourcefulness, understanding, psychology, patience, toughness, flexibility, self-confidence, intuition, and a perfect sense of timing into one irresistible package, and when it's all over you wonder why you didn't think of it first yourself."

Before being called to the Supreme Court, Goldberg had served Kennedy as Secretary of Labor. A friendly, gregarious man, he got on with people who bitterly opposed the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. One of these was Barry Goldwater, who wrote him when he took the UN job: "You are taking on a thankless, difficult, and at times almost impossible job, but if anybody can bring the strength that is needed to that assignment it is you."

In 1968, Goldberg resigned as ambassador to the United Nations. Perhaps this was because of disagreement with President Johnson over Vietnam policy. As a private citizen, he opposed continued bombing of North Vietnam.

(Themes 4 & 10, p. xii)



In medicine, improved anesthesia and antibiotics made surgery safer and more effective. Operating on the heart, formerly a measure of desperation, now became commonplace. Doctors learned how to transfer whole organs, such as kidneys, from one human being to another. It became possible also to transfer tissues from the dead to the living, the most spectacular advance along these lines being transplantation of the heart. There was also progress in the treatment of cancer: a linkage between cigarette smoking and lung cancer was established, and certain types of cancer responded favorably to injections of organic substances.

The "space race" between the United States and Russia that started with *Sputnik* in 1957 produced a series of startling achievements. By 1968, hundreds of artificial satellites were in orbit; some were expected to circle the earth for a thousand years or more. Satellites were of increasing practical usefulness as means of observing weather patterns and of facilitating intercontinental communications. Some went far beyond the earth. The Russians were the first to photograph the far side of the moon, but in 1965 an American satellite, *Mariner 4*, photographed Mars. In 1966 the Russians with *Luna 9*, and later the Americans with *Surveyor I*, solved the problem of a soft landing on the moon. In 1967, both countries sent up satellites to seek answers to some of the long-standing questions about Venus.

The rivalry of the two great powers was also manifested in manned flights. At first the Russians held an advantage because their rockets had a more powerful thrust. They were the first to put a man in orbit (1961) and the first to send up two men (1963). But, starting with John Glenn's first three-orbit journey in 1962, American astronauts were also successful. In 1965, two two-man capsules, *Gemini 6* and *Gemini 7* made a rendezvous in space. At Christmas



"What will you do when this machine learns your job?" This question has been plaguing more and more Americans as computers like those shown above are being introduced into more and more industries and businesses.

time 1968, *Apollo 8*, with astronauts Borman, Lovell, and Anders, left the gravitational field of the earth to circle the moon ten times and make a safe return.

Still another area where man's knowledge and control of his environment spectacularly increased was the ocean. Here French scientists were pioneers. It was they who invented the aqualung and devised means whereby men lived for weeks under water. By the 1960's, scuba diving had become an international sport, and submarines had been built capable of descending over a mile below the surface of the sea. Exploration of the great depths was accompanied by research into means of increasing the ocean's yield in food and raw materials. It

may prove that the advances in oceanography will ultimately be of more importance to mankind than the conquest of space.

Automation and Its Effects

Other scientific advances resulted in a technological development known as automation. This new phase of the industrial revolution involved the increased use of transistors that could send and receive signals and of automatic computers—"thinking machines" able to perform complex mathematical operations almost instantly. The application of automation to all sorts of mechanical processes eliminated the need for human controls. According to a calculation made in 1965, automation was displacing 35,000 workers a week. It rendered jobless many people with high skills—coal miners, accountants, linotype operators, and industrial designers. But the hardest hit were the unskilled, such as elevator operators. Automation also promoted employment, but the new jobs usually demanded high literacy and often mathematical knowledge as well. It was estimated that of 6,400,000 new openings between 1956 and 1964, 5,400,000 were "white-collar" jobs, and only 1,000,000 were suitable for "blue-collar" workers.

Unemployment among the poorest, least educated segment of the population created a dangerous situation. Inability to get work not only meant living on relief but also implied rejection by society. It bred resentment and irrational antisocial behavior. The growing conviction that mass poverty in the midst of plenty was both a moral wrong and a threat to society was behind the efforts of the Johnson administration to start an assault on poverty.

Urban Problems

The symbol and symptom of mass poverty was the slum. With a declining or stationary

population, mounting financial problems, antiquated systems of government, and a diminishing sense of civic responsibility, many cities were decaying at the center. Their underpaid employees in understaffed schools, social services, libraries, hospitals, and police departments could not do their jobs well. The worst sections of such cities became "asphalt jungles," the breeding ground of crime, drug addiction, and alienation from the rest of society.

The suburbs were not without problems of their own. They were not communities in the older sense of being places that contained most human activities and commanded human loyalties. A suburb was simply "a place to hang your hat." One study revealed that American married couples of less than middle age move, on an average, once every five years. They have too little opportunity to develop a sense of belonging or to get the satisfactions that come from active community life.

Suburbia tended to stratify and isolate groups in American society by throwing together people of similar age and income. This sometimes had an adverse effect on schooling. Younger couples often could not afford the high taxes necessary to provide good schools, and yet they were the ones with the children who most needed education. Communities dominated by older people of wealth were not anxious to pay taxes to educate other people's children.

But these urban problems are not all new or peculiar to America. Nor are they beyond solution. Pittsburgh, to take a notable example, has cleared away the pall of smoke that used to hang over the city and has completely rebuilt its central area, letting in light and air. With imaginative leadership, citizens willing to sacrifice time and energy, and often the assistance of federal funds, the most stubborn urban problems can be dealt with.

"The Quiet Crisis"

The ugliness and decay of many urban areas of the United States were unhappily matched by developments outside them. In his book *The Quiet Crisis*, published in 1963, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall issued a solemn warning:

America today stands poised on a pinnacle of wealth and power, yet we live in a land of vanishing beauty, of increasing ugliness, of shrinking open space, and of an over-all environment that is diminished daily by pollution and noise and blight.

Udall's book described how Americans were fouling their environment with junkyards, urban sprawl, and strip mining. Indiscriminate use of detergents and pesticides was destroying wildlife, and several species of birds, including the bald eagle, were threatened with extinction.

A prolonged drought in the East in the years 1964 and 1965 brought on a water crisis and made the public aware that many rivers were open sewers. Even the Great Lakes (which contain 20 per cent of the available fresh water in the world) were so contaminated that valuable species of fish were dying out.

Udall urged that the United States at long last learn something of "the land wisdom of the Indians," who regarded their hunting grounds as a sacred trust to be transmitted unspoiled to their children.

THE NEGRO REVOLUTION

During the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, Negro Americans demanded more insistently that they receive the rights that were supposedly the birthright of every American. In the South the "sit-ins" of 1960 were followed by the "freedom rides" of 1961. Mixed groups of

blacks and whites, often clergymen or theological students, challenged segregation of buses and bus stations. The "riders" quietly submitted to violence at the hands of mobs and to jail sentences or fines for "loitering" or "inciting to riot." The freedom rides were followed by "freedom schools" in which southern Negroes were urged to insist on their rights and were instructed in Gandhian techniques of non-violent demonstrations.

Meanwhile, the federal government acted with increasing vigor to advance and protect Negro rights. President Kennedy insisted on equal job opportunities and prohibited segregation in housing built with federal funds. The Department of Justice, headed by the President's brother, Robert Kennedy, sent federal marshals to protect freedom riders. The Supreme Court, under the liberal leadership of Chief Justice Earl Warren, handed down decision after decision that promoted school desegregation and civil rights for Negroes. In September 1962, a Negro, James Meredith, backed by a court order, sought entrance to the University of Mississippi. When Governor Ross Barnett refused to admit him, mob violence broke out, and two people were killed. Order was restored and Meredith was admitted to the university only after Kennedy sent troops. In contrast was the enrollment of a Negro architectural student at Clemson University in South Carolina in 1963. In this case, state and local authorities not only obeyed a court order, but took strong measures to head off rioting.

As we have seen, Kennedy in 1963 urged strong legislation to end racial discrimination. Lending weight to the President's program was a great "March on Washington" in August. Over 200,000 people, black and white, converged on the capital, led by priests, rabbis, ministers, and civic leaders. Singing hymns and spirituals, they marched toward the Lincoln Memorial in

testimony of all men's right to be free and equal. Then they slipped quietly away. It was the most massive and orderly day of protest in American history.

Civil Rights Act of 1964

After Kennedy's death, President Johnson, a Southerner, demanded with equal fervor that Congress take action. On July 2, 1964, he had the satisfaction of signing the strongest Civil Rights Act since Reconstruction. Passed by large majorities in both houses of Congress, it provided that all citizens should have equal access to public facilities, such as parks and libraries, and to private businesses serving the public, such as restaurants and theaters. It forbade discrimination in employment or education and strengthened guarantees of the right to vote. A few months after passage of the Act, the Department of Justice reported general compliance with the law in southern states, "as befits a people who respect and comply with the law." It is significant that all twelve southern congressmen who voted for the law were re-elected in 1964.

New Militancy: "Black Power"

Although the Negroes were gaining legal rights that would have seemed surprising only a decade earlier, translating these into action was often a slow process. By 1964, for instance, ten years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, less than 10 per cent of black children in the South were in desegregated schools. Furthermore, the relative improvement of the economic status of Negroes that began during World War II had not been sufficient. Automation hit Negro workers with peculiar force, since many of them were unskilled and had received inferior schooling. Despite court decisions and federal policies, Negroes were becoming increasingly segregated in the North, often more so than in the South. As they moved into new

city districts, the whites moved out. As their children entered public schools, white children were sent to private schools. Even prosperous, well-educated Negroes found it difficult to buy property in suburban areas.

These difficulties created a mood of frustration and a new militancy. Martin Luther King's insistence on non-violence and Christian love now seemed to many Negroes a form of "Uncle Tomism." The black man must no longer wait for the whites to give him rights, but must seize them for himself. The goal now, as preached by radical leaders such as Stokely Carmichael of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), was "black power." This phrase has a variety of meanings. It may apply to organized protests against poor conditions, such as school boycotts or sit-ins by mothers on welfare. In the economic sphere it may refer to efforts by black communities to get control of their own businesses, supermarkets, and banks. It certainly means political action, defined by Carmichael as "the coming together of black people to elect representatives and to force those representatives to speak to their needs." Thus the Negro began to be a force in southern politics for the first time since Reconstruction. In the 1964 presidential election, Negro votes provided the winning margin for Johnson over Goldwater in Arkansas, Florida, Texas, and Virginia. Negroes elected increasing numbers of minor officers in the South—sheriffs, county commissioners, state legislators. In the North in 1967, Negroes were elected as mayors of Cleveland, Ohio, and Gary, Indiana.

The changed attitude revealed itself in a variety of ways. One was the substitution of the term "black" for Negro. Another was the end of efforts to imitate whites by straightening kinky hair. There was a new interest in the African background of the black man, as well as in his history in this country. Black heroes now included Nat Turner, who had led a re-



Two aspects of black protests are pictured at right and above: the violent Detroit riot in 1967 and the peaceful Poor People's March on Washington in 1968.



bellion in Virginia in 1831 (see p. 284). Rejecting Christianity, the Black Muslims, a religious group, sought to instill in their followers great self-discipline, along with a belief in black supremacy. Some black power advocates proposed complete separation from the white community.

Violence

In some parts of the South there were efforts to thwart the legislation designed to advance the lot of Negroes. Resistance took various forms, such as firing or refusing to hire Negroes who joined the civil rights movement. White mobs tried to intimidate children who entered desegregated schools; Negro churches were bombed or burned; civil rights workers, both Negro and white, were killed.

Thus, up to 1963, most of the violence connected with the Negro Revolution had been committed by whites. In May 1963, however,

after peaceful demonstrations organized by Martin Luther King in Birmingham, Alabama, had been broken up by police with dogs and fire hoses, and after King's brother's home had been bombed, there was an outbreak of Negro violence against whites. Within a week, inter-racial clashes occurred in three other southern cities and in New York City.

Perhaps inevitably, given what the Negro had suffered for three centuries, some black power leaders preached violence. Some of them, like Carmichael, had previously supported Dr. King. Much of the assault was merely verbal—bitter denunciations of “whitey” in black literature, in the black theater, and at black rallies. But some Negroes deliberately armed themselves for a struggle that might be hopeless but would at least assert their willingness to die rather than accept an inferior status.

In 1964 and 1965 there were flare-ups of violence in various northern cities, but the

public was unprepared for the explosion that took place in Watts, a Negro section of Los Angeles, in August 1965. For four days mobs looted, burned, and fought the police. The outbreak was only suppressed after 12,500 members of the National Guard had been called out. The area looked afterward as though it had been bombed; damage was conservatively estimated at \$40,000,000, much of it suffered by Negroes. Most of the 900 injured, and all but 3 of the 34 killed, were also blacks.

A commission appointed to investigate the Watts riot made the chilling prediction: "So serious and explosive is the situation that, unless it is checked, the August riots may seem by comparison to be only a curtain raiser to what could blow up one day in the future." So it proved to be. There was somewhat of a lull in 1966, but during the "long hot summer" of 1967 there were outbreaks in over sixty cities in twenty-one states. Those in Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit, Michigan, were even worse than the Watts outbreak.

There was no easy answer to what caused the riots or how to avert them. The riots showed that responsible Negro leadership, such as that which organized the magnificently disciplined March on Washington, had not reached down to the poor in the ghettos. They showed that mere attainment of paper rights was not enough to assuage the blacks' sense of rejection and injustice. The riots were especially difficult to deal with because all such outbreaks tend to become irrational, almost suicidal. Inevitably, more Negroes got hurt than whites, and more suffered property loss. Every outbreak tended to harden white prejudice. The latter aspect was the most difficult of all. As President Johnson's commission to investigate the disorders reported: "What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created

it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

The riots also pointed up what all students of the situation of Negro Americans had come to realize: many Negroes were handicapped by patterns of life that go back to slavery. Among Negro men physical prowess was generally held in higher esteem than mental skills—witness the folk hero John Henry, who swung a 20-pound sledge hammer and, prophetically, died trying to compete with power-driven machinery. Negroes are today the only group in which men are apt to have less formal schooling than women. Such patterns inhibit progress, especially among the poor.

Progress, But . . .

The brutality of Ku Kluxers in the South, the polite but perhaps equally deadly prejudice of much of suburbia all over the country, the black looters breaking store windows, and the burning cities should not obscure the fact that immense progress has been made in race relations in the last three decades. Countless legal disabilities have been erased. In 1940, only 100,000 Negroes voted in the entire South; in 1968, that many voted for a Negro candidate for governor of Georgia. In 1940, practically the only field where blacks could achieve eminence was entertainment, and even there only to a limited extent. By the late sixties there were Negro ambassadors, bishops, and judges (one on the US Supreme Court). But large as the gains had been, a great gap still remained, and blacks were disposed to measure progress not by where they once were but by where the white man was.

The race situation threatens to tear apart the fabric of American society. Never has any problem made such demands on the good will, sense of decency, and intelligence of Americans. In the terrifying words of the novelist James Baldwin: "The Negroes in this country may

never be able to rise to power, but they are very well placed to precipitate chaos and ring down the curtain on the American dream."

A YEAR TO REMEMBER

In January 1968, *Newsweek* remarked that America was "divided and confused as never since the Great Depression." At home it was freely predicted that the summer would bring more racial violence and that more cities would burn. Abroad, the Vietnam war dragged on with no immediate prospect of victory, although General Westmoreland did assure the country that the Viet Cong military effort was weakening.

Alas, 1968 turned out worse than was anticipated. The first rude shock came in February when the supposedly exhausted Viet Cong vigorously attacked three dozen supposedly well-defended South Vietnamese cities, even penetrating the US Embassy in Saigon. They threatened to turn an American marine outpost into another Dienbienphu (see p. 727). Although by no means a complete success, the so-called Tet offensive made mockery of claims that the Viet Cong could soon be conquered.

The Tet offensive had immediate political effects in the United States. Senator Eugene McCarthy, a dove, challenged Johnson in a presidential primary in New Hampshire and "shook every corner of the political landscape" by a surprising near-victory. The next day, Senator Robert Kennedy, who had previously decided to defer presidential ambitions until 1972, threw his hat in the ring. He too campaigned against the war.

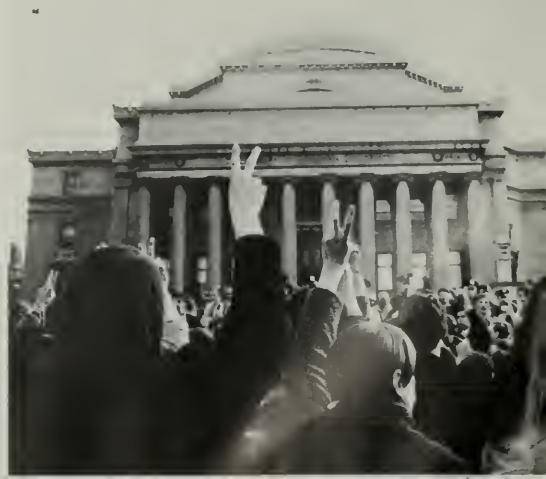
The last day of March brought President Johnson's astonishing statement, "I shall not seek, and will not accept, the nomination of my party for President." Instead of taking the advice of the Pentagon to send 200,000 more

troops to Vietnam, Johnson ordered curtailment of the bombing of North Vietnam and announced he would immediately seek a negotiated peace. The enthusiasm that greeted the President's announcement was shown when the stock market jumped 20 points the next day.

On April 4, however, joy turned to gloom when a sniper's bullet killed Martin Luther King in Memphis, Tennessee. A bitterly ironic reaction to the news of the murder of the great preacher of non-violence was a sudden outbreak of rioting, arson, and looting in over a score of cities, including Washington, D.C. The city suffered more grievously than at the hands of the British in 1814; at one time, forty fires were burning. In many urban communities, however, black leaders and even organizations of militants urged their neighbors to "cool it," and violence was averted.

Early in May, another form of violence jolted the public. Radical student protesters

Columbia was one of several universities that witnessed demonstrations by students demanding more voice in the University's policies.



seized buildings of Columbia University, New York City, and held them for a week until evicted by police. This was only the worst incident in a wave of protest that was sweeping many campuses. Sometimes demonstrations were peaceful and demands moderate—the end of bias in fraternities, or attempts to enroll black students. Sometimes the students, or at least their leaders, seemed intent on taking over the colleges (“student power”) or simply disrupting them.

Student riots were not peculiar to the United States. In the previous year they had occurred in Rio de Janeiro, London, Rome, Madrid, and even beyond the Iron Curtain in Warsaw and Prague. The same week as the Columbia incident saw French students battling police in the streets of Paris. Soon they were joined by millions of workers in a great general strike. France was economically paralyzed; the De Gaulle regime, seemingly so well established, appeared helpless. Finally, De Gaulle calmed things down by promising reforms and new parliamentary elections. Rather surprisingly, the voters gave him strong support, but the French economy had suffered grievously and disorders might recur.

Johnson's withdrawal had left the Democratic presidential race wide open. By early June, Robert Kennedy was well ahead of McCarthy and appeared to be challenging Vice-President Hubert Humphrey. Then another appalling tragedy occurred. Kennedy was assassinated by an Arab nationalist who was incensed at American support of Israel.

Kennedy's death removed from American politics a man who had extraordinary sympathy for, and ability to communicate with, those most alienated from American society—the poor, the blacks, many of the young, even the Indians. The tragic event touched off much soul-searching about the high incidence of violence in America—organized crime, the black riots,

white vigilantism, the steady diet of fighting and gunplay on TV and in movies. President Johnson pleaded, “Let us, for God's sake, resolve to live under the law! Let us put an end to violence and the preaching of violence.” Congress, however, was cool to the President's proposal to vote the strict controls of the sale and possession of guns that are commonplace in other countries. Although there were no more major riots in the summer of 1968, isolated instances of racial strife occurred almost daily.

Meanwhile, prospects for peace in Vietnam dimmed. American and North Vietnamese diplomats duly met in Paris in May. But the North Vietnamese refused to negotiate until the United States stopped bombing above the 17th parallel. The United States refused to stop bombing until the opponents made a corresponding gesture of de-escalation. So the meetings dragged on fruitlessly month after month—as did the fighting.

The outlook in foreign affairs was darkened further by events in Czechoslovakia. There a quiet rebellion, triggered by student protests, had overthrown the Stalinist regime that had been riveted on the country after World War II. A new premier, Alexander Dubcek, restored free speech, some democratic processes, freer contact with the West. Such freedoms the men of the Kremlin could not tolerate. After several warnings to Dubcek from the USSR to reverse his policies, Russian troops and tanks, assisted by other Communist forces, overran Czechoslovakia in late August. Unable to withstand the invasion, the Czechs unhappily submitted to those Soviet demands they could not safely resist.

The event was a moral disaster for the USSR. It split the Communist world more than ever, as Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Communist parties in France and Italy denounced Soviet actions. Prospects for ending the Cold War again seemed remote.

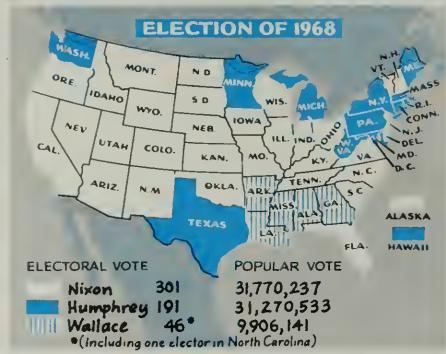
Presidential Election, 1968

Early in August, the Republican National convention, meeting in the South for the first time, convened at Miami Beach, Florida.

Richard M. Nixon was nominated on the first ballot, easily fending off challenges from Nelson Rockefeller, the more liberal Governor of New York, and Ronald Reagan, the more conservative Governor of California. Nixon chose as his running mate Spiro T. Agnew, Governor of Maryland, a candidate agreeable to southern Republicans. In his acceptance speech Nixon set the tone of the ensuing campaign by stressing "law and order." "The first civil right of every American," he declared, "is to be free of domestic violence." Without saying how, he promised to bring the Vietnam war to "an honorable end."

The Republican Convention, with its traditional and tiresome ballyhoo, won few friends for the GOP, but the Democratic Convention, meeting in Chicago three weeks later, was a disaster. Good features, such as a thoughtful keynote address by Senator Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii and an eloquent debate on the Vietnam war, were erased in the public mind by events within and without the convention hall. Inside, TV viewers saw denunciations of the convention proceedings by dissident delegates; outside, they saw violence between policemen and anti-war demonstrators. Vice President Hubert Humphrey easily won the nomination over Senator Eugene McCarthy, but his party was bitterly divided. Although he selected as vice presidential candidate a moderate "dove," Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine, Humphrey supported the Vietnam policies of the unpopular Johnson administration to which he belonged. He went along with the "law and order" mood but also promised to attack causes of crime and rioting by massive "Marshall Plan aid" for the cities.

A third candidate was George C. Wallace, who as Governor of Alabama had pledged "seg-



Compare the pattern of states carried by Nixon and Humphrey with the pattern of Kennedy and Nixon states in the 1960 election map on page 749.



regation forever." His name appeared on the ballot in all fifty states. He blamed the ills of the country on anarchists, Communists, "pseudo-intellectuals," and "briefcase-totin' bureaucrats" in Washington. He promised to bring law and order by congressional repeal of Supreme Court decisions protecting rights of criminal suspects and by support of local police.

At first the campaign was dull, since the result seemed a foregone conclusion. Nixon, backed by a unified party and a full campaign chest, apparently had only to avoid mistakes to win. He therefore spoke in generalities, usually to audiences of fellow Republicans. Humphrey, short of campaign funds, leader of an apparently disintegrating party, spoke to sparse and sometimes jeering crowds.

During the last month of the electioneering Humphrey gained. Nixon's cautious approach began to boomerang, especially after he refused to debate the other candidates on TV. The Vice President won back many McCarthy followers when he declared willingness to stop the bombing of North Vietnam unilaterally; eventually the

Patterns of Population Growth

Examine the graph of population growth on page 741 and the data in the following table:

Population Growth (in thousands) in Four States: 1900-1960

	1900	1920	1940	1960
California	1,485	3,426	6,907	15,717
Florida	528	968	1,897	4,952
Iowa	2,231	2,404	2,538	2,758
Tennessee	2,020	2,309	2,915	3,567

Note the changes in the population of Florida and California in recent years. Note also the growth rates of Iowa and Tennessee. What are the economic and sociological factors in these developments? Clues are found in the data given below. It would be wise also to read about each state in some easily available source, such as the *World Almanac*.

	California	Iowa	Florida	Tennessee
Number of deaths for every hundred births	45	59	64	54
Farm income (millions of dollars)	3,948	3,469	1,038	603
Percentage of population engaged in manufacturing	24.2	18.6	13.1	26.0
Per capita income	\$3,272	\$2,931	\$2,586	\$2,199

Answer these questions:

1. Which state has the oldest population? How can you tell?
2. Which state has the youngest population? How can you tell?
3. What is the connection between Florida's relatively low income and very high rate of growth?
4. How do you explain Iowa's slow growth in spite of high income?
5. How do you explain California's very high rate of growth and high per capita income?
6. What New Deal project accounts for the high proportion of persons engaged in manufacturing and the acceleration of population growth in Tennessee? How?

Senator endorsed him. An unusual feature of the campaign was the great attention devoted to the vice presidential candidates. The recent assassinations may have made the country more aware that only a heartbeat would separate one of these men from the White House. Here too, the Democrats gained, since Muskie proved a more attractive candidate than Agnew.

A week before the election, President Johnson announced that the bombing of North Vietnam was halted and that the Hanoi government had agreed to discuss a cease-fire. This was a further boost to the Democrats. The Gallup and Harris polls, which in September had predicted a Republican landslide, now said the result was a toss-up.

The pollsters proved right. Not until the morning after the voting booths had closed was it apparent that Nixon had won, after carrying Ohio, Illinois, and California by close margins. His comeback was unprecedented in modern American political history; not since the election of William H. Harrison in 1840 had a candidate who lost out the first time been elected on a second try for the presidency.

In the congressional races the Democrats easily retained control of both houses. A predicted swing to conservatism failed to materialize. Liberal Democratic Senators McGovern and Church were reelected in South Dakota and Idaho, both carried by Nixon; Fulbright was reelected in Arkansas, carried by Wallace. Max Rafferty, an extremely conservative candidate for senator in California, ran far behind Nixon and lost.

If Nixon had received a few thousand votes less in any of the key states mentioned above, the result would have been in doubt until the electoral college met in December. There Wallace would have held the balance of power. He could have been a President-maker by telling his electors (who had pledged themselves to vote as he bade them) which major candidate to sup-

port. If the deadlock in the electoral college had continued, the election would have been thrown into the House in January 1969, each state having one vote, so that the one representative from Alaska (population 275,000) would have equal say with the thirty-eight from California (population 19,000,000). Clearly, reform of the electoral system was long overdue.

"We want to bring America together," Nixon declared on hearing that he had been elected. He immediately conferred with President Johnson to find means of cooperation with the administration and to arrange an orderly transfer of power. He met Humphrey, who pledged to help him as he faced the immense tasks that lay ahead—finding a way to end the costly and divisive Vietnam war, easing racial tension, making the great cities liveable, and finding means to allay the stresses of the Cold War.

THE AGE OF ANXIETY

The distressing events of 1968 reveal why the recent past has been called the age of anxiety. With the coming of mass media, men have no place to hide. Every disaster penetrates their living rooms, whether it be Soviet tanks in Prague or Washington in flames. Everywhere there is a sense of the times being out of joint.

The *Harper's Weekly* editorial on page 780 may help dispel the notion that the past was rosy. Yet surely this country is on trial as never

before. The Cold War is a struggle that pits two socio-economic systems against each

QUESTION • Would you rather have lived in an earlier age? When? Where?

other. Every rise in the American crime rate, every example of internal strife, and every failure to cope with insistent problems is a defeat. Every achievement in improving race relations,

AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT 1900 — 1969



TRANSPORTATION TO TRAVEL 100 MILES TOOK...



...about 3 hours by ocean liner



...2 hours by automobile or trailer truck



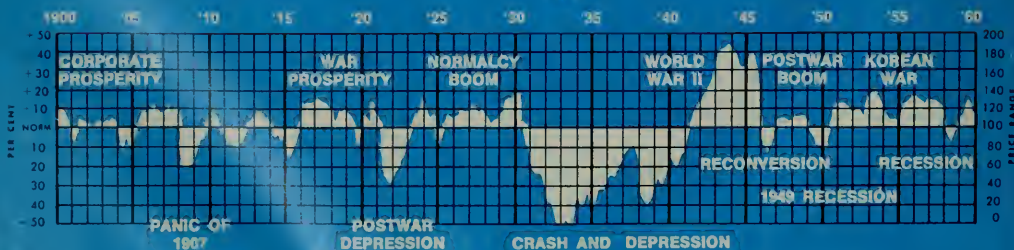
...about 1 1/2 hours by streamliner

...about 10 minutes by jet plane

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

World wars and the United Nations
The Atomic Age
Social Security
Mass entertainment industries
Mass production
Industrial growth
Education
Improvement of working conditions
Negro Revolution

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY



DEMOCRATS



Franklin D. Roosevelt



Truman

DEMOCRATS



Kennedy



Johnson

REPUBLICAN



Eisenhower



Nixon

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

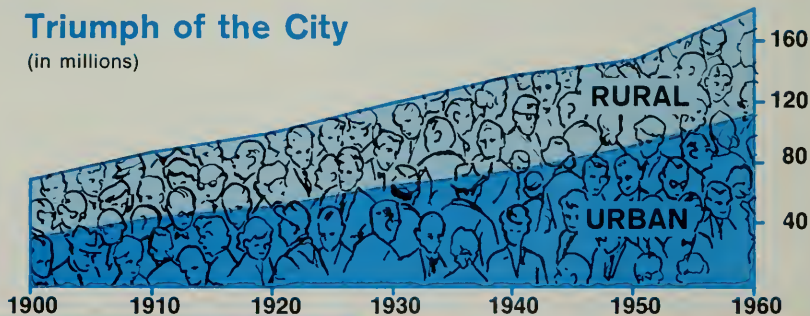
Presidents and Parties

(Appendix pp. 792-795)

1937 1941 1945 1949 1953 1957 1961 1965 1969

Triumph of the City

(in millions)



1900

1960

Circles represent all people employed



MANUFACTURING

AGRICULTURE

High Tide and Low Ebb of Immigration

1901-10 8,795,386

1911-20 5,735,811

1921-30 4,107,209

1931-40 528,431

1941-50 1,035,039

1951-60 3,515,479

Each symbol = 750,000 immigrants

reducing poverty, raising educational standards, promoting scientific achievement, and creating respect for law is also a kind of victory in foreign affairs.

The quotation beginning this chapter comes from a speech delivered by John F. Kennedy the day before he was killed. It suggests surely that men must not run away from difficulties. Better to think of this as an age that opens new frontiers. The great new frontier is not outer space, but mankind itself. As the Daniel Boones and nameless women in sunbonnets faced the rigors and terrors of the physical frontier, so their successors must face the challenges of the present.

Taking a Chance on Freedom

Confronted with such difficulties as frustrating wars, poor distribution of goods, and racial conflict, nations have turned to dictatorship or military government. But the United States, along with its closest allies, has taken a chance on freedom. Freedom of enterprise encourages the production of an abundance of goods. Free discussion promotes understanding of issues. A freely elected government has managed to cope with every crisis.

An eloquent description of the spirit of freedom that should serve Americans well in the future, as it has served in the past, was written by Learned Hand, former chief judge of the Court of Appeals in New York. It is fitting that the last chapter of this book should close with words by a judge, because the judiciary is the guardian of liberty under law. During World War II, Judge Hand gave an address entitled "The Spirit of Liberty." It closed as follows:

What then is the spirit of liberty? I cannot define it; I can only tell you my own faith. The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women;

It is a gloomy moment in history. Not for many years—not in the lifetime of most men who read this paper—has there been so much grave and deep apprehension; never has the future seemed so incalculable as at this time.

In France the political caldron seethes and bubbles with uncertainty; Russia hangs as usual like a cloud, dark and silent upon the horizon of Europe...

It is a solemn moment, and so no man can feel an indifference—which, happily, no man pretends to feel—in the issue of events.

Of our new troubles no man can see the end.... It is no time for idleness, for trifling, for forgetfulness. The complexion of every country, and of the world, rests at last upon the character of individuals.

—HARPER'S WEEKLY, OCTOBER 10, 1957

the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but never quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest. And now in that spirit, that spirit of an America which has never been, and which may never be; nay, which never will be except as the conscience and courage of Americans create it; yet in the spirit of that America which lies hidden in some form in the aspirations of us all; in the spirit of that America for which our young men are at this moment fighting and dying; in that spirit of liberty and of America I ask you to rise and with me pledge our faith in the glorious destiny of our beloved country.

Activities: Chapter 32

For Maslery and Review

1. Explain the result of the presidential election of 1960. Why was it so close?
2. What were the principal features of Kennedy's New Frontier program? Explain the gap between his purposes regarding domestic legislation and congressional actions.
3. What were the results of the Bay of Pigs disaster? How did the OAS deal with the Dominican Republic?
4. Why did the United States establish the Peace Corps? The Alliance for Progress? Assess the accomplishments of each.
5. What was the outcome of the Cuban crisis of 1962? What resulted from relations between Khrushchev and Kennedy regarding Berlin? Regarding nuclear testing?
6. Why Johnson's landslide victory in 1964? What was his program for "the Great Society"? How far did the 89th Congress convert it into legislation?
7. How did the Johnson administration deal with major problems in Latin America? In Southeast Asia?
8. To what extent did the American people achieve affluence by the 1960's? Describe problems faced by the United States in regard to automation, the automobile, cities, pollution.
9. Trace the Negro Revolution from 1960 to 1968.
10. What were unique characteristics of the presidential election of 1968?

Who, What, and Why Important?

election of 1960	Immigration Act
Trade Expansion Act	Department of Housing and Urban Affairs
Laos	"consensus"
Peace Corps	Alliance for Progress
Bay of Pigs	Cuban crisis, 1962
Medicare	Civil Rights Acts, 1964, 1965, 1967
Berlin Wall	March on Washington
election of 1964	"black power"
Anti-Poverty Program	
Dominican rebellion	

"the quiet crisis"
Vietnam war
automation
Eugene McCarthy

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Robert Kennedy
Watts riot
George Wallace

To Pursue the Matter

1. Make up a questionnaire to be given to the whole class (perhaps also to parents) as to what they remember of the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King. Include such questions as: "Do you remember what you were doing when you heard the news? How did you hear it? Did you feel a sense of personal loss? Did you suspect conspiracy?" Tabulate and assess the results.
2. Read Udall, *The Quiet Crisis*; then consider what actions in regard to wildlife and natural resources you would recommend to the federal government, to states, and to municipalities.
3. President Kennedy's inaugural address of January 20, 1961, devoted entirely to foreign policy, is given on pp. S13-S14. Are his judgments still applicable?
4. Read the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* and attempt to answer the immensely difficult questions: Who was responsible for the riots of 1967? What can be done to prevent their recurrence?
5. What steps must be taken to give black children equal opportunities with white children? A useful jumping-off place for studying this problem would be Chapter 6 of Clark, *Dark Ghetto*.
6. Chilling play-by-play accounts of Kennedy's confrontations with Khrushchev at the time of the Berlin crisis and during the second Cuban crisis are found in Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days*. Why were these confrontations significant?
7. What are the several points of disagreement in philosophy, policies, strategies, and tactics between the USSR and Communist China?
8. It is said that the average American child witnesses 13,000 violent deaths on TV between the ages of five and fourteen. What effect might this have on him?

Epilogue

The American Experiment: On Trial

We began this volume by sketching ten "themes" that run through American history. For generations these constituted a system of values that Americans held in high esteem. Are they still relevant? Let us examine them in the context of today's world:

(1) **Economic opportunity.** Even though two hundred million people now occupy a land that was almost entirely virgin territory two centuries ago, the United States remains a country of fabulous plenty. The average per capita income is twenty-five or thirty times that in Asia. But the nation has become painfully aware that in certain areas and among certain groups there is desperate continuing poverty. Federal and local governments and other agencies seek ways to ensure that the economic opportunity most Americans enjoy is thrown open to all.

(2) **Wide participation in politics.** Today the belief that the people of the United States can run their own affairs is challenged. Some local governments are so inefficient or corrupt that they frustrate the popular will. In local elections it is often difficult to determine what the popular will is, since many voters are apathetic and stay away from the polls. At the national level the Cold War presents the constant danger that matters of national importance

will be decided without public debate, or even in secret. There is, however, widespread political discussion of most major problems, foreign and domestic. Elections are vigorously contested. The caliber of men going into politics has seldom, if ever, been higher. Within the past decade the formerly disfranchised Negroes of the South have entered actively into politics, and in the North, blacks have been chosen for high political office. There is no visible danger that democratic processes will be replaced by another system of government.

(3) **Belief in reform rather than revolution.** The only time since the Civil War when there seemed to be any danger of revolution was during the Great Depression, which ran from 1929 to 1939. But the ballot box was open, and the people chose to follow the traditional path of reform as represented by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. Today, however, some alienated people challenge the whole system. Although a small minority, they pose a threat to the idea that society can be improved by peaceful processes.

(4) **A mobile population.** "Mobile" here has two meanings: it suggests actual physical movement from place to place and movement from one occupation or economic status to another. Both meanings fit present-day America. A "na-

tion on wheels" is constantly on the road, and the average person changes residences several times in a lifetime. Opportunity to advance economically is not equal, but for most people there are no fixed ceilings.

(5) **A high position and freedom for women.** During the twentieth century, and especially during the past three decades, taboos that limited women's personal freedom and kept them out of certain occupations have been swept away. It is still true, however, that women tend to get less formal education than men and less pay for their labor.

(6) **Belief in education and widespread educational opportunity.** As academic education becomes an increasing necessity for employment in a society that has less use for unskilled labor, the number of years of formal schooling has increased. Today the majority of American boys and girls finish high school, and, if present trends continue, the majority will soon go on to college. But the quality and accessibility of education vary widely, according to institution, locality, and relative wealth.

(7) **Concern for the welfare of others.** The change from a rural or small-town society to the impersonality of city life has reduced the feeling of mutual helpfulness, summed up in the term "neighborliness." There have been shocking instances of crimes of violence in full view of scores of people, none of whom raised a finger to help. And yet other evidence points to the continuing vigor of the feeling of concern: witness great philanthropic agencies such as the Ford Foundation or the Salvation Army and the thousands of men and women who serve in the Peace Corps and the Job Corps.

(8) **Tolerance of differences.** The unpunished murder of civil rights workers and the violent race riots are appalling evidence of American intolerance. And yet, in the long pull, toleration of racial and religious differences has gained, as indicated by the recent abolition of

discrimination in immigration laws and by efforts of the state and federal governments to end racial discrimination.

(9) **Respect for the rights and abilities of the individual.** There have been recurring times of hysteria in American history when dissenters were denied rights supposedly guaranteed them by law. Law enforcement itself has been too frequently negligent of the rights of the poor man, the immigrant, and the Negro. On the other hand, the courts and the legal profession, with the Supreme Court leading the way, are now more than ever concerned that the laws shall be so enforced that there will be in fact as well as in theory "liberty and justice for all."

(10) **World-wide responsibility.** There is abundant evidence that the United States is committed to the exercise of world-wide responsibility, whether one looks at the billions of dollars granted in aid to foreign nations or at the 50,000 American lives given to save South Korea from aggression. It may be argued, however, that the United States should make greater efforts to combat the appalling poverty that affects most of the world's population, to strengthen the United Nations, to rid the world of the scourge of war, and to find means to do away with weapons of "defense" that can wipe out humanity.

So—after examining the ten "themes," what is the verdict? Are they relevant today? Do Americans hold to the values they represent? The answer would appear to be a guarded *yes*.

There is no room, however, for complacency or self-congratulation. Too much in American life cries for improvement. Our cities are ugly and our suburbs often not much better. We despoil our countryside. Our crime rate is among the highest in the world. And yet there is still immense vitality, immense optimism, and a belief that the world can be made a better place to live in. The way to a better world is to practice what we preach.

Surely theme 10, "world-wide responsibility," is applicable to this period, as to the two or three preceding it. At the same time, we have come to realize that if the United States is to do good in the world, it must at the same time achieve good for its own people, especially those who have hitherto been excluded from a full share in the benefits of American life. The latter realization involves at least five themes: "economic opportunity," "belief in education and widespread educational opportunity," "concern for the welfare of others," "tolerance of differences," and "respect for the rights and abilities of the individual."

Questions:

1. In a series of policy statements such as the Act of Havana (1940), the Declaration of the United Nations (1942), the United Nations Charter (1945), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1949), the Truman Doctrine (1947), the Eisenhower Doctrine (1958), and Kennedy's promise to Khrushchev (1962), "Any hostile move anywhere in the world against the safety and freedom of people to whom we are committed . . . will be met by whatever action is needed." the United States has moved away from the isolationist policies of the 1930's. Is this trend wise, or do you think America should return to the former position? Could we return if we so desired? See Winks, *The Cold War: From Yalta to Cuba*.

2. Is there any relationship between investments all over the world by American business and the development of a sense of world responsibility by our government? What other explanations seem applicable?

3. Who are going to lead American Negroes in their search for the promised land—the preachers of violence, such as the Black Muslims, or the men of peace, such as the late Martin Luther King? See Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White*.

4. What is justice for the American Negro?

READINGS

PART 9

Special Supplements

ARNOF, "A Sense of the Past, Part Nine.

BRACDON, McCUTCHEN, and BROWN, "Frame of Government: 'Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. v. Sawyer,'" pp. 266-273; "Brown v. Board of Education," pp. 274-285.

WINKS, R. W., "The Cold War: From Yalta to Cuba. (New Perspectives.) A study of the post-World War II era, with conflicting interpretations.

Specialized References

E. F. GOLDMAN, "The Crucial Decade—and After: America, 1945-1960, is a lively and spirited survey. S. LUBELL, "The Future of American Politics, is a penetrating and readable analysis of the meaning of the election returns of the 1950's. On politics of the 1960's, T. WHITE's "The Making of the President, 1960, and The Making of the Presi-

dent, 1964, are superb and vividly written studies of election campaigns. R. L. HEILBRONER, "The Future as History, is a stimulating commentary.

On President Truman, see J. DANIELS, *The Man of Independence*. W. S. WHITE, *The Taft Story*, is an admiring biography of "Mr. Republican." R. H. ROVERE, "Senator Joe McCarthy, critically examines the senator, and W. F. BUCKLEY and B. BOZELL, "McCarthy and His Enemies, defends him. The loyalty question is further explored in A. BARTH's thoughtful *The Loyalty of Free Men* and R. K. CARR, *The House Committee on Un-American Activities*.

M. J. PUSEY, *Eisenhower the President*, is a generally favorable account of Eisenhower's first term. E. J. HUGHES, "Ordeal of Power, is a critical memoir by a one-time member of Eisenhower's White House staff. R. H. ROVERE, *Affairs of State: The Eisenhower Years*, presents interesting side-

lights on Eisenhower's first term. R. M. NIXON's autobiographical *"Six Crises"* is revealing both of Nixon himself and of the Eisenhower administration. A. E. STEVENSON, *"Putting First Things First,"* is a probing critique of America in the 1950's. A survey of America's needs and problems is presented in *Prospect for America: The Rockefeller Panel Reports*. J. M. BURNS, *"Deadlock of Democracy: Four-Party Politics in America,"* analyzes the conflicts between Presidents and Congresses.

A. M. SCHLESINGER, JR., *A Thousand Days*, and T. C. SORENSON, *Kennedy*, are long but well-written histories of the Kennedy administration by presidential advisers; both are particularly good on foreign affairs. On Kennedy's earlier life, J. M. BURNS, *"John F. Kennedy,"* is excellent. B. M. GOLDWATER has stated his philosophy in *"Conscience of a Conservative"* and *"Why Not Victory?"* On the presidential career of President Johnson, W. S. WHITE, *"The Professional: Lyndon B. Johnson,"* is laudatory but revealing. H. and B. OVERSTREET, *"The Strange Tactics of Extremism,"* is a report on the activities of the extreme right.

On civil rights, *To Secure These Rights* is the cogent report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. A. LEWIS and THE NEW YORK TIMES, *"Portrait of a Decade: The Second American Revolution,"* is a good survey of civil rights from 1954 to 1964. In *"Why We Can't Wait,"* M. L. KING, JR. describes his philosophy and some of his activities. J. BALDWIN, *"The Fire Next Time,"* is a fierce and eloquent statement on the effects and possible future of race relations in America. C. E. SILBERMAN, *"Crisis in Black and White,"* is a good survey of problems in race relations. K. B. CLARK, *Dark Ghettos*, a perceptive analysis of Harlem, discusses problems common to many American cities. D. GREGORY, *"Nigger,"* is one of the best of the many autobiographies by Negro-Americans that have been written in recent years. R. P. WARREN, *"Segregation: The Inner Conflict,"* and J. W. SILVER, *Mississippi: The Closed Society*, are critical analyses of the South by native Southerners. Another southern view may be found in J. J. KILPATRICK, *The Southern Case for School Segregation*.

R. L. HEILBRONER, *"The Making of Economic Society,"* is a first-rate introduction to the development of modern capitalism. H. P. MILLER, *"Rich Man, Poor Man,"* tells how income is distributed in the United States. Economic prospects are sur-

veyed in A. BARACH, *The USA and its Economic Future*. M. HARRINGTON, *"The Other America,"* is a report on the conditions that led to the War on Poverty. H. M. CAUDILL, *"Night Comes to the Cumberlandlands,"* is a well-written account of the economic decline of Appalachia.

The growing importance and increasing social responsibility of business in national life are considered in F. L. ALLEN, *"The Big Chance,"* and D. E. LILIENTHAL, *Big Business*. J. K. GALBRAITH, *"The Affluent Society,"* is discussed in the text on p. 767. Significant studies of American education, with recommendations for improving it, are J. CONANT's *"The American High School Today"* and *"Slums and the Suburbs,"* and H. RICKOVER's *"Education and Freedom"*. The texture of modern society is examined in W. H. WHYTE, JR., *"The Organization Man,"* C. W. MILLS, *"White Collar,"* V. PACKARD, *"The Hidden Persuaders,"* and *The Exploding Metropolis*, by THE EDITORS OF FORTUNE magazine. S. UDALL, *"Quiet Crisis,"* is a beautifully illustrated account of the history and present needs of conservation. R. CARSON, *"The Silent Spring,"* describes some unintentionally noxious effects of insecticides. J. BAINBRIDGE, *"The Super-Americans,"* is a fascinating and often amusing description of modern Texas. N. GLAZER and D. MOYNIHAN, *"Beyond the Melting Pot,"* discusses the major ethnic groups of New York City; many of its findings apply to other areas of the country as well.

THE COLD WAR

The surveys cited above include much material on foreign affairs. H. AGAR, *"The Price of Power,"* and J. W. SPANIER, *"American Policy Since World War II,"* are both good surveys. H. H. RANSOM, *"Can American Democracy Survive the Cold War?"* is an interpretative essay. For background, see C. F. KENNAN, *"Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin,"* which considers Soviet foreign policy from 1917 to 1945, and C. F. KENNAN, *"American Diplomacy, 1900-1950."* W. CARLETON, *"Revolution in Foreign Policy,"* examines the causes of the great changes in American foreign policy since 1945. H. and B. OVERSTREET, *"What We Must Know About Communism,"* is a good introduction. N. GRAEBNER (ed.), *"Uncertain Tradition,"* is a collection of articles on twentieth century Secretaries of State. C. TILAYER, *Diplomat*, is a witty account of a diplomat's job.

Our Far Eastern policies are considered in H. FEIS, **China Tangle*; K. S. LATOURETTE, *The American Record in the Far East*; E. O. REISCHAUER, **The United States and Japan*; C. BERGER, *The Korea Knot*; and M. G. RASKIN and B. B. FALL (eds.), **Viet-Nam Reader*, a fine selection of documents. On Latin America, see T. SZULC, **Winds of Revolution*, and T. DRAPET, **Castroism*. Our relations with the new African states are considered in W. GOLDSCHMIDT (ed.), **The United States and Africa*. B. WARD, **The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations*, surveys the international needs for economic development.

On our relations with Europe, J. JONES, *The Fifteen Weeks*, tells the stories of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Postwar Europe and the part the United States played in reviving it are excellently described in T. WHITE, *Fire in the Ashes*. For clashing views by two leading diplomats of what our European policies ought to be, see G. F. KENNAN, *Russia, the Atom, and the West*, and D. ACHESON, **Power and Diplomacy*. J. W. FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, calls for a reappraisal of our foreign policy in **Old Myths and New Realities*.

Two memoirs are particularly useful: A. H. VANDENBERG, JR. (ed.), *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg*; and **Diplomat Among Warriors*, by R. MURPHY, who was a top diplomatic trouble-shooter for three Presidents.

The first American astronauts discuss their experiences in *We Seven*. The space program itself is analyzed in THE NEW YORK TIMES, *America's Race for the Moon*, and D. W. COX, *The Space Race*. Many of the works cited for this chapter consider the dangers of nuclear war. Special books on that subject include: H. KAHN, **Thinking About the Unthinkable*; R. E. LAPP, *Kill and Overkill*; and N. COUSINS, **In Place of Folly*.

On the United Nations, see D. C. COYLE, **The United Nations and How it Works*, and **Everyman's United Nations* by the Secretariat of the United Nations.

The *American Heritage* issues of 1960 and 1961 include fascinating accounts of Russo-American relations for over one hundred years.

The spirit expressed in the Epilogue can be found in L. HAND, **The Spirit of Liberty*, and D. E. LILIENTHAL, *This I Do Believe*.

Historical Fiction

E. FERBER, **Ice Palace*, is a novel with an authentic background of Alaska and its struggle for statehood; W. J. LEDERER and E. BURDICK, **The Ugly American*, is a controversial novel of postwar diplomacy. P. BUCK, **Command the Morning*, is a novel about World War II scientists and the moral implications that are inherent in the use of the atom bomb.

E. BURDICK and H. WHEELER discuss the likelihood of an accidental outbreak of nuclear war in the somewhat fanciful *Fail-Safe*.

E. O'CONNOR, **The Last Hurrah*, one of the best novels about American politics, tells of the last campaign of an aging Boston-Irish mayor.

Basic Books for Part Nine

1. GOLDMAN, E. F., **The Crucial Decade—and After: America, 1945–1960*. New York, Vintage, 1961.
2. WHITE, T., *The Making of the President*, 1964. New York, Atheneum, 1965.
3. SCHLESINGER, A. M., JR., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1965.
4. UDALL, S., **Quiet Crisis*. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963 (Avon).
5. LEWIS, A. and THE NEW YORK TIMES, **Portrait of a Decade: The Second American Revolution*. New York, Random, 1964 (Bantam).
6. SILBERMAN, C., **Crisis in Black and White*. New York, Random, 1964.
7. HARRINGTON, M., **The Other America: Poverty in the United States*. New York, Macmillan, 1962 (Penguin).
8. AGAR, H., **The Price of Power*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957.
9. CARLETON, W., **Revolution in Foreign Policy*. New York, Random, 1963.
10. HEILBRONER, R. L., **The Future as History*. New York, Harper, 1960 (Evergreen).

Glossary

This glossary contains a list of terms commonly used in various social sciences. It is placed here so that students may look up or make sure of terms used in the text. It is also worth reading through as an elementary introduction to certain important concepts.

Anarchy (*political science*). Absence of government; a society in which there is no ultimate ruler and in which individuals enjoy total freedom. The term is often used to describe a period of political or social disorder.

Arbitration (*diplomacy, economics*). Settlement of a controversy by agreement of opposing parties to accept as binding the decision of a third party. It occurs most often in labor and diplomatic disputes.

Aristocracy (*political science*). A government run by the best people. In theory, aristocracy is appealing to many, but in practice it is difficult to decide who is "best." Hamilton, in his sympathy for government by the rich and well-born, believed to some extent in a form of aristocracy.

Automation (*economics*). An industrial process in which machines do their own "thinking," i.e., adjust to changing conditions. A simple example is a house thermostat, which turns the furnace on and off according to the temperature.

Cabinet (*political science*). A top-level body that advises a head of state. The British cabinet is, in effect, an executive committee of Parliament. Usually drawn only from the majority party in Parliament, this cabinet is all-powerful. In America, the cabinet as a body has no real power and only as much influence as the President chooses to give it.

Capital (*economics*). Accumulated wealth which is invested or otherwise used to produce new income. "Liquid" capital refers to money and to stocks and bonds, which can be easily converted to money. Factory plants, railroad lines, and even human skills are forms of "fixed" capital.

Caucus (*political science*). A meeting of party or faction leaders to choose candidates or decide policies. In Congress, both parties caucus to decide on appointments, common policies, and political strategy.

Civil Liberties, Civil Rights (*law, political science*). These two terms overlap. However, the term civil liberties implies *freedom from interference* by governmental agencies (state or federal) in a citizen's private life. Civil liberties include freedom of worship, of speech, and of the press. The term civil rights has come to mean *freedom to act* in equality with others. The right to vote, to have equal access to public facilities such as buses, and to have equal

job opportunities are civil rights. Civil liberties are, in general, the freedoms defined in the Bill of Rights, especially the first eight amendments to the Constitution. Civil rights commonly find their legal basis in the first clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which forbids states to abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States.

Class (*sociology*). A group of people united by some distinguishing characteristic such as level of income, amount of formal education, or type of employment.

Communism (*economics, politics*). The theory or policy that the means of production and distribution of goods should be owned by the community. Theoretical communism differs from communism as it is practiced anywhere today. The Soviet Union claims that it is a socialist state trying to achieve communism, and that when it does there will be no further need for government, because there will be no economic classes in conflict. Communist-controlled states today are undemocratic in political structure and are totalitarian. There are, however, important differences in both principles and practice among such nations as the Soviet Union, China, and Yugoslavia. See also **Socialism**.

Confederation (*political science*). A league of states, such as that set up by the Articles of Confederation.

Contract Theory or Social Contract Theory (*political science*). A political theory, which gained force during the Enlightenment, that governments acquire their just power by means of contracts made with the people ruled. One of the leading social contract theorists was John Locke, whose ideas were the theoretical basis for the Declaration of Independence.

Culture (*anthropology, sociology*). The entire way of life of a people: their art, beliefs, laws, customs, morals, etc.

Deflate (*economics*). To decrease the supply of currency or credit relative to the total amount of goods and services.

Deflation (*economics*). The act of deflating currency or credit. Thus, "As country after country went on the gold standard during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, there was world-wide deflation."

Democracy (*political science*). In theory, democracy means rule by the people, as opposed to rule by a king (monarchy), by the best (aristocracy), by the

wealthy (plutocracy), or by the few (oligarchy). In practice, pure democracy is impossible to carry out except in states so small that the entire citizenry can convene in one place. Democracy is commonly carried out through elected representatives (representative democracy).

Dictatorship (*political science*). A government in which either one man or a small group of men runs the state, making or enforcing laws arbitrarily. There are varying forms of dictatorship, and the term itself is sometimes used as a conveniently vague slogan. In a modern totalitarian dictatorship not only every aspect of the national life but also most aspects of the individual's life are under government control. An example of such a dictatorship was Nazi Germany.

Discrimination (*sociology*). In common American usage, discrimination means treating certain groups of people unfavorably. For many years, racial discrimination was enshrined in the law codes of many states. Recently, Supreme Court decisions have all but eliminated legal discrimination by the states.

Due Process (*political science, law*). Fair legal procedure. Due process is the backbone of rule by law rather than by the arbitrary whim of those in power. *Procedural* due process refers to court procedures designed to insure fair trial, such as the right to counsel and to jury trial. *Substantive* due process refers to the actual substance of legislation. Laws involving state regulation of private enterprise have sometimes been held to deny due process on the ground that they limit liberty or confiscate property. The specific meaning of due process is a matter of constant debate and redefinition by the courts.

The Enlightenment (*philosophy*). An eighteenth-century intellectual movement characterized by distrust of existing authorities of church and state and optimistic belief that human reason can increase man's social and political happiness.

Established Church (*political science*). A church supported by the civil government, as the Anglican church in colonial Virginia and in modern Great Britain. The First Amendment to the Constitution forbids Congress to establish any religion or church.

Faction (*political science*). A group of people within a state or party seeking to promote certain private interests. Thus, in 1824 the Republican party "had broken up into warring factions."

Fascism (*political science*). A political movement originated by Benito Mussolini in Italy shortly after World War I, later imitated in Germany under the Nazis, and in such other countries as Spain and Portugal. The term *fascism* is derived from the Latin *fascis*, a bundle of sticks bound together which symbolized magisterial authority in ancient Rome. The doctrine of fascism repudiates parliamentary democ-

racy, which Mussolini called a "rotting corpse," and favors a highly disciplined state in which power radiates down from "the leader" at the top. All power is exercised by a single elite party, as in Communist states. Fascists denounce individualism and teach that a person reaches his highest fulfillment in service to the state. Nationalistic by definition, fascism extols the military virtues, usually creates an "enemy," and uses propaganda to whip up mass enthusiasm. All criticism and all organizations outside the party itself are suspect, and are suppressed.

Federal (*political science*). (1) Before the framing of the United States Constitution—referred to a league of states. See also *Federation*.

(2) Refers to a government of the type set up by the Constitution of the United States that attempts to divide sovereignty between the central (federal) government and individual states. See also *Sovereignty*.

Federation (*political science*). A league of states. Identical in meaning with *Confederation*.

Filibuster (*political science*). In the nineteenth century, filibuster usually referred to a private military adventure, such as William Walker's in Nicaragua. A second meaning, widely used today, is the attempt by a single man or a small group of men to prevent a legislative body from acting on a bill by simply talking and talking.

Franchise (*economics, political science*). (1) The right to vote. Thus, "At the time the Constitution was ratified, franchise was limited to white males paying taxes on property." (2) A right or liberty granted by a legislature. Thus, "Mr. Smith and his associates were granted a franchise to run a street railway in Cripple Creek."

Free Trade (*economics, political science*). Trade free of governmental restrictions. Especially used as the antonym of *Protection*.

Frontier (*geography, sociology*). (1) A political boundary. "At the frontier they took our passports." (2) The line between civilization and the wilderness; the area of the most recent white settlement as the United States expanded to the Pacific.

Gross National Product (*economics*). The dollar value of the total outputs of goods and services produced in a country in a given year. Usually abbreviated GNP.

Imperialism (*political science*). The action or policy whereby a nation extends its power by obtaining direct or indirect control over other peoples. Thus, "As a result of the American Revolution the United States threw off the yoke of British imperialism" and "Theodore Roosevelt believed in imperialism as an expression of national virility."

Indentured Servant (*economics, sociology*). A person held to service for a stated number of years by an indenture, or contract.

Inflate (*economics*). To inflate currency or credit means to increase the supply in circulation relative to the total amount of goods and services. This usually results in a rise in prices. See also **Quantity Theory of Money**.

Inflation (*economics*). The act of inflating the currency. Thus, "By printing so much worthless continental currency the Continental Congress caused runaway inflation."

Judicial Review (*political science*). The evaluation of state and federal laws and of the actions of officials by the judiciary, especially by the Supreme Court.

Laissez-Faire (*economics, political science*). A French term meaning "let do." People should be permitted to carry on economic activities without governmental interference. In its pure form, the theory of laissez-faire would not permit government-run enterprises, governmental control of wages and price, social security, protective tariffs, or any other restriction on business practices. See also **Private Enterprise**.

Mediation (*diplomacy, economics*). Evaluation or working out of a solution to a controversy by a third party to the dispute. The mediator tries to bring the parties together by offering his own suggestions for a solution. The parties are under no obligation to accept the mediator's advice.

Mercantilism (*economics*). May refer either to the theory of mercantilism or to trade policies based on this theory. (See p. 10.)

Mobile (*economics, sociology*). A "mobile," as opposed to a "static," society is one in which it is relatively easy for men and women to move up or down in the economic scale or to change their status in other ways. The life of Andrew Carnegie is a good example of mobility in American life.

Monarchy (*political science*). A government having a hereditary chief of state who rules for life. The power of monarchs has varied in different periods of history. George III was not an absolute monarch, as he shared power with Parliament. Most monarchies today are constitutional, i.e., the monarch's power is severely limited by law or custom.

Natural Law (*political science*). A general body of law which eighteenth-century philosophers believed to govern human conduct just as gravity governs the movement of falling bodies. This "natural law" was defined as eternal, immutable, discoverable by reason, and binding on human society. Locke, Paine, and Jefferson used natural law to justify the right of revolution against a government that denies men's freedoms.

Natural Rights (*political science*). Those rights that all men are born with and that can be neither given nor taken away. John Locke popularized the idea of natural rights, stressing as foremost the rights to life, liberty, and property. The Declaration of Independence enumerates "certain unalienable rights . . . among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Non-violent Resistance (*political science*). A means of political action in which people resist or refuse to obey what they consider to be unjust laws without resorting to physical force, in order to persuade those in authority to agree to their demands. Used effectively in India under the leadership of Gandhi and in the southern United States by civil rights demonstrators. In the South it has taken such forms as the "sit-in," in which civil rights demonstrators take seats at lunch counters where Negroes have not hitherto been served, and simply stay there. This technique was also used in the 1930's, when automobile workers refused to leave their plants, thereby preventing employers from hiring men who would have worked without a union contract.

Oligarchy (*political science*). Government by the few. This may take many forms: government by a hereditary nobility (aristocracy), government by a few wealthy men (plutocracy), government by a few military men (junta), or government by an elite political party (one-party state).

Parity (*economics*). A steady level of real income guaranteed farmers on the basis of what the government determined to be fair at a given period. Much farm legislation since the 1930's has been aimed at preserving parity prices for farm products, with the intention of keeping the income of farmers in step with that of other segments of the population.

Party (*political science*). In the United States, an organization aimed primarily at the election of men to public office. American political parties are forums where varying interest groups can decide how they will compromise their differences, for neither the Democratic nor the Republican party is a monolithic institution.

In Western European democracies, parties are more tightly disciplined and usually stand for certain principles or segments of the population, viz., the Conservative, Liberal, and Labour parties in England.

In totalitarian states, whether communist or fascist, a single, unopposed party dominates all organs of government. Thus, these states are a form of oligarchy.

Patronage (*political science*). The power to fill public offices. It may be a means whereby a winning political party rewards its followers with offices (the

"spoils system"). At the federal level today most civil service jobs are under the "merit system," which forbids appointment and removal for political reasons. Unrestricted patronage is much more common at the state and county levels.

Precedent (political science). Something said or done that justifies later action of a similar nature. Judicial decisions serve as precedents, or examples, for later opinions by judges.

Prejudice (sociology). Pre-judging; that is, making up one's mind before one looks at the evidence. The term now usually refers to pre-formed attitudes about racial, ethnic, or religious groups and to the tendency many people have to regard others more as members of groups than as individuals.

Price Index (economics). A statistical device for measuring inflation or deflation. A price index determines the average price of certain key goods during a given year and calls that average 100. To measure how prices have changed since that base year, one need only find the average price of the same key goods in another year, and compare that figure, as a percentage, to the base year.

Private Enterprise (economics). Refers to an economic system in which factories, stores, and other means of production and distribution are owned by private individuals or companies and operated for profit. Private enterprise is always mixed, as in the United States, with cooperative enterprise (such as churches, the family), and with government enterprise (the post office, waterworks, public schools, police).

Proletarian (economics, sociology). A member of a class of people without property or of wage earners without capital. (The word may also be used as an adjective.) Proletariat: Proletarians collectively; the proletarian class.

Protective Tariff (economics, political science). A tax on imports designed to aid domestic producers by reducing foreign competition in the home market. It may be "competitive" (designed to equalize costs of producing foreign products with costs of American products) or "prohibitive" (so high that foreign goods are excluded entirely).

Protective System, Protection (economics). The theory, policy, or method of favoring or imposing protective tariffs.

Quantity Theory of Money (economics). The quantity theory of money as presented on p. 430 (and as understood by proponents of greenbacks and of free silver) is incomplete. It leaves out two important economic factors:

(1) *Credit*, which today serves much more often than money as a medium of exchange. Credit stands for money, as can be seen when a person pays or

is paid by bank check rather than by cash. Credit is created by banks when they make loans.

(2) *Velocity*, the speed at which money and credit pass from hand to hand.

To the simple equation $P = \frac{M}{T}$, we must first add credit (which we will call M' since it is interchangeable with money) so: $P = \frac{M + M'}{T}$.

Then we work in velocity of money ($-V$) and of credit ($-V'$), which has a multiplying effect, to get the complete equation: $P = \frac{MV + M'V'}{T}$.

Race (anthropology, sociology). A subdivision of the species of mankind, the members of which have certain distinguishing hereditary physical characteristics, such as different skin and facial features. Scientists recognize three principal races—Caucasian, Mongoloid, and Negroid—although no race is "pure." So far, no reputable scientific study has found any differences in intelligence or behavior among races. The term race has also been used to describe ethnic or even language groups. Hitler, for instance, described Germans as members of the "Aryan race."

Republic (political science). A state in which sovereign power lies with a body of citizens who elect their rulers. A republic may or may not be a democracy, according to what proportion of the population has the franchise.

Republican (politics). Referring to one of the two major parties in the United States today. (See pp. 326, 329, 439-440.) The term refers also to the political party founded by Jefferson and Madison (see pp. 180, 184-185).

Revenue Tariff (economics, political science). A tariff designed chiefly to earn income for the government, although revenue tariffs protect certain American industries just as protective tariffs earn income for the government. During its early years, the U.S. government received most of its income from revenue tariffs. The difference between revenue tariffs and protective tariffs is in emphasis.

Revolution (economics, political science, sociology). A fundamental change in political or economic organization or in social or intellectual attitudes. The term is used to describe a wide variety of political events, ranging from the revolt of the American colonies to the French, Russian, and Chinese revolutions, to the frequent but non-radical upheavals in some Latin-American countries. The Industrial Revolution is more properly termed an evolution. The gradual advance in technology that characterized it has in turn wrought profound cultural changes, such as the growth of great cities—"the urban revolution." The term is

often used loosely ("the teen-age revolution").

Secede (*political science*). To withdraw from an organization or federation.

Secession (*political science*). The act of withdrawing from an organization.

Sedition (*political science*). Inciting illegal or revolutionary opposition to established authority, either through speech or writing.

Socialism (*economics, political science*). A theory or policy of control of the means of production and distribution, usually through the government. Like communism, the term has been used to describe a variety of theories and activities. One can say, for instance, that the United States Post Office is a socialist enterprise. So was the Erie Canal. The term socialism may also be applied to welfare services, such as social security and Medicare. Generally, however, theoretical socialists wish to go much farther and place under governmental control all manufacturing, transportation, commerce, and agriculture.

Sovereignty (*political science*). Supreme political authority or power. Thus, the government of the United States nearly broke apart because the states retained their sovereignty. Under the Constitution, however, an attempt was made to divide sovereignty between

the states and the federal government, the latter being supreme within its sphere.

Strategy (*military science*). The over-all planning of a military campaign or a war, sometimes as opposed to *tactics*, which concern the planning of a limited operation in detail. Thus, "The strategy of the Yorktown campaign involved cooperation of a French fleet from the West Indies, a French army from Newport, and Washington's army from near New York." See also *Tactics*.

Subsistence Farmer (*economics*). A farmer who produces on his own land most of what he needs to support himself.

Succeed (*political science*). To follow after another in office; to inherit an office. Thus, "Andrew Jackson was able to arrange that his friend Martin Van Buren succeeded him as President."

Succession (*political science*). The conditions under which a person may succeed to an office; the right to succeed to an office.

Tactics (*military science*). (1) The detailed planning of a battle, as opposed to "strategy," which involves larger plans. "The British tactics at Bunker Hill called for a frontal assault on the American position. (2) Methods of fighting, as "cavalry tactics."

THE STATES OF THE UNION

Order of Admission	State Name	Date of Admission	Population July 1, 1965 (provisional estimate)	Number of Representatives (1960 Apportionment)	Area in Square Miles	Order of Admission	State Name	Date of Admission	Population July 1, 1965 (provisional estimate)	Number of Representatives (1960 Apportionment)	Area in Square Miles
1	Delaware	1787	505,000	1	2,057	27	Florida	1845	5,805,000	12	58,560
2	Pennsylvania	1787	11,522,000	27	45,333	28	Texas	1845	10,552,000	23	267,339
3	New Jersey	1787	6,775,000	15	7,836	29	Iowa	1846	2,760,000	7	56,280
4	Georgia	1788	4,358,000	10	58,876	30	Wisconsin	1848	4,145,000	10	56,154
5	Connecticut	1788	2,833,000	6	5,009	31	California	1850	18,608,000	38	158,693
6	Massachusetts	1788	5,340,000	12	8,257	32	Minnesota	1858	3,555,000	8	84,068
7	Maryland	1788	3,521,000	8	10,577	33	Oregon	1859	1,900,000	4	96,981
8	South Carolina	1788	2,543,000	6	31,055	34	Kansas	1861	2,234,000	5	82,276
9	New Hampshire	1788	669,000	2	9,304	35	West Virginia	1863	1,812,000	5	24,181
10	Virginia	1788	4,456,000	10	40,815	36	Nevada	1864	440,000	1	110,540
11	New York	1788	18,075,000	41	49,576	37	Nebraska	1867	1,477,000	3	77,237
12	North Carolina	1789	4,914,000	11	52,712	38	Colorado	1876	1,969,000	4	104,247
13	Rhode Island	1790	891,000	2	1,214	39	North Dakota	1889	652,000	2	70,665
14	Vermont	1791	397,000	1	9,609	40	South Dakota	1889	703,000	2	77,047
15	Kentucky	1792	3,179,000	7	40,395	41	Montana	1889	706,000	2	147,138
16	Tennessee	1796	3,846,000	9	42,246	42	Washington	1889	2,990,000	7	68,192
17	Ohio	1803	10,247,000	24	41,222	43	Idaho	1890	692,000	2	83,557
18	Louisiana	1812	3,534,000	8	48,523	44	Wyoming	1890	340,000	1	97,914
19	Indiana	1816	4,886,000	11	36,291	45	Utah	1896	990,000	2	84,916
20	Mississippi	1817	2,322,000	5	47,716	46	Oklahoma	1907	2,483,000	6	69,919
21	Illinois	1818	10,646,000	24	56,400	47	New Mexico	1912	1,029,000	2	121,666
22	Alabama	1819	3,463,000	8	51,509	48	Arizona	1912	1,609,000	3	113,909
23	Maine	1820	993,000	2	33,215	49	Alaska	1959	253,000	1	586,400
24	Missouri	1821	4,498,000	10	69,674	50	Hawaii	1959	711,000	2	6,454
25	Arkansas	1836	1,960,000	4	53,102		District of Columbia		801,000		69
26	Michigan	1837	8,220,000	19	58,216						
Total						Total					

Appendix

PRESIDENTS, PARTIES, ELECTIONS, 1789-1968

All figures have been taken from Historical Statistics of the United States (U. S. Bureau of the Census), except for the last four elections. Party labels may have been altered from that source, however. The popular vote is unofficial, so that the numbers may vary from source to source.

PRESIDENTS (years in office, party affiliation)	ELECTIONS (electoral and popular votes ¹ of winner)		MAJOR OPPONENT(S) (party affiliation, electoral and popular votes)	MINOR CANDIDATES AND PARTIES (electoral and popular votes)
1. George Washington, 1789-1797 No party ²	1789	69	None	None
	1792	132	None	Some Republican opposition to Adams as Vice-President.
2. John Adams, 1797-1801 Federalist	1796	71	Thomas Jefferson Republican 68	Scattered votes for several minor candidates.
	1800	73 ³	John Adams Federalist 65	One Federalist vote for John Jay.
3. Thomas Jefferson, 1801-1809 Republican	1804	162	Charles C. Pinckney Federalist 14	None
	1808	122	Charles C. Pinckney Federalist 47	Unimportant
4. James Madison, 1809-1817 Republican	1812	128	De Witt Clinton Dissident Republican 89	None
	1816	183	Rufus King Federalist 34	None
5. James Monroe, 1817-1825 Republican	1820	231	None ⁴	None

¹ Before 1821 it was impossible to estimate the popular support for presidential candidates because electors were chosen by state legislatures. Not until 1872 were all electors chosen directly by the people.

² Although Washington was above party, and was opposed to the existence of parties, his policies tended to be those favored by the Federalists and opposed by the Republicans.

³ Until the Twelfth Amendment was ratified in 1804, there were no separate ballots in the electoral college for President and Vice-President. In 1800 all the Republican electors cast their ballots for Jefferson, the party candidate for President, and Aaron Burr, their vice-presidential candidate. This threw the election into the House of Representatives, which chose Jefferson.

⁴ By 1820 the Federalist party had disintegrated, and Monroe was unopposed for the Presidency, only one electoral vote being cast against him.

PRESIDENTS (<i>years in office, party affiliation</i>)	ELECTIONS (<i>electoral and popular votes of winner</i>)	MAJOR OPPONENT(S) (<i>party affiliation, electoral and popular votes</i>)	MINOR CANDIDATES AND PARTIES (<i>electoral and popular votes</i>)
6. John Quincy Adams, 1825–1829 Republican	1824 ⁵ 84 (108,740)	Andrew Jackson Republican 99 (153,544) William H. Crawford Republican 41 (46,618) Henry Clay Republican 37 (47,136)	None
7. Andrew Jackson, 1829–1837 Democratic Republican	1828 178 (647,286)	John Quincy Adams National Republican 83 (508,064)	None
Democratic ⁶	1832 219 (687,502)	Henry Clay National Republican 49 (530,189)	William Wirt Anti-Masonic party (not known)
8. Martin Van Buren, 1837–1841 Democratic	1836 170 (765,483)	William H. Harrison Whig 73 Hugh L. White Whig 26 Daniel Webster Whig 14 Total Whig vote: 113 (739,795)	Willie P. Mangum Independent 11
9. William H. Harrison, 1841 (died in office) Whig	1840 234 (1,274,624)	Martin Van Buren Democratic 60 (1,127,781)	Unimportant
10. John Tyler, 1841–1845 Whig			
11. James K. Polk, 1845–1849 Democratic	1844 170 (1,338,464)	Henry Clay Whig 105 (1,300,097)	James G. Birney Liberty (62,300)
12. Zachary Taylor, 1849–1850 (died in office) Whig	1848 163 (1,360,967)	Lewis Cass Democratic 127 (1,222,342)	Martin Van Buren Free Soil (291,263)
13. Millard Fillmore, 1850–1853 Whig			
14. Franklin Pierce, 1853–1857 Democratic	1852 254 (1,601,117)	Winfield Scott Whig 42 (1,385,453)	John P. Hale Free Soil (155,825)
15. James Buchanan, 1857–1861 Democratic	1856 174 (1,832,955)	John C. Fremont Republican 114 (1,339,932)	Millard Fillmore American and Whig S (871,731)

⁵ In the "favorite son" election of 1824 the Republican party split into factions, based mostly on sectional differences. Since no candidate gained a majority of the electoral vote, the election, as in 1800, was thrown into the House of Representatives. The House chose Adams, although Jackson had been first both in electoral and popular vote.

⁶ During the period 1828–1838 the Jackson wing of the Republican party took the name Democratic, while the other wing, led by Clay, Webster, and others, eventually settled on the name Whig. The short-lived Anti-Masonic party is remembered principally because it first used a national convention to select its presidential candidate.

<i>PRESIDENTS (years in office, party affiliation)</i>	<i>ELECTIONS (electoral and popular votes of winner)</i>	<i>MAJOR OPPONENT(S) (party affiliation, electoral and popular votes)</i>	<i>MINOR CANDIDATES AND PARTIES (electoral and popular votes)</i>
16. Abraham Lincoln, ⁷ 1861– 1865 (assassinated early in second term) Republican	1860 180 (1,865,593) 1864 212 (2,206,938)	John C. Breckinridge Democratic 72 (848,356) Stephen A. Douglas Democratic 12 (1,382,713) George B. McClellan Democratic 21 (1,803,787)	John Bell Constitutional Union 39 (592,906) None
17. Andrew Johnson, 1865– 1869 Republican			
18. Ulysses S. Grant, 1869– 1877 Republican	1868 214 (3,013,421) 1872 286 (3,596,745)	Horatio Seymour Democratic 80 (2,706,829) Horace Greeley Democratic and Liberal Re- publican 80 ⁸ (2,843,446)	None Unimportant
19. Rutherford B. Hayes, 1877–1881 Republican	1876 ⁹ 185 (4,036,572)	Samuel J. Tilden Democratic 184 (4,284,020)	Unimportant
20. James A. Garfield, 1881 (assassinated) Republican	1880 214 (4,453,295)	Winfield S. Hancock Democratic 155 (4,414,082)	James B. Weaver Greenback-Labor (308,578)
21. Chester A. Arthur, 1881– 1885 Republican			
22. Grover Cleveland, 1885– 1889 Democratic	1884 219 (4,879,507)	James G. Blaine Republican 182 (4,850,293)	Unimportant
23. Benjamin Harrison, 1889– 1893 Republican	1888 233 (5,447,129)	Grover Cleveland Democratic 168 (5,537,857)	Unimportant
24. Grover Cleveland, ¹⁰ 1893– 1897 Democratic	1892 277 (5,555,426)	Benjamin Harrison Republican 145 (5,182,690)	James B. Weaver People's (Populists) 22 (1,029,846)
25. William McKinley 1897– 1901 (assassinated early in second term) Republican	1896 271 (7,102,246) 1900 292 (7,218,491)	William J. Bryan Democratic and People's 176 (6,492,559) William J. Bryan Democratic and People's 155 (6,356,734)	Unimportant
26. Theodore Roosevelt, 1901–1909 Republican	1904 336 (7,628,461)	Alton B. Parker Democratic 140 (5,084,223)	Eugene V. Debs Socialist (402,283)
27. William H. Taft, 1909– 1913 Republican	1908 321 (7,675,320)	William J. Bryan Democratic 162 (6,412,294)	Eugene V. Debs Socialist (420,793)

⁷ In the 1864 campaign the Republicans temporarily took the name "National Union Party" to attract Democratic and uncommitted voters.

⁸ Greeley died between the popular election and the meeting of the electoral college, so the Democratic electors scattered their votes.

⁹ In 1876 twenty electoral votes were in dispute; an electoral commission set up by Congress finally awarded all of them to Hayes.

¹⁰ Some historians call Cleveland the 22nd President, even though a 23rd (Harrison) came between Cleveland's two terms. According to that way of designating him, we have had only 36 Presidents instead of 37.

PRESIDENTS (<i>years in office, party affiliation</i>)	ELECTIONS (<i>electoral and popular votes of winner</i>)	MAJOR OPPONENT(S) (<i>party affiliation, electoral and popular votes</i>)	MINOR CANDIDATES AND PARTIES (<i>electoral and popular votes</i>)
28. Woodrow Wilson, 1913–1921 Democratic	1912 435 (6,296,547)	Theodore Roosevelt Progressive 88 (4,118,571) William H. Taft Republican 8 (3,486,720)	Eugene V. Debs Socialist (900,672)
	1916 277 (9,127,695)	Charles E. Hughes Republican 254 (8,533,507)	A. L. Benson Socialist (585,113)
29. Warren G. Harding, 1921–1923 (died in office) Republican	1920 404 (16,143,407)	James M. Cox Democratic 127 (9,130,328)	Eugene V. Debs Socialist (919,799)
30. Calvin Coolidge, 1923–1929 Republican	1924 382 (15,718,211)	John W. Davis Democratic 136 (8,385,283)	Robert La Follette Progressive 13 (4,831,289)
31. Herbert Hoover, 1929–1933 Republican	1928 444 (21,391,993)	Alfred E. Smith Democratic 87 (15,016,169)	Unimportant
32. Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933–1945 (died in office early in fourth term) Democratic	1932 472 (22,509,638) 1936 523 (27,752,869) 1940 449 (27,307,819) 1944 432 (25,606,585)	Herbert Hoover Republican 59 (15,758,901) Alfred M. Landon Republican 8 (16,674,665) Wendell L. Willkie Republican 82 (22,321,018) Thomas E. Dewey Republican 99 (22,014,745)	Norman Thomas Socialist (881,951) William Lemke Union (882,479) Unimportant Norman Thomas Socialist (80,518)
33. Harry S. Truman, 1945–1953 Democratic	1948 303 (24,103,812)	Thomas E. Dewey Republican 189 (21,970,065)	J. Strom Thurmond States' Rights 39 (1,169,063) Henry A. Wallace Progressive (1,157,172)
34. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1953–1961 Republican	1952 442 (33,936,234) 1956 457 (35,590,472)	Adlai Stevenson Democratic 89 (27,314,992) Adlai Stevenson Democratic 73 ¹¹ (26,022,752)	Unimportant Unimportant
35. John F. Kennedy, 1961–1963 (assassinated Nov. 22, 1963) Democratic	1960 303 (34,472,849)	Richard M. Nixon Republican 219 (34,359,968)	Unimportant
36. Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963–1969 Democratic	1964 486 (43,121,085)	Barry Goldwater Republican 52 (27,145,161)	Unimportant
37. Richard M. Nixon, 1969–1973 Republican	1968 301 (31,770,237)	Hubert H. Humphrey Democratic 191 (31,270,533)	George C. Wallace American Independent 46 (9,906,141)

¹¹ One Alabama elector, pledged to Stevenson, cast a ballot for Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones of Alabama.

¹² Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia received 14 unpledged electoral votes from Mississippi and Alabama, as well as the vote of one Republican elector in Oklahoma.

THE FOUNDING OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

Colony ¹	Date of First Established Settlement—Important Early Settlements ²	Principal Founders	Purpose of the Founders ³	Types of Government (including dates of) charter or proprietary grants and transfer to royal authority)	Important Events or Developments ⁴
VIRGINIA	1607 Jamestown	London Company, John Smith, Thomas Dale	To find precious metals; to defy Spain	CHARTER (1606) ROYAL (1624)	1616—Tobacco culture established. 1619—First Negroes; 90 young women came to marry settlers. 1619—House of Burgesses established.
MARYLAND	1634 St. Mary's	George Calvert (Lord Baltimore)	To found a feudal state and a haven for Roman Catholics	PROPRIETARY (1632) ROYAL (1692) PROPRIETARY (1715)	1649—A Toleration Act gave freedom of worship to all who believed in the Trinity. The third Lord Baltimore lost control after the 1688 British revolution, but the colony was restored to the fourth Lord Baltimore who had become a Protestant.
NORTH CAROLINA	1660 Albemarle	"Eight Noble Lords," including Lord Clarendon and Lord Ashley Cooper	To found a feudal state	PROPRIETARY (1663) ROYAL (1729)	North and South Carolina were once a single colony, but their major settlements were so far apart that almost from the first they had separate governments. The division of geographical difficulties between Carolina's most aristocratic and North Carolina the least aristocratic of the southern colonies.
SOUTH CAROLINA	1670 Albemarle Point, abandoned later for Charleston	"Eight Noble Lords," including Lord Clarendon and Lord Ashley Cooper	To found a feudal state	PROPRIETARY (1663) ROYAL (1719)	Efforts of the colony's original trustees to prohibit liquor, forbid slavery, and prevent big plantations all failed.
GEORGIA	1733 Savannah	James Oglethorpe	To found a haven for debtors and refugees, as well as an outpost against the Spanish in Florida	PROPRIETARY (1732) ROYAL (1753)	Although principally traders, the Dutch tried to settle the Hudson Valley by granting land to "patrons" who agreed to bring settlers.
New Netherland	1624 Albany, New Amsterdam	Dutch West India Company	To trade, especially for furs	Under Dutch rule	New York was established when James, Duke of York, conquered New Netherland with a British fleet and became the royal when he became King James II.
NEW YORK	See above	James, Duke of York	To extinguish Dutch power in North America	PROPRIETARY (1664) ROYAL (1685)	New Jersey was a part of New Netherland which James, Duke of York, gave to two friends as proprietors after the English conquered it from the Dutch in 1664. It was once divided into East and West Jersey.
NEW JERSEY	1623 Fort Nassau, Hoboken	Dutch West India Company; Swedish South Company; Lord Berkeley; George Carteret	To reward the proprietors	At first under Swedish and Dutch rule PROPRIETARY (1664) ROYAL (1702)	

PENNSYLVANIA	1683 Philadelphia	Quakers; William Penn	To found a Christian colony for victims of religious persecution	PROPRIETARY (1681)	William Penn invited both Quakers and non-Quakers, Protestants, whose descendants are known as "Pennsylvania Dutch." The Quaker dislike of violence dictated peaceful relations with the Indians.
DELAWARE	1638 Christinaham (later Wilmington)	Swedish South Company; Peter Minuit	To trade	Swedish rule, then DUTCH PROPRIETARY (1664)	Delaware was conquered from the Dutch in 1664, along with New York and New Jersey. In 1680 William Penn purchased the territory and secured the Indians' rights from James, Duke of York.
Plymouth	1620 Plymouth	"Pilgrim Fathers"; William Bradford; Myles Standish	To worship God freely as Englishmen	Self-governing Joined to Massachusetts (1691)	1620—Mayflower Compact established the principle of self-government.
Maine	1653 York, Saco, Falmouth (now Portland)	Ferdinando Gorges	To trade; to fish; to defend against the French to the North	Proprietary (1629) Joined to Massachusetts (1691)	1677—Massachusetts bought the proprietary rights to Maine. 1820—Maine was separated from Massachusetts.
MASSACHUSETTS	1629 Boston, Cambridge, Boston	Puritans organized into Massachusetts Bay Company; John Winthrop	To establish a Puritan utopia; to fish and trade	CHARTER (1629) ROYAL (1691)	1630—1640—"The great migration" of over 20,000 settlers. 1684—Massachusetts charter revoked by Charles II.
NEW HAMPSHIRE	1653 Dover, Exeter, Strawberry Bank (now Portsmouth)	John Mason, John Wheelwright	To fish; to trade; to seek refuge from Massachusetts	CHARTER (1629) ROYAL (1679)	1679—Establishment of New Hampshire as a royal colony ended the efforts of Massachusetts to take over New Hampshire.
RHODE ISLAND	1636 Providence, Newport	Roger Williams, Ann Hutchinson	To seek refuge from Massachusetts to establish religious and political freedom	Self-governing CHARTER (1663)	Rhode Island was the only colony which from the first allowed complete freedom of worship to Christians and non-Christians alike.
Wethersfield, Windsor, Hartford	1634 Wethersfield, Windsor, Hartford	Thomas Hooker	To seek refuge from Massachusetts	Self-governing Merged in Connecticut (1662)	1639—The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, sometimes called "the first written constitution which worked," united the three towns.
New Haven	1636 New Haven, Milford	John Davenport	To establish a Puritan colony more strict than Massachusetts	Self-governing Merged in Connecticut (1662)	New Haven founders tried to establish a theocracy (rule by church elders) and to base strict laws of behavior on the Bible.
CONNECTICUT	(see above) Hartford, New Haven	(see above)	To unite the several Connecticut settlements	CHARTER (1662)	The Connecticut settlements were united under a charter granted by Charles II in 1662 to strengthen them against the Dutch and reduce the influence of Massachusetts.

1 Where earlier colonies were merged (like Plymouth), or conquered (like New Amsterdam), they are given first, with the colony as finally established in capital letters. There were often unsuccessful or unimportant settlements before the first established settlement. The points of settlement here named were those that soon became the most important, not necessarily the first.

2 The "purposes of settlement" are the major intentions of the principal founders. There were many other purposes entertained by the founders or their followers, such as: to find the Northwest Passage; to convert the Indians; to escape punishment for crimes; to find new land; to escape taxes; to escape religious persecution; to escape slavery; in any summary there has to be falsification by omission or compression. Thus unmentioned points of settlement which historians might consider "important," are Saybrook in Connecticut and Kent's Island in Maryland, and the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam in New York. Dutch in 1673-74, and Indian wars in several colonies which were close to disastrous.

EUROPEAN EXPLORERS

Explorer	Dates of major activity or discoveries	Country	Achievements
POLO, MARCO	1271-1295	Venice	His 17 years in Cathay (China) resulted in history's most famous travel book.
PRINCE HENRY, THE NAVIGATOR	1418-1460	Portugal	Made later discoveries possible by his improvements in navigation and shipbuilding and by the expeditions he sent down the west coast of Africa.
DIAS, BARTHOLOMEU	1486-1500	Portugal	He rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and thus opened the way for the later Portuguese voyages to India and the Far East.
GAMA, VASCO DA	1497-1503	Portugal	His three voyages around Africa to India were immensely profitable and led to the establishment of a Portuguese trading empire in Asia.
VESPUCCI, AMERIGO	1497(?) - 1504	Spain and Portugal (Italian by birth)	He claimed to have been the first to reach the mainland of South America. The new continent was named for him by the geographer Martin Waldseemüller.
CABRAL, PEDRO	1500	Portugal	His accidental discovery of South America was the basis for the Portuguese claim to Brazil.
COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER	1492-1504	Spain (Italian by birth)	Intending to reach Cathay (China) and Cipangu (Japan) by sailing west, he discovered a new world instead.
BALBOA, VASCO NÚÑEZ DE	1513	Spain	Crossing the Isthmus of Panama, he discovered the Pacific Ocean.
PONCE DE LEÓN, JUAN	1513	Spain	While searching for a "fountain of youth," he discovered and explored Florida.
CORTÉZ, HERNANDO	1519-1536	Spain	His conquest of the Aztec Empire laid the foundation for Spanish rule in Mexico.
MAGELLAN, FERDINAND	1519-1521	Spain (Portuguese by birth)	He organized and led the first expedition to circumnavigate the globe. He lost his life establishing the Spanish claim to the Philippine Islands.
PIZARRO, FRANCISCO	1526-1537	Spain	He explored the west coast of South America and conquered the Incan Empire.
DE SOTO, HERNANDO	1539-1542	Spain	He explored the coast of the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to the Mississippi.
CABEZA DE VACA, ALVAR NÚÑEZ	1527-1536	Spain	Shipwrecked near the mouth of the Mississippi, he spent nine years wandering through Texas and New Mexico.
CORONADO, FRANCISCO VÁSQUEZ DE	1540-1542	Spain	He led an expedition which explored much of New Mexico, discovered the Grand Canyon, and penetrated the Great Plains to Kansas.
VERRAZANO, GIOVANNI DA	1524	France (Italian by birth)	Vainly seeking a water route to the Pacific, he explored and mapped the eastern coast of North America from the Carolinas to Newfoundland.
CARTIER, JACQUES	1534-1536	France	In the course of a search for the Northwest Passage, he discovered the St. Lawrence River and explored it as far as Lachine Rapids.
CHAMPLAIN, SAMUEL DE	1603-1615	France	The principal founder of New France, he explored coasts and waterways from Cape Cod to Lake Huron.
JOLIET, LOUIS and MARQUETTE, JACQUES	1673	France	These two explorers crossed from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi watershed and explored the great river to Arkansas.
LA SALLE, ROBERT, SIEUR DE	1682	France	Journeying from the Great Lakes to the mouth of the Mississippi, he laid the French claim to Louisiana.
CABOT, JOHN	1497-1498	England (Italian by birth)	Hoping to sail west to China, he discovered Nova Scotia, Labrador, Newfoundland, and the cod fisheries of the Grand Bank.
DRAKE, FRANCIS	1577-1580	England	The first English sea captain to circumnavigate the earth, he plundered Spanish colonies and explored the Pacific coast of North America, looking for a passage back to the Atlantic.
HUDSON, HENRY	1609	Netherlands (English by birth)	Seeking the Northwest Passage, he explored the Hudson River as far as Albany. His second search for the Northwest Passage brought him through Hudson Strait into Hudson's Bay, where his mutinous crew set him adrift in a small boat.
	1610-1611	England	

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America, July 4, 1776

(See pp. 54–59.)

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.—We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable¹ Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.—He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and neces-

sary for the public good.—He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.—He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.—He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.—He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasion on the rights of the people.—He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.—He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.—He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.—He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.—He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.—He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.—He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.—He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:—For quartering large bodies of armed troops

¹ Jefferson in his original draft of the Declaration (see p. 56) used "inalienable." When the document was copied in the official version, the word became "unalienable."

among us:—For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:—For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:—For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:—For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by jury:—For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:—For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:—For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:—For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.—He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.—He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.—He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.—He has constrained our fellow citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.—He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our re-

peated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.—

WE, THEREFORE, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.—And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Button Gwinnett	Samuel Chase	Geo. Ross	W ^m . Paca	Francis Lightfoot	John Adams
Lyman Hall	Carter Braxton	Cesar Rodney	Tho ^s . Stone	Lee	Rob ^t Treat Payne
Geo Walton.	Rob ^t Morris	Geo Read	Charles Carroll of		Elbridge Gerry
W ^m Hooper	Benjamin Rush	Tho M ^r : Kean	Carrollton	Jn ⁿ Witherspoon	Step Hopkins
Joseph Hewes,	Ben ^j . Franklin	W ^m Floyd		Fra ^s . Hopkinson	William Ellery
John Penn	John Merton	Phil. Livingston	George Wythe.	John Hart	Roger Sherman
Edward Rutledge.	Geo Clymer	Fran ^s . Lewis	Richard Henry Lee.	Abra Clark	Sam ^l Huntington
Tho ^s Heyward Jun ^r .	Ja ^s . Smith.	Lewis Morris	Th Jefferson	Josiah Bartlett	Wm. Williams
Thomas Lynch Jun ^r .	Geo. Taylor	Rich ^d . Stockton	Ben ^j Harrison	W ^m Whipple	Oliver Wolcott
Arthur Middleton	James Wilson	John Hancock	Tho ^s . Nelson Jr.	Sam ^l Adams	Matthew Thornton

(See pp. 193–194.)

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look toward me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye—when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair did not the presence of many whom I see here remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we all embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law

must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government can not be strong, that this Government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to union and representative gov-

ernment. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter—with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its Administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all

nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. . . . These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Extracts from President Monroe's Seventh Annual Message to Congress, December 2, 1823

(See pp. 237-240)

. . . At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the

United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. . . . In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements

by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . .

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or

dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

. . . Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course. . . .

(See pp. 364-365.)

Fellow-Countrymen:—At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One eighth of the whole population was colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the

conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

(See pp. 455-457.)

PLATFORM

We declare . . .

First.—That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual; may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the Republic and the uplifting of mankind.

Second.—Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and civil labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

Third.—We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads; and should the government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the constitution by which all persons engaged in the government service shall be placed under a civil-service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the national administration by the use of such additional government employes.

FINANCE.—We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations; a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent, per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or a better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

1. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

2. We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

3. We demand a graduated income tax.

4. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.

5. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

TRANSPORTATION.—Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people. The telegraph and telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

LAND.—The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

EXPRESSION OF SENTIMENTS

Your Committee on Platform and Resolutions beg leave unanimously to report the following:

Whereas, Other questions have been presented for our consideration, we hereby submit the following, not as a part of the Platform of the People's Party, but as resolutions expressive of the sentiment of this Convention.

1. RESOLVED, That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections, and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without Federal intervention, through the adoption by the States of the unpervverted Australian or secret ballot system.

2. RESOLVED, That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now levied upon the domestic industries of this country.

3. RESOLVED, That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.

4. RESOLVED, That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world and crowds out our

wage-earners; and we denounce the present ineffective laws against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable emigration.

5. RESOLVED, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized working-men to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on Government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.

6. RESOLVED, That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition; and we condemn the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy, assisted by Federal officers.

7. RESOLVED, That we commend to the favorable consideration of the people and the reform

press the legislative system known as the initiative and referendum.

8. RESOLVED, That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of Senators of the United States by a direct vote of the people.

9. RESOLVED, That we oppose any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.

10. RESOLVED, That this convention sympathizes with the Knights of Labor and their righteous contest with the tyrannical combine of clothing manufacturers of Rochester, and declare it to be a duty of all who hate tyranny and oppression to refuse to purchase the goods made by the said manufacturers, or to patronize any merchants who sell such goods.

WILSON'S FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

March 4, 1913

(See pp. 517-518.)

My Fellow Citizens:

There has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been completed. The Senate about to assemble will also be Democratic. The offices of President and Vice-President have been put into the hands of Democrats. What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds to-day. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. . . .

We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. It is great, also, very great, in its moral force.

Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate suffering, and set the weak in the way of strength and hope. We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scornful to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the

solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great.

We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all

its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; water-courses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the Nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they can not alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

These are some of the things we ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new day: To lift everything that concerns our life as a Nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not

destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they can not tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto. . . .

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM

Speech by Herbert Hoover, New York City, October 22, 1928

(See p. 593.)

This campaign now draws near a close. The platforms of the two parties defining principles and offering solutions of various national problems have been presented and are being earnestly considered by our people. . . .

In my acceptance speech I endeavored to outline the spirit and ideals by which I would be guided in carrying that platform into administration. Tonight I will not deal with the multitude of issues which have been already well canvassed. I intend rather to discuss some of those more fundamental principles and ideals upon which I believe the government of the United States should be conducted.

After the war, when the Republican party assumed administration of the country, we were faced with the problem of determination of the very nature of our national life. During one hundred and fifty years we have builded up a form of self-government and a social system which is peculiarly our own. It differs essentially from all others in the world. It is the American system. It is just as definite and positive a political and social system as has ever been developed on earth. It is founded upon a particular conception of self-government in which decentralized local responsibility is the very base. Further than this, it is founded upon the conception that only through ordered liberty, freedom, and equal opportunity to the individual will his initiative and enterprise spur on the march of progress. And in our insistence upon equality of opportunity has our system advanced beyond all the world.

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

During the war we necessarily turned to the government to solve every difficult economic problem. The government having absorbed every energy of our people for war, there was no other solution. For the preservation of the state the Federal Government became a centralized despotism which undertook unprecedented responsibilities, assumed autocratic powers, and took over the business of citizens. To a large degree we regimented our whole people temporarily into a socialistic state. However justified in time of war if continued in peace-time it would destroy not only our American system but with it our progress and freedom as well.

When the war closed, the most vital of all issues both in our own country and throughout the world was whether governments should continue their wartime ownership and operation of many instrumentalities of production and distribution. We were challenged with a peace-time choice between the American system of rugged individualism and a European philosophy of diametrically opposed doctrines—doctrines of paternalism and state socialism. The acceptance of these ideas would have meant the destruction of self-government through centralization of government. It would have meant the undermining of the individual initiative and enterprise through which our people have grown to unparalleled greatness.

. . . When the Republican party came into full power it went at once resolutely back to our fundamental conception of the state and the rights and responsibilities of the individual. Thereby it

restored confidence and hope in the American people, it freed and stimulated enterprise, it restored the government to its position as an umpire instead of a player in the economic game. For these reasons the American people have gone forward in progress while the rest of the world has halted, and some countries have even gone backwards. If anyone will study the causes of retarded recuperation in Europe, he will find much of it due to stifling of private initiative on one hand, and overloading of the government with business on the other.

There has been revived in this campaign, however, a series of proposals which, if adopted, would be a long step toward the abandonment of our American system and a surrender to the destructive operation of governmental conduct of commercial business. Because the country is faced with difficulty and doubt over certain national problems—that is, prohibition, farm relief, and electrical power—our opponents propose that we must thrust government a long way into the businesses which give rise to these problems. In effect, they abandon the tenets of their own party and turn to state socialism as a solution for the difficulties presented by all three. It is proposed that we shall change from prohibition to the state purchase and sale of liquor. If their agricultural relief program means anything, it means that the government shall directly or indirectly buy and sell and fix prices of agricultural products. And we are to go into the hydroelectric power business. In other words, we are confronted with a huge program of government in business.

There is, therefore, submitted to the American people a question of fundamental principle. That is: shall we depart from the principles of our American political and economic system, upon which we have advanced beyond all the rest of the world, in order to adopt methods based on principles destructive of its very foundations?

I should like to state to you the effect that this projection of government in business would have upon our system of self-government and our economic system. That effect would reach to the daily life of every man and woman. It would impair the very basis of liberty and freedom not only for those left outside the fold of expanded bureaucracy but for those embraced within it.

Let us first see the effect upon self-government. When the Federal Government undertakes to go into commercial business it must at once set up the organization and administration of that business, and it immediately finds itself in a labyrinth, every alley of which leads to the destruction of self-government.

Commercial business requires a concentration of responsibility. Self-government requires decentralization and many checks and balances to safeguard liberty. Our Government to succeed in business would need to become in effect a despotism. There at once begins the destruction of self-government. . . .

It is a false liberalism that interprets itself into the government operation of commercial business. Every step of bureaucratizing of the business of our country poisons the very roots of liberalism—that is, political equality, free speech, free assembly, free press, and equality of opportunity. It is the road not to more liberty, but to less liberty. Liberalism should be found not striving to spread bureaucracy but striving to set bounds to it. . . .

Liberalism is a force truly of the spirit, a force proceeding from the deep realization that economic freedom cannot be sacrificed if political freedom is to be preserved. Even if Governmental conduct of business could give us more efficiency instead of less efficiency, the fundamental objection to it would remain unaltered and unabated. It would destroy political equality. It would increase rather than decrease abuse and corruption. It would stifle initiative and invention. It would undermine the development of leadership. It would cramp and cripple the mental and spiritual energies of our people. It would extinguish equality and opportunity. It would dry up the spirit of liberty and progress. For these reasons primarily it must be resisted. For a hundred and fifty years liberalism has found its true spirit in the American system, not in the European systems.

I do not wish to be misunderstood in this statement. I am defining a general policy. It does not mean that our government is to part with one iota of its national resources without complete protection to the public interest. I have already stated that where the government is engaged in public works for purposes of flood control, of navigation, of irrigation, of scientific research or national de-

fense, or in pioneering a new art, it will at times necessarily produce power or commodities as a by-product. But they must be a by-product of the major purpose, not the major purpose itself.

Nor do I wish to be misinterpreted as believing that the United States is free-for-all and devil-take-the-hindmost. The very essence of equality of opportunity and of American individualism is that there shall be no domination by any group or combination in this republic, whether it be business or political. On the contrary, it demands economic justice as well as political and social justice. It is no system of *laissez faire*.

I feel deeply on this subject because during the war I had some practical experience with governmental operation and control. I have witnessed not only at home but abroad the many failures of government in business. I have seen its tyrannies, its injustices, its destructions of self-government, its undermining of the very instincts which carry our people forward to progress. I have witnessed the lack of advance, the lowered standards of living, the depressed spirits of people working under such a system. My objection is based not upon theory or upon a failure to recognize wrong or abuse, but I know the adoption of such methods would strike at the very roots of American life and would destroy the very basis of American progress. . . .

And what have been the results of the American system? Our country has become the land of opportunity to those born without inheritance, not merely because of the wealth of its resources

and industry but because of this freedom of initiative and enterprise. Russia has natural resources equal to ours. Her people are equally industrious, but she has not had the blessings of one hundred and fifty years of our form of government and our social system.

By adherence to the principles of decentralized self-government, ordered liberty, equal opportunity, and freedom to the individual, our American experiment in human welfare has yielded a degree of well-being unparalleled in all the world. It has come nearer to the abolition of poverty, to the abolition of fear of want, than humanity has ever reached before. Progress of the past seven years is the proof of it. This alone furnishes the answer to our opponents, who ask us to introduce destructive elements into the system by which this has been accomplished. . . .

I have endeavored to present to you that the greatness of America has grown out of a political and social system and a method of control of economic forces distinctly its own—our American system—which has carried this great experiment in human welfare farther than ever before in all history. We are nearer today to the ideal of the abolition of poverty and fear from the lives of men and women than ever before in any land. And I again repeat that the departure from our American system by injecting principles destructive to it which our opponents propose, will jeopardize the very liberty and freedom of our people, and will destroy equality of opportunity not alone to ourselves but to our children. . . .

F. D. ROOSEVELT'S FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS March 4, 1933

(See pp. 609-610.)

President Hoover, Mr. Chief Justice, my friends:

This is a day of national consecration, and I am certain that my fellow-Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our nation implies.

This is pre-eminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor

need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper.

So first of all let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.

In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that

understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen, government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply.

Primarily, this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True, they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit, they have proposed only the lending of more money.

Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers.

They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths.

The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort.

The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellowmen.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing.

Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance. Without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This nation asks for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously.

It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this, we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in the redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land.

The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities.

It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss, through foreclosure, of our small homes and our farms.

It can be helped by insistence that the Federal,

State and local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced.

It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character.

There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act, and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

These are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo.

Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are, in point of time and necessity, secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy.

I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait. . . .

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never before, our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take, but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because, without such discipline, no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. . . .

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors.

Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form.

That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, or world relations.

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require.

These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me.

I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency as great as the power that would be given me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe. . . .

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action.

They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication of a nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us! May He guide me in the days to come!

(See p. 749.)

We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end as well as a beginning—signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge—and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of new cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress—to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to “undo the heavy burdens . . . [and] let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungles of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor—not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service are found around the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation”—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, north and south, east and west, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strengths and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

Index

Entries marked with * refer to the themes given in the Prologue pp. xi-xiii and the Epilogue pp. 782-783.

For definition of concepts in the social sciences, see the Glossary pp. 787-791.

- ABC powers, 548
 Abilene, Kansas, 415
 Abolitionism, 243, 283-86, 333, 336
 Acheson, Dean, 705, 713
 Act of Havana (1940), 669
 Adams, Charles Francis, 183, 360-62
 Adams, Franklin P., 594
 Adams, Henry, 183, 223, 447, 528
 Adams, James Truslow, 21, 301
 Adams, John, 32, 65, 70, 71, 73, 108, 121, 179, 181, 186, 188, 296, 730; administration, 182-85, 213; election of 1796, 181-82; as minister to Great Britain, 79; on Revolutionary War, 32, 37
 Adams, John Quincy, 183, 216, 237-38, 254, 259, 260, 272, 297, 308, 493; campaign of 1828, 256-57; election of 1824, 254; as secretary of state, 234-35, 236, 301
 Adams, Samuel, 44, 45, 89, 94, 97, 172
 Adams, Sherman, 726
 Adams-Onís Treaty, 237
 Addams, Jane, 442, 540; background of, 539
 Affluent Society, *The* (Galbraith), 765
 Africa, anti-colonial movements, 734; independent countries of, 735; imperialism in, 475; World War II, 673-74
 Age of Discovery, 4-6
 Agnew, Spiro T., 775, 777
 Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), 623-25, 644, 652; declared unconstitutional, 642
 Agricultural Marketing Act, 595
 Agriculture, cheap money demands, 430-31; colonial period, 4, 32; Depression of 1929, 597; discontent (1890), 422-24; Eisenhower policy on, 722-23; expansion of, 417-18; farm cooperatives, 535, 587; farmers' loss of independence, 422-24; Granger movement, 427-29, 456, 527, 535; Great Plains, 417-18, 419; growth of, 325; Indian, 7; mobilization of (World War I), 562; New Deal aid to, 623-25; 1920's, 586, 597; opening of West and, 417-18, 422-24; parity prices, 623; plantation system, 15-16; population, 297; prices, 586-87, 599; productive capacity (1932), 606; progressive movement in, 535; sharecropping, 376; Spanish colonies, 6; subsidies to, 760; tenant farming, 376, 422, 587; truck garden, 419
 Aguinaldo, Emilio, 482*
 Air lines, federal regulation of, 430; in 1940, 647
 Alabama, cotton plantations, 244; iron industry, 377-78; statehood, 244
 Alabama (cruiser), 350, 379, 380
 Alamo, the, 307
 Alaska, 238, 240; boundaries, 309, 501; purchase of, 379; statehood, 726
 Albania, 657
 Albany, New York, 68, 230, 398; fur trade, 16
 Albany Plan of Union, 29, 33
 Aleotti, Bronson, 279
 Aldrich, Nelson W., 511-12, 518, 520
 Aldrich Commission, 520
 Aleutian Islands, 673, 681
 Alexander, Harold, 353
 Alexander I, Czar, 216
 Algiciras Conference, 500-1
 Algeria, 676, 730
 Algiers, 198-99; Barbary pirates in, 83
 Algonquin Indians, 11
 Alien Act, 184-85
 Allen, Ethan, 51, 61
 Allen, Frederick L., 572-73
 Alliance, Treaty of (1778), 170, 184
 Alliance for Progress, 750, 760; terms of, 752-53
 Altgeld, John Peter, 440
 America First Committee, 666
 American Bankers Association, 600, 621
 American Colonization Society, 243
 American Cotton Cooperative Association, 595
 American Federation of Labor (AFL), 437, 438, 441, 536, 586, 638, 639, 683; membership, 437, 627-28; merger with CIO, 723, 724
 American Legion (militia), 166
 American Liberty League, 631, 634
 American Missionary Association, 369
 American party, 338
 American Peace Society, 290
 American Philosophical Society, 28, 193
 American Protective Association, 442
 American Railway Union, 438-39
 American Red Cross, 357, 358, 563
 Anarchism, 488; in unions, 434, 435, 437, 440
 Andersonville prison, 375
 Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 555, 576
 Annapolis Convention, 90
 Antietam, battle of, 353-54, 362
 Anti-Federalists, 97-98, 179; criticism of presidential power, 124-27; meaning of, 98
 Anti-Saloon League, 441, 535
 Apache Indians, 302
 Apollo 7, 767
 Appalachia Program, 759
 Appeasement policies, 657-58
 Appomattox Court House, 355
 Arab-Israeli War of 1967, 764-65
 Architecture, 443-44; colonial period, 18, 23; Federal style, 281; Greek revival, 238, 281-82; 1920's, 588-89; octagon house, 282
 Arkansas, 342, 344; readmitted to Union, 375; Indians in, 263; statehood, 244
 Arms embargo (1935-1937), 657, 663
 Armstrong, Louis, 589
 Army, Continental, 50-51, 63-71; desegregation in, 699; T. Roosevelt and, 501-2; in World War I, 560-61; in World War II, 673-76
 Army War College, 502, 678
 Arnold, Benedict, 61, 69-70; Quebec campaign, 53
 Arnold, Thurlman, 644
 Aroostook Valley, 303
 Aroostook War, 379
 Art, 82, 281; colonial period, 18, 23; Hudson River school, 281; 1920's, 589; WPA projects, 648
 Arthur, Chester, 452, 471
 Articles of Confederation, 77-79, 86, 90, 93, 131, 135, 139, 180
 Ashburton, Lord Alexander, 303
 Asia, imperialism in, 480-82, 550, 551, 761-64; in World War II, 671-76, 680-81; *see also specific countries*
 Association, The (organization), 48
 Assumption Act of 1790, 160, 162, 188
 Astor, John Jacob, 304
 Atlanta, Georgia, 351-53, 522
 Atlantic, Battle of the, 671
 Atlantic Charter, 684
 Atom Bomb, development of, 680-81
 Atomic warfare, 704, 754
 Attucks, Crispus, 45
 Australia, 74, 462, 575, 636, 728, 761; government, 100; World War II, 673
 Austria, 551; attempted Nazi takeover (1934), 656; end of monarchy in, 569; World War I, 551
 Automation, effects of, 768
 Automobile industry, 587, 595, 740; growth of, 582; impact of, 582; 587-88; unionized, 639, 640

- Baer, George F., 506
 Baker, Newton D., 502, 528, 560
 Baker, Ray Stannard, 529
 Balboa, Vasco Núñez de, 798
 Baldwin, James, 772-73
 Ballinger, Richard A., 512-13
 Baltimore, Maryland, 326, 435; Confederate sympathies, 358; War of 1812, 210
 Bancroft, George, 258
 Bandung Conference, 729
 Bank of the United States, 160-61, 195, 232, 274, 521; end of, 269; established, 161; Jackson and, 267-68; rechartered, 225
 Banking Act of 1935, 637
 Banking system, 431-32; currency notes, 225; Depression of 1929, 609, 621; failures (1837), 272; Federal Reserve, 522-23, 547, 595, 621, 637, 721; movement toward free, 270; New Deal on, 621-22; postal savings, 513; weaknesses of, 520-21
 Banneker, Benjamin, 190
 Baptists, 284, 290, 292; colonial period, 21
 Barbary Coast states, 83, 198-99
 Barnett, Ross, 769
 Barnum and Bailey's circus, 417
 Barton, Clara, 357, 358
 Bartram, John, 24
 Baruch, Bernard, 562, 626
 Baseball, 401, 402, 583
 Bastille prison, 74
 Bataan, 673
 Batista, Fulgencio, 736
 Bay of Pigs invasion, 752
 Beard, Charles, 137, 590
 Beard, Mary, 137, 590
 Beck, Dave, 723
 Beecher, Henry Ward, 360
 Bel Geddes, Norman, 648
 Belgian Congo, 734
 Belgium, in Africa, 475, 734; imperialism, 475; Washington Naval Conference, 575-76; World War I, 551, 552, 562; World War II, 664
 Bell, Alexander Graham, 406-07
 Bell, John, 341, 342
 Bellamy, Edward, 445, 536
 Bellows, George, 589
 Benet, Stephen Vincent, 301, 606
 Bennett, Wallace, 723
 Bennington, Vermont, 68
 Benson, Ezra Tait, 722, 726
 Benton, Thomas H. (artist), 589, 648
 Benton, Thomas H. (Senator), 259, 265
 Berkeley, Sir William, 23-24
 Berlin, Germany, 706, 733, 760; four-power occupation of, 754
 Bessemer process, 393, 409
 Beveridge, Albert J., 475, 515
 Biafra, Republic of, 77
 Bicycling, 401, 402
 Biddle, Nicholas, 269, 272
 Big Business, 390-97; crime as (1920's), 588; extension of federal control over, 637-38; growth of, 390; horizontal consolidation, 390-91, 396; legitimate advantages of, 390; methods of control, 584; 1920's, 581-84; vertical consolidation, 390-91, 396; unfair advantages of, 390; see also Industry
 Big Stick diplomacy, 494, 495, 549
 Bill of attainder, 122, 123
 Bill of Rights (Great Britain), 42
 Bill of Rights (United States), 138-41, 143, 145
 Bill of Rights (Virginia), 57
 Billington, Ray Allen, 317-18, 415
 Billy the Kid, 417
 Bingham, George Caleb, 281
 Birdsall, Paul, 567
 Birmingham, Alabama, 377, 771
 Birney, James G., 284, 309
 Bismarck, Otto von, 551
 Black Codes, 367, 374
 Black Hawk, Chief, 169, 245
 Black Hills, 410, 416
 Black lists, labor, 434, 435
 Black Muslims, 771
 Black power, 770-71; meaning of, 770
 Blaine, James C., 452, 463, 491
 Bland-Allison Act, 431, 451
 Blitzkrieg, 664; meaning of, 661-63
 Blockade runners (Civil War), 348-50
 Blue Lodge, 338
 Bolívar, Simón, 237, 256
 Bolivia, 752
 Bolsheviks, 559, 569-70
 Bonds, Civil War, 357; Confederate, 361, 365; 1788-1792, 162; World War I, 563; World War II, 683
 Bonus Bill of 1817, 226, 266
 Boone, Daniel, 82
 Booth, John Wilkes, 365
 Boston, Massachusetts, 444, 522; Colonial period, 15, 22, 40, 45-48, 54, 63, 182; cultural life, 402; first English-speaking kindergarten, 279
 Boston Massacre, 45, 182
 Boston Tea Party, 39, 45-47, 48
 Boxer Rebellion, 485-86
 Boxing, 402, 583
 Boy Scouts of America, 534
 Boycotts, colonial period, 42-45, 48; union, 288, 435, 586
 Braddock, Edward, 34
 Bradley, Omar, 713
 Brady's Bend Iron Company, 324
 Brain trust, 619, 632
 Brandeis, Louis D., 528-29
 Brandywine, Battle of, 67
 Breckinridge, John C., 341, 342
 Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of, 559
 Brewster, Massachusetts, 214
 Bricker Amendment, 724
 Britain, Battle of, 668-69
 British East India Company, 45-47
 Brittain, Vera, 561
 Brogan, D. W., 609
 Brooklyn Bridge, 386, 443, 444
 "Brother Can You Spare a Dime?" (song), 546, 606
 Browder, Earl, 607
 Brown, John, 340-41
 Brown v. Board of Education, 147, 744-45, 770
 Bryan, William J., 480, 487, 508, 511, 515, 520, 522, 547, 549, 553, 544; appointed Secretary of State, 518; Cross of Gold speech, 460-61
 Bryant, William Cullen, 280
 Bryce, James, 402, 499, 532
 Bryn Mawr College, 441
 Buchanan, James, 338, 343, 452
 Buck, Paul H., 376
 Buena Vista, Battle of, 310, 313
 Buffalo, New York, 230
 Bulgarian, Nikolai, 738
 Bulge, Battle of the, 676, 679
 Bullfinch, Charles, 281
 Bull Moose Party, 514-15
 Bundy, McGeorge, 760
 Bunker Hill, Battle of, 50-51
 Burchfield, Charles, 589
 Burgesses, House of, 14, 17
 Burgoyne, John, 67-68
 Burr, Aaron, 143, 181, 182, 188; conspiracy of, 202; treason trial of, 202
 Byrd, Harry F., 143, 749
 Byrnes, James F., 682, 702
 Calhoun, John C., 208, 254, 285, 308, 333, 334; Bonus Bill of, 226, 227; Jackson and, 265, 266; Nullification theory, 263
 California, 318; acquisition of, 311; gold discovery, 317-18; gold strike, 430; Manifest Destiny and, 311, 317-18; Mexican rule of, 311
 Canada, 575, 586, 709; American invasion of, 303; boundaries, 234-35, 303-4, 380, 501; Good Neighbor Policy toward, 660-61; Revolutionary War and, 53, 67-68; War of 1812, 208-9
 Canal system, 230-31, 325, 326-27
 Cannon, Joseph C., 512, 518
 Capital (Marx), 444
 Caporetto, Battle of, 559
 Capper-Volstead Act, 587
 Carmichael, Stokely, 770, 771
 Carnegie, Andrew, steel business of, 393-97
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 661
 Carnegie Steel Company, 393-97, 455, 457
 Carpetbaggers, 370, 372
 Carranza, Venustiano, 548, 549
 Carroll, Daniel, 136
 Cartier, Jacques, 7
 Casablanca Conference, 685, 708
 Cass, Lewis, 316-17, 318
 Castlereagh, Lord, 234, 238
 Castro, Cipriano, 494
 Castro, Fidel, 736, 750; Fidelismo movement, 752, 760
 Cather, Willa, 420-22, 588
 Central Intelligence Agency, 752
 Cervera, Pascual, 478, 493
 Challenge to Liberty, The (Hoover), 632
 Chamberlain, Neville, 658

- Champlain, Samuel de, 11
 Chancellorsville, Battle of, 353
 Chapultepec, Act of, 705
 Charleston, South Carolina, 25, 28, 47; Revolutionary War, 54, 63
 Chase, Samuel, 196
 Chastellux, Marquis de, 191
 Chateau-Thierry, Battle of, 561
 Chattanooga, Battle of, 350, 351
 Chautauqua, 535
 Checks and balance system, 119-21
 Cherokee Indians, 79, 203, 263
Chesapeake (ship), 205, 207, 213, 658
 Chiang Kai-shek, 685, 686, 708, 711-12, 728-29
 Chicago, Illinois, 326, 402, 442, 443, 444, 539; growth of, 397; Haymarket Square riot, 437, 442; meat packing industry, 325, 415; Pullman strike, 438-39, 440, 459; race riots (1919), 570; railroad strike of 1877, 436
 Chicago Columbian Exposition, 443
 Chickamauga, Battle of, 351, 352
 Child labor, 288, 524, 537; abolished, 644; legislative laws on, 530, 533-34, 644
 Chile, 548, 602, 752
 China, 604-5, 688, 703; Boxer Rebellion, 485-86; Communist takeover, 708, 710-12; early trade with, 302, 303, 335-36; Formosa and, 728-29; imperialism in, 484-86; Japanese aggression against, 604, 605, 658-59; missionaries in, 335, 710; Nine Power Treaty on, 575-77; opening of, 335-36; treaty ports in, 550; Washington Naval Conference, 575-76; see also Nationalist China
Chisholm v. Georgia, 143
 Chou En-lai, 729
 Church, Frank, 777
 Churchill, Sir Winston, 34, 547-50, 616, 658, 668, 69, 674, 676, 678, 685, 711; Atlantic Charter meeting, 684; Fulton, Missouri speech, 702; wartime conferences, 685-86
 Churchill, Winston, 529
 Cincinnati, Ohio, 247
 Cincinnati Red Stockings, 402
 Circuit courts, 129
 Cities, government, 531; growth of, 247-48, 424; industrialism and, 242-43, 397-400; 1920's gangsterism, 588; police protection, 399-400; political corruption, 529; population, 297; race riots, 570, 771-72; rectangular gridiron design of, 398; rest and recreation areas, 443-44; slums, 528; transportation, 399; See also names of cities
 Civil liberties, 683-84
 Civil Rights Act of 1964, 758; terms of, 770
 Civil rights movement, 746, 769-73
 Civil Service Commission, 452, 502
 Civil service system, 257, 452, 492, 502; spoils system and, 262
 Civil War, 273, 300, 318, 342-76, 387, 696; battle sites, 352; beginning of, 344; blockade of southern ports, 348-50, 361; bounty-jumping, 355; casualties, 345, 348; compared to modern wars, 347; conscription, 355; Constitutional Convention slave compromise and, 96; end of, 355; events leading to, 182, 342-45; France and, 362; Great Britain and, 361-62; greenbacks, 430; inflation, 433-34; naval operations, 348-50; Negro troops, 355; resources, 356-57; slavery during, 362; tariffs, 454; Trent affair, 361; veterans, 450; volunteers, 344, 355, 358; women in, 357-58
 Civil Works Administration, (CWA), 629
 Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), 628, 629, 636
 Clark, Champ, 560
 Clark, George Rogers, 65, 70, 170
 Clark, J. Reuben, 602
 Clark, William, 200-1
 Clay, Cassius Marcellus, 286
 Clay, Henry, 198, 208, 216, 234, 243, 253-57, 267, 270, 274, 286, 318, 341, 454; election of 1832, 268-69; election of 1844, 308-9; as Secretary of State, 254-56
 Clayton, John M., 335
 Clayton Act, 586, 644; terms of, 523-24
 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 334-35, 497
 Clemenceau, Georges, 566
 Clemens, Samuel L., see Twain, Mark
 Clemson University, 769
Clermont (steamboat), 229
 Cleveland, Grover, 127, 143, 429, 439, 440, 452, 455, 471, 480, 491, 506; administrations, 453-54, 459-60, 462-63, 477; election of 1884, 452; second term administration, 459-60, 462-63; tariff and, 453-54; vetoes of, 453
 Cleveland, Ohio, 391, 522, 770
 Clinton, DeWitt, 230
 Clinton, George, 51, 97, 171
 Clipper ships, 315, 323; trade, 325-26
 Coal industry, 533-34, 537, 586; strikes, 492, 505-07, 568, 586
 Codes of fair competition, 625-26
 Colbert, Jean, 10, 26
 Cold War, 695-716; beginning of, 701-03; Czechoslovakia invasion of 1968 and, 774; fears of internal subversion, 714-16; Kennedy (John F.) on, 754; peaceful coexistence and, 738-39, 755-60; Truman on, 695
 Colonial period, 3-74; agriculture, 4, 32; architecture, 18, 23; art, 18, 23; attempts to control the West, 38; boycotts, 42-45, 48; disobedience of British laws, 40-41; education, 23-24; fishing industry, 4, 16-17; frontier life, 17-19; fur trade, 4; immigration, 19; imports, 45, 48; independence movement, 50-74; Indians, 2, 38; industry, 4, 16-17; intercolonial cooperation, 42; length of, 6; Negroes, 20-21; newspapers, 25, 28; postal services, 28, 45; religion, 21-23, 47; rising discon-
- tent in, 39; Roman Catholic Church, 47; slavery, 20-21, 22; suffrage, 26; taxes, 37-40, 41-42, 46, 47; threats to self-government, 38-40; trade, 4, 45; transportation, 15, 16
 Colorado, 416; statehood, 413; women suffrage, 442
 Colombia, 660, 752
Columbia (ship), 304
 Columbia University, 159, 535, 619; founded, 24; student protesters (1968), 773, 774
 Columbus, Christopher, 3, 5, 6
 Commerce, Confederation period, 90; Constitutional Convention and, 96; controversy over meaning of, 1820-1860, 324; Spanish colonies, 7; see also Trade Commission on Civil Rights, 699
 Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 665-66, 670
 Committee for Economic Development (CED), 697
 Committee on Fair Employment Practices, 744
 Committee on Public Information (World War I), 563
 Committee of Public Safety (Massachusetts), 50
 Committee of Safety (Hawaii), 481
 Common Market, 760
 Common Sense (Paine), 52, 53-54, 78
Commonwealth v. Hunt, 288
 Communications, development of, 324, 329
 Communism, 609, 642, 701, 774; appeal of, 703, 709; Chinese-Soviet split, 755; containment of, 705-09; Five Year Plans, 607; in 1919, 569-70; strength of, 702-03; Third International, 569-70; in unions, 698, 699
Communist Manifesto, The (Marx), 444
 Communist Party (U.S.), 607-8, 655, 715-16
 Compromise of 1833, 266-67
 Compromise of 1850, 317, 336, 339; terms of, 318
 Compromise of 1877, 373-74, 451
 Comstock Lode, 416; silver production, 431

- Conant, James B., 743
 °Concern for welfare of others, xii, 358, 539, 783; in antislavery feeling, 20, 283-84, 362-63; and health, 496, 497-98; in labor movement, 286-88, 436-37, 638-40; in care of mentally ill, 289, 292; and Jackson, 268; private aid, 392-93, 397, 739; and Indians, 419; and housing, 442, 629-30; and children, 533-34; and Populists, 455-59; in possessions, 482; reflected in government, 432-33, 509, 513-14, 518-23, 592, 595, 598-602, 610, 622-25, 628-29, 635-37, 700-1, 752-53; in Prohibition, 288-89, 441, 535; in Reconstruction, 365-67, 374-75; "welfare capitalism," 586, 723
- Concord, Battle at, 39, 50, 62, 63
- Concord River, 227-29
- Conestoga wagons, 15, 16, 227, 306, 416
- Confederate States of America, 139, 300; beginning of, 343; bonds, 361, 365; Constitution, 332, 361; finances, 357; Great Britain and, 361-62; navy, 349-50, 361-62; resources of, 356; patriotism, 345; wartime government, 358
- Confederation period. *see* Articles of Confederation
- Conference of Governors (1908), 492
- Congregational Church, 21, 72, 290
- Congress for Industrial Organizations (CIO), 638, 641, 683, 766; merger with AFL, 723, 724; success of, 639-40; workers belonging to, 638
- Connally Amendment, 703
- Connally Resolution, 657
- Connecticut, 25, 43, 72, 88
- Conquistadors, 6
- Conscientious objectors (World War II), 683
- Conscription, Civil War, 355; first peacetime, 665; New York City draft riots (1863), 355; World War I, 560
- Conscription Act (1863), 355
- Consensus, 759-60; meaning of, 759
- Conservation, 135, 492, 513; New Deal on, 646; Theodore Roosevelt's program on, 510; White House conference on (1908), 510
- Constitution, amending process in, 135-37; amendments to, 117, 123, 125, 135-53, 185, 187, 374, 428, 513, 528, 532, 570, 609; checks and balances in, 119-21; federal system in, 121-25; judiciary in, 129-33; loose construction of, 232-33; National Supremacy Amendments to, 145-47; Preamble to, 111; presidency in, 119, 125-29; Progressive Amendments to, 147-51; ratification of, 97-100; separation of powers in, 117-19; slavery and, 113, 145-47; vice-presidency in, 115, 125-29; unwritten, 153; war and, 121; writing of, 90-96
- Constitution (frigate), 213, 214
- Constitutional Convention of 1787, 91-96; commerce and, 96; compromises, 96; conflict between large and small states, 95; members of, 92, 136, 137; opening of, 91; slavery question and, 95, 96
- Constitutional Union Party, 341
- Construction industry, 630, 638
- Containment of Communism, policy of, 706, 727, 731
- Continental Army, French regiments in, 68, 70; Negroes in, 63-64; strength of, 63, 65; at Valley Forge, 69; *see also* Revolutionary War
- Continental Congress, 36, 39, 48, 51-53, 108; flight from Philadelphia, 65; paper money of, 70, 89; petitions George III, 53
- Continentials (currency), 89
- Contract Labor Law, 434
- Convention of 1818, 235, 236
- Coolidge, Calvin, 572, 573, 574, 577, 592, 595, 597, 604, 652, 721; administration, 580-88; conservatism of, 580-81; domestic policies, 578-81; election of 1924, 581; foreign affairs, 573-78; Harding administration and, 573-80; vetoes of, 587, 623
- Cooper, James Fenimore, 280
- Copley, John, 23, 54
- Copperheads (Civil War), 359, 451
- Coral Sea, Battle of the, 680
- Corinth, Mississippi, 350
- Cornwallis, Lord Charles, 67, 70
- Corporations, control of, 532-33, 584; formations of, 389-90; lobbyists, 451; taxes, 638
- Corrupt practices laws, 530-31
- Cotton, slavery and, 244, 331-33
- Cotton gin, invention of, 243
- Cotton industry, pre-Civil War, 243-45
- Cotton mills, 378
- Coughlin, Father Charles E., 634-35, 638, 640, 642
- Cowboys, 414, 415
- Cox, James M., 572
- Crawford, William H., 252
- Crédit Mobilier, 448
- Creel, George, 563
- Crèvecoeur, Michel Guillaume Jean de, 19, 25, 28
- Crime, (1920's), 588; prison population (1910-1928), 599
- Crittenden Compromise, 343
- Cross of Gold speech, 460-61
- Croton Aqueduct, New York City, 398
- Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, 324
- Cuba, 484, 494, 496, 736; Bay of Pigs incident, 752; Ostend Manifesto on, 334; Platt Amendment on, 483-84; Spanish-American War, 476-78, 483; sugar industry, 484; under military rule, 483, 484
- Cuban Missile Crisis, 753
- Cullen, Countess, 590
- Cumberland, Maryland, 226
- Cumberland River, 227
- Currency system, 17, 621; bank notes, 225, 431-32; cheap money demands, 430-32; Confederate, 357; Continental Con-
- gress, 70, 89; deflation, 430, 431; gold reserves, 751; gold standard, 430-31; Greenbacks, 357, 430-31; Gresham's Law on, 430; inflation, defined, 430; quantity theory of, 430; New Deal on, 621-22
- Curry, John Steuart, 648
- Curtis, George W., 452
- Cushing, Caleb, 335-36
- Custer, George, 414
- Czechoslovakia, 657-58, 659; Soviet invasion of 1968, 774
- Dairy industry, 535
- Dallas, Texas, 522, 755
- Dana, James Dwight, 406
- Danbury Hatters' case, 524
- Daniels, Jonathan, 672
- Dartmouth College, 233, 652
- Dartmouth College v. Woodward, 233
- Darwinism, 476
- Daugherty, Harry M., 586
- Daughters of Liberty, 43, 45
- Davis, Jefferson, 344, 348, 358, 376
- Davis, John W., 581, 593, 632
- Davis Strait, 6
- Dawes, Charles G., 574
- Dawes, William, 50
- Dawes Act, 414
- Dayton, J., 136
- D-Day (World War II), 676, 679
- De Bow's Review, 334
- De Gaulle, Charles, 720, 754; Common Market and, 760; Paris student riots and, 774; World War II, 664, 685
- De Leon, Daniel, 536
- De Witt, Benjamin Parke, 526
- Debs, Eugene V., 438, 444; 1912 candidacy, 535, 536; imprisoned, 439, 524
- Debt, imprisonment for, 287, 288
- Decatur, Stephen, 199
- Declaration of Independence, 55-60, 62, 65, 72, 73, 87, 94, 108, 111, 206, 276, 386, 475, 527; nationalism and, 224; Preamble, 58-59
- Declaratory Act, 44
- Deere, John, 325
- Deflation, downward spiral of, 594

- Democracy**, American trends toward, 72-73; Jacksonian concept of, 260-63; Jeffersonian concept of, 164-65, 194-95, 260-63
- Democratic Party**, background of, 450-51; machine politics, 187; 1948 split, 700; Popocrats, 459; see also Elections
- Denmark**, 549, 552; World War II, 239, 663
- Depew**, Chauncey, 524
- Depression of 1921**, 568-69
- Depression of 1929**, 149, 546, 592-610, 782; agriculture and, 597; attempts to stem, 598-602; bank closings, 605, 609, 621; breadlines, 605, 596; breadlines, 605, 629; causes of, 596-98; economy in 1932, 605-06; fears of revolution, 606-7; march on Washington (1932), 607; mortgage foreclosures, 623, 629; overproduction and, 597; productive capacity during, 603; self-generating effects of, 597-98; stock market crash, 595-96; stock speculations, 597; unemployment, 605-6; World War I and, 596-97
- Depression of 1957-1959**, 751
- Detention Camps** (World War II), 684, 699
- Detroit**, Michigan, 772, race riots, 771, 772; War of 1812, 210
- DeVoto**, Bernard, 304
- Dewey**, George, 479, 482
- Dewey**, John, 534, 540
- Dewey**, Thomas E., 684, 700
- Diaz**, Adolfo, 577
- Diaz**, Porfirio, 548
- Dickinson**, John, 42, 136
- Diefenbaker**, John, 753-54
- Diem**, Ngo Dinh, 728
- Dienbienphu**, Battle of, 727, 728, 773
- Dime novels**, 404, 417
- Dingley Tariff**, 462, 511
- Diphtheria epidemics**, 19
- Direct primaries**, 530
- Dirksen**, Everett, 760
- Discrimination**, against immigrants, 579, 759; against Negroes, 539-40, 699; armed services, 744
- Disney**, Walt, 647
- District courts**, 129
- Dix**, Dorothea, 289, 291, 292, 357
- "Dixie"** (song), 300, 345, 365, 683
- Dixiecrats**, 758
- Dole**, Sanford B., 482
- Dollar diplomacy**, 498-500; repudiated, 547, 548
- Dominican Republic**, 492, 651, 752; U.S. marines in, 549, 577, 760
- Domino theory**, 728, 764
- Donnelly**, Ignatius, 456
- Douglas**, Stephen A., 318; Lincoln debates, 339-40
- Douglass**, Frederick, 284
- Dounes v. Bidwell**, 483
- Drago Doctrine**, 495
- Dred Scott v. Sanford**, 338-39, 340, 341, 369
- Du Bois**, William E. B., 540
- Dubcek**, Alexander, 774
- Dulles**, John Foster, 704, 727-28, 730
- Dunkirk**, evacuation of (1940), 662, 664
- Dunmore**, Charles Murray, 41
- Dunne**, Finley Peter, 390, 449, 505
- Dust Bowl**, 625
- Egypt**, 1930, 764-65
- Eckemeyer**, Rudolf, 585
- Eighteenth Amendment**, xii, 149, 570, 588
- Eightieth Congress**, 698-99
- Einaudi**, Mario, 645
- Einstein**, Albert, 704
- Eisenhower**, Dwight D., 127, 129, 700, 713, 718, 749-51; administration, 719, 746; attempted Japan visit (1960), 738; background of, 678; birth of, 678; domestic policies, 719-27; election of 1952, 718-19; election of 1956, 725-27; farm policy, 722-23; foreign policy, 727-40; illness, 725; in Korea, 719; military abilities, 679-80; NATO command, 709; South American policy, 736; U-2 plane incident, 738; World War II, 678, 680
- Eisenhower**, Milton S., 736
- Eisenhower Doctrine**, 730-31
- El Alamein**, battle of, 676
- Elections**, 1796, 181-82, 189, 1800, 125, 143, 185, 189; 1804, 196; 1808, 206; 1812, 208; 1816, 224; 1820, 196, 642; 1824, 125, 254, 255; 1828, 256-58, 265, 272; 1832, 268-69, 1840, 272-73, 274; 1844, 308-09, 318; 1848, 516-17; 1852, 336; 1856, 338; 1860, 343, 300, 341-42; 1864, 363; 1868, 372, 451; 1876, 373; 1876, 373; 1880, 452; 1884, 143, 452; 1888, 143; 1896, 451, 460-61, 554; 1900, 457-58; 1904, 507-09; 1908, 510-11; 1913; 1912, 514, 515, 517; 1916, 554, 555; 1920, 570, 572, 618; 1924, 581, 608; 1928, 592-93, 608; 1932, 149, 608-09, 632; 1934, 632; 1936, 196, 641-42; 1940, 151, 206, 669-70; 684; 1944, 151, 684; 1948, 700, 718; 1952, 701, 718-19; 1956, 143, 725-27; 1960, 148-49; 1964, 196, 770, 775; 1968, 775-77
- Electoral college**, 124, 125, 187, 208, 270, 777; popular vote and, 143
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965**, 758
- Eliot**, Charles W., 404, 405, 452, 480
- Eliot**, T. S., 588
- Elizabeth II**, Queen, 721
- Elk Hills**, California, 580
- Emancipation Proclamation**, 127, 361, 775; terms of, 362
- Embargo Act of 1807**, 235; repealed, 207; terms of, 205-06
- Emergency Banking Act**, 617
- Emergency Quota Act**, 580
- Emerson**, Ralph Waldo, 50, 74, 276, 280, 282, 336
- Emigrant Aid Society**, 338
- Employment**, English colonies, 14, 17; first women's strike, 287; immigration and, 579, 759; labor movement, 286-88; minimum age for, 534; Negroes, 682, 770, 774; New Deal, 629, 631, 635-36; plantation system, 333; population (1800-1850), 297; wage scale, 526-27; women, 283, 418, 441, 744; yellow-dog contracts, 627
- Employment Act of 1946**, 697
- Economy Act**, 622
- Edison**, Thomas Alva, 407
- Edmonds**, Walter, 606
- *Education**, 277-78; advances in, 277, 404-06, 534-35, 755; colonial period, 23-24; compulsory, 403; crisis in, 742-43; development of, 589; endowments, 406; expenditure per pupil (1900), 405; federal aid to, 86, 753; first coeducational college, 278; first college to admit Negroes, 278; first federal subsidy to, 86; kindergarten, 279; land grants for, 405, 406; lyceum movement, 279; medical school, 405, 406; Negro, 742, 744-45; progressive movement in, 534-35; Prussian public school, 292; reform movement in, 277-79; religious, 23, 290; segregation, 540; student riots, 773-74; technical school, 404, 406; for veterans, 743, 744; women, 278, 441
- Educational TV**, 740
- Egypt**, 1930, 764-65
- Eckemeyer**, Rudolf, 585
- Eighteenth Amendment**, xii, 149, 570, 588
- Eightieth Congress**, 698-99
- Einaudi**, Mario, 645
- Einstein**, Albert, 704
- Eisenhower**, Dwight D., 127, 129, 700, 713, 718, 749-51; administration, 719, 746; attempted Japan visit (1960), 738; background of, 678; birth of, 678; domestic policies, 719-27; election of 1952, 718-19; election of 1956, 725-27; farm policy, 722-23; foreign policy, 727-40; illness, 725; in Korea, 719; military abilities, 679-80; NATO command, 709; South American policy, 736; U-2 plane incident, 738; World War II, 678, 680
- Eisenhower**, Milton S., 736
- Eisenhower Doctrine**, 730-31
- El Alamein**, battle of, 676
- Elections**, 1796, 181-82, 189, 1800, 125, 143, 185, 189; 1804, 196; 1808, 206; 1812, 208; 1816, 224; 1820, 196, 642; 1824, 125, 254, 255; 1828, 256-58, 265, 272; 1832, 268-69, 1840, 272-73, 274; 1844, 308-09, 318; 1848, 516-17; 1852, 336; 1856, 338; 1860, 343, 300, 341-42; 1864, 363; 1868, 372, 451; 1876, 373; 1876, 373; 1880, 452; 1884, 143, 452; 1888, 143; 1896, 451, 460-61, 554; 1900, 457-58; 1904, 507-09; 1908, 510-11; 1913; 1912, 514, 515, 517; 1916, 554, 555; 1920, 570, 572, 618; 1924, 581, 608; 1928, 592-93, 608; 1932, 149, 608-09, 632; 1934, 632; 1936, 196, 641-42; 1940, 151, 206, 669-70; 684; 1944, 151, 684; 1948, 700, 718; 1952, 701, 718-19; 1956, 143, 725-27; 1960, 148-49; 1964, 196, 770, 775; 1968, 775-77
- Electoral college**, 124, 125, 187, 208, 270, 777; popular vote and, 143
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965**, 758
- Eliot**, Charles W., 404, 405, 452, 480
- Eliot**, T. S., 588
- Elizabeth II**, Queen, 721
- Elk Hills**, California, 580
- Emancipation Proclamation**, 127, 361, 775; terms of, 362
- Embargo Act of 1807**, 235; repealed, 207; terms of, 205-06
- Emergency Banking Act**, 617
- Emergency Quota Act**, 580
- Emerson**, Ralph Waldo, 50, 74, 276, 280, 282, 336
- Emigrant Aid Society**, 338
- Employment**, English colonies, 14, 17; first women's strike, 287; immigration and, 579, 759; labor movement, 286-88; minimum age for, 534; Negroes, 682, 770, 774; New Deal, 629, 631, 635-36; plantation system, 333; population (1800-1850), 297; wage scale, 526-27; women, 283, 418, 441, 744; yellow-dog contracts, 627
- Employment Act of 1946**, 697
- Economy Act**, 622
- Edison**, Thomas Alva, 407
- Edmonds**, Walter, 606
- *Education**, 277-78; advances in, 277, 404-06, 534-35, 755; colonial period, 23-24; compulsory, 403; crisis in, 742-43; development of, 589; endowments, 406; expenditure per pupil (1900), 405; federal aid to, 86, 753; first coeducational college, 278; first college to admit Negroes, 278; first federal subsidy to, 86; kindergarten, 279; land grants for, 405, 406; lyceum movement, 279; medical school, 405, 406; Negro, 742, 744-45; progressive movement in, 534-35; Prussian public school, 292; reform movement in, 277-79; religious, 23, 290; segregation, 540; student riots, 773-74; technical school, 404, 406; for veterans, 743, 744; women, 278, 441
- Educational TV**, 740
- Egypt**, 1930, 764-65
- Eckemeyer**, Rudolf, 585
- Eighteenth Amendment**, xii, 149, 570, 588
- Eightieth Congress**, 698-99
- Einaudi**, Mario, 645
- Einstein**, Albert, 704
- Eisenhower**, Dwight D., 127, 129, 700, 713, 718, 749-51; administration, 719, 746; attempted Japan visit (1960), 738; background of, 678; birth of, 678; domestic policies, 719-27; election of 1952, 718-19; election of 1956, 725-27; farm policy, 722-23; foreign policy, 727-40; illness, 725; in Korea, 719; military abilities, 679-80; NATO command, 709; South American policy, 736; U-2 plane incident, 738; World War II, 678, 680
- Eisenhower**, Milton S., 736
- Eisenhower Doctrine**, 730-31
- El Alamein**, battle of, 676
- Elections**, 1796, 181-82, 189, 1800, 125, 143, 185, 189; 1804, 196; 1808, 206; 1812, 208; 1816, 224; 1820, 196, 642; 1824, 125, 254, 255; 1828, 256-58, 265, 272; 1832, 268-69, 1840, 272-73, 274; 1844, 308-09, 318; 1848, 516-17; 1852, 336; 1856, 338; 1860, 343, 300, 341-42; 1864, 363; 1868, 372, 451; 1876, 373; 1876, 373; 1880, 452; 1884, 143, 452; 1888, 143; 1896, 451, 460-61, 554; 1900, 457-58; 1904, 507-09; 1908, 510-11; 1913; 1912, 514, 515, 517; 1916, 554, 555; 1920, 570, 572, 618; 1924, 581, 608; 1928, 592-93, 608; 1932, 149, 608-09, 632; 1934, 632; 1936, 196, 641-42; 1940, 151, 206, 669-70; 684; 1944, 151, 684; 1948, 700, 718; 1952, 701, 718-19; 1956, 143, 725-27; 1960, 148-49; 1964, 196, 770, 775; 1968, 775-77
- Electoral college**, 124, 125, 187, 208, 270, 777; popular vote and, 143
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965**, 758
- Eliot**, Charles W., 404, 405, 452, 480
- Eliot**, T. S., 588
- Elizabeth II**, Queen, 721
- Elk Hills**, California, 580
- Emancipation Proclamation**, 127, 361, 775; terms of, 362
- Embargo Act of 1807**, 235; repealed, 207; terms of, 205-06
- Emergency Banking Act**, 617
- Emergency Quota Act**, 580
- Emerson**, Ralph Waldo, 50, 74, 276, 280, 282, 336
- Emigrant Aid Society**, 338
- Employment**, English colonies, 14, 17; first women's strike, 287; immigration and, 579, 759; labor movement, 286-88; minimum age for, 534; Negroes, 682, 770, 774; New Deal, 629, 631, 635-36; plantation system, 333; population (1800-1850), 297; wage scale, 526-27; women, 283, 418, 441, 744; yellow-dog contracts, 627
- Employment Act of 1946**, 697
- Economy Act**, 622
- Edison**, Thomas Alva, 407
- Edmonds**, Walter, 606
- *Education**, 277-78; advances in, 277, 404-06, 534-35, 755; colonial period, 23-24; compulsory, 403; crisis in, 742-43; development of, 589; endowments, 406; expenditure per pupil (1900), 405; federal aid to, 86, 753; first coeducational college, 278; first college to admit Negroes, 278; first federal subsidy to, 86; kindergarten, 279; land grants for, 405, 406; lyceum movement, 279; medical school, 405, 406; Negro, 742, 744-45; progressive movement in, 534-35; Prussian public school, 292; reform movement in, 277-79; religious, 23, 290; segregation, 540; student riots, 773-74; technical school, 404, 406; for veterans, 743, 744; women, 278, 441
- Educational TV**, 740
- Egypt**, 1930, 764-65
- Eckemeyer**, Rudolf, 585
- Eighteenth Amendment**, xii, 149, 570, 588
- Eightieth Congress**, 698-99
- Einaudi**, Mario, 645
- Einstein**, Albert, 704
- Eisenhower**, Dwight D., 127, 129, 700, 713, 718, 749-51; administration, 719, 746; attempted Japan visit (1960), 738; background of, 678; birth of, 678; domestic policies, 719-27; election of 1952, 718-19; election of 1956, 725-27; farm policy, 722-23; foreign policy, 727-40; illness, 725; in Korea, 719; military abilities, 679-80; NATO command, 709; South American policy, 736; U-2 plane incident, 738; World War II, 678, 680
- Eisenhower**, Milton S., 736
- Eisenhower Doctrine**, 730-31
- El Alamein**, battle of, 676
- Elections**, 1796, 181-82, 189, 1800, 125, 143, 185, 189; 1804, 196; 1808, 206; 1812, 208; 1816, 224; 1820, 196, 642; 1824, 125, 254, 255; 1828, 256-58, 265, 272; 1832, 268-69, 1840, 272-73, 274; 1844, 308-09, 318; 1848, 516-17; 1852, 336; 1856, 338; 1860, 343, 300, 341-42; 1864, 363; 1868, 372, 451; 1876, 373; 1876, 373; 1880, 452; 1884, 143, 452; 1888, 143; 1896, 451, 460-61, 554; 1900, 457-58; 1904, 507-09; 1908, 510-11; 1913; 1912, 514, 515, 517; 1916, 554, 555; 1920, 570, 572, 618; 1924, 581, 608; 1928, 592-93, 608; 1932, 149, 608-09, 632; 1934, 632; 1936, 196, 641-42; 1940, 151, 206, 669-70; 684; 1944, 151, 684; 1948, 700, 718; 1952, 701, 718-19; 1956, 143, 725-27; 1960, 148-49; 1964, 196, 770, 775; 1968, 775-77
- Electoral college**, 124, 125, 187, 208, 270, 777; popular vote and, 143
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965**, 758
- Eliot**, Charles W., 404, 405, 452, 480
- Eliot**, T. S., 588
- Elizabeth II**, Queen, 721
- Elk Hills**, California, 580
- Emancipation Proclamation**, 127, 361, 775; terms of, 362
- Embargo Act of 1807**, 235; repealed, 207; terms of, 205-06
- Emergency Banking Act**, 617
- Emergency Quota Act**, 580
- Emerson**, Ralph Waldo, 50, 74, 276, 280, 282, 336
- Emigrant Aid Society**, 338
- Employment**, English colonies, 14, 17; first women's strike, 287; immigration and, 579, 759; labor movement, 286-88; minimum age for, 534; Negroes, 682, 770, 774; New Deal, 629, 631, 635-36; plantation system, 333; population (1800-1850), 297; wage scale, 526-27; women, 283, 418, 441, 744; yellow-dog contracts, 627
- Employment Act of 1946**, 697
- Economy Act**, 622
- Edison**, Thomas Alva, 407
- Edmonds**, Walter, 606
- *Education**, 277-78; advances in, 277, 404-06, 534-35, 755; colonial period, 23-24; compulsory, 403; crisis in, 742-43; development of, 589; endowments, 406; expenditure per pupil (1900), 405; federal aid to, 86, 753; first coeducational college, 278; first college to admit Negroes, 278; first federal subsidy to, 86; kindergarten, 279; land grants for, 405, 406; lyceum movement, 279; medical school, 405, 406; Negro, 742, 744-45; progressive movement in, 534-35; Prussian public school, 292; reform movement in, 277-79; religious, 23, 290; segregation, 540; student riots, 773-74; technical school, 404, 406; for veterans, 743, 744; women, 278, 441
- Educational TV**, 740
- Egypt**, 1930, 764-65
- Eckemeyer**, Rudolf, 585
- Eighteenth Amendment**, xii, 149, 570, 588
- Eightieth Congress**, 698-99
- Einaudi**, Mario, 645
- Einstein**, Albert, 704
- Eisenhower**, Dwight D., 127, 129, 700, 713, 718, 749-51; administration, 719, 746; attempted Japan visit (1960), 738; background of, 678; birth of, 678; domestic policies, 719-27; election of 1952, 718-19; election of 1956, 725-27; farm policy, 722-23; foreign policy, 727-40; illness, 725; in Korea, 719; military abilities, 679-80; NATO command, 709; South American policy, 736; U-2 plane incident, 738; World War II, 678, 680
- Eisenhower**, Milton S., 736
- Eisenhower Doctrine**, 730-31
- El Alamein**, battle of, 676
- Elections**, 1796, 181-82, 189, 1800, 125, 143, 185, 189; 1804, 196; 1808, 206; 1812, 208; 1816, 224; 1820, 196, 642; 1824, 125, 254, 255; 1828, 256-58, 265, 272; 1832, 268-69, 1840, 272-73, 274; 1844, 308-09, 318; 1848, 516-17; 1852, 336; 1856, 338; 1860, 343, 300, 341-42; 1864, 363; 1868, 372, 451; 1876, 373; 1876, 373; 1880, 452; 1884, 143, 452; 1888, 143; 1896, 451, 460-61, 554; 1900, 457-58; 1904, 507-09; 1908, 510-11; 1913; 1912, 514, 515, 517; 1916, 554, 555; 1920, 570, 572, 618; 1924, 581, 608; 1928, 592-93, 608; 1932, 149, 608-09, 632; 1934, 632; 1936, 196, 641-42; 1940, 151, 206, 669-70; 684; 1944, 151, 684; 1948, 700, 718; 1952, 701, 718-19; 1956, 143, 725-27; 1960, 148-49; 1964, 196, 770, 775; 1968, 775-77
- Electoral college**, 124, 125, 187, 208, 270, 777; popular vote and, 143
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965**, 758
- Eliot**, Charles W., 404, 405, 452, 480
- Eliot**, T. S., 588
- Elizabeth II**, Queen, 721
- Elk Hills**, California, 580
- Emancipation Proclamation**, 127, 361, 775; terms of, 362
- Embargo Act of 1807**, 235; repealed, 207; terms of, 205-06
- Emergency Banking Act**, 617
- Emergency Quota Act**, 580
- Emerson**, Ralph Waldo, 50, 74, 276, 280, 282, 336
- Emigrant Aid Society**, 338
- Employment**, English colonies, 14, 17; first women's strike, 287; immigration and, 579, 759; labor movement, 286-88; minimum age for, 534; Negroes, 682, 770, 774; New Deal, 629, 631, 635-36; plantation system, 333; population (1800-1850), 297; wage scale, 526-27; women, 283, 418, 441, 744; yellow-dog contracts, 627
- Employment Act of 1946**, 697
- Economy Act**, 622
- Edison**, Thomas Alva, 407
- Edmonds**, Walter, 606
- *Education**, 277-78; advances in, 277, 404-06, 534-35, 755; colonial period, 23-24; compulsory, 403; crisis in, 742-43; development of, 589; endowments, 406; expenditure per pupil (1900), 405; federal aid to, 86, 753; first coeducational college, 278; first college to admit Negroes, 278; first federal subsidy to, 86; kindergarten, 279; land grants for, 405, 406; lyceum movement, 279; medical school, 405, 406; Negro, 742, 744-45; progressive movement in, 534-35; Prussian public school, 292; reform movement in, 277-79; religious, 23, 290; segregation, 540; student riots, 773-74; technical school, 404, 406; for veterans, 743, 744; women, 278, 441
- Educational TV**, 740
- Egypt**, 1930, 764-65
- Eckemeyer**, Rudolf, 585
- Eighteenth Amendment**, xii, 149, 570, 588
- Eightieth Congress**, 698-99
- Einaudi**, Mario, 645
- Einstein**, Albert, 704
- Eisenhower**, Dwight D., 127, 129, 700, 713, 718, 749-51; administration, 719, 746; attempted Japan visit (1960), 738; background of, 678; birth of, 678; domestic policies, 719-27; election of 1952, 718-19; election of 1956, 725-27; farm policy, 722-23; foreign policy, 727-40; illness, 725; in Korea, 719; military abilities, 679-80; NATO command, 709; South American policy, 736; U-2 plane incident, 738; World War II, 678, 680
- Eisenhower**, Milton S., 736
- Eisenhower**

- Emporia Gazette, 419-20, 665
 England, see Great Britain
 English, Church of, 21, 72
 English colonies, 12-74;
 agriculture, 14, 15, 16;
 American resistance in,
 40-45; attempts to con-
 trol the West, 38; boy-
 cotts, 42-45, 48; disobe-
 dience of British laws,
 40-41; employment, 14,
 17; frontier life, 17-19;
 government, 12, 14, 25-
 26; imports, 45, 48; inde-
 pendence, 50-74; indus-
 try, 16-17; methods of
 colonization, 13-14; mid-
 dle region, 16; motives
 for, 13-14; New England,
 16-17; population (1750),
 12; postal service, 45;
 rising discontent in, 39;
 society, 11, 13, 17; south-
 ern region, 15-16; taxa-
 tion, 37-38, 37-38, 41-42,
 46, 47; threats to self-
 government, 38-40; trade,
 17, 21, 26-27, 37-42, 45;
 types of charter, 25
 English common law, 131,
 283, 393, 432, 533
 Enlightenment, 25, 93
 Entente Cordiale, 551
 Era of Good Feeling, 224
 Erie Canal, 230-31, 326,
 328, 427; construction
 of, 231; DeWitt Clinton
 and, 230
 Erie Railroad, 328, 427,
 448
 Esch-Cummins Act, 568
 Espionage and Sedition
 Acts, 563
 Estates-General (France),
 73-74
 Ethiopia, 656, 657
 Europe, colonial America
 and, 6-14, 33-36; eco-
 nomic aid to, 687, 706-9;
 imperialism of, 549-51,
 656; Iron Curtain in, 702;
 Latin America and, 237-
 38; NATO, 709; World
 War I in, 558-61; World
 War II in, 661-78; see
 also specific countries
 European Defense Commu-
 nity (EDC), 732
 European Economic Com-
 munity, 765
 Ex parte Milligan Case,
 359, 371
 Excise taxes, 167, 759-60
 Expedition Act (1903), 505
 Explorers, 3-6; see also
 names of explorers
 "Expression of Sentiments,"
 459
 Factory Girls' Association,
 287
 Factory system, 286
 Fair Employment Practices
 Commission, 699
 Fair Deal, 700-1, 716, 749,
 750
 Fair Lahor Standards Act,
 644, 646
 Fallen Timbers, Battle of,
 166
 Falmouth, Maine, burning
 of, 53
 Far East, see Asia
 Farley, James A., 635, 641,
 642
 Farm bloc, 595, 600; mean-
 ing of, 587
 Farm Board, 595, 600
 Farm cooperatives, 535,
 587
 Farm Credit Administra-
 tion, 623
 Farm Holiday Association,
 623
 Farm Settlement Adminis-
 tration, 644
 Farmers, see Agriculture
 Farragut, David, 349, 350,
 376
 Fascism, 640, 656, 659,
 664, 666, 703; meaning
 of, 656; rise of, 646
 Faubus, Orval, 745
 Faust, Jessie R., 590
 Federal courts, 128-30; ju-
 risdiction of, 130
 Federal Deposit Insurance
 Corporation (FDIC), 621
 Federal Emergency Relief
 Administration (FERA),
 628-29
 Federal Farm Loan Banks,
 524
 Federal Highways Act, 524
 Federal Home Loan Banks,
 601
 Federal Housing Agency,
 630
 Federal Power Commission
 (FPC), 637
 Federal Radio Commission,
 582
 Federal Reserve system,
 districts, 522; terms of,
 522-23
 Federal Reserve Banks,
 637, 721
 Federal Reserve Board, 595
 Federal Reserve System,
 621, 637, 721
 Federal Securities Act of
 1933, 621
 Federal system, 121-24
 Federal Trade Commission,
 578
 Federalist, The, 93, 94, 99,
 159, 172
 Federalists, 177, 224, 296;
 advantages of, 98-99;
 beginning of, 179-80;
 meaning of, 97-98; par-
 tisan legislation, 184-85;
 plan for secession of
 northeastern states, 201;
 Republicans and, 179-96;
 support of, 179
 Ferber, Edna, 420
 Ferdinand, Archduke, 551
 Fessenden, William Pitt,
 364
 Fidelismo movement, 752,
 760
 "Fifty-four forty or fight,"
 309, 316
 Filibusterers, meaning of,
 334
 Fillmore, Millard, 318, 338,
 470
 Final Solution program
 (Nazi Party), 656
 Finances, Civil War, 357;
 Continental Congress, 70,
 89; New Deal, 622
 Finland, 652, 663, 685
 Finlay, Carlos J., 483, 496
 Finnish War, 663, 685
 First Continental Congress,
 39, 48
 First Missouri Regiment,
 312
 Fish, Hamilton, 378, 379-
 80, 485
 Fishing industry, 4, 16-17
 Fisk, James J., 386, 427,
 448
 Fists of Universal Harmony,
 486
 Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 588
 FitzSimons, Thomas, 136
 Five-Power Treaty, 575,
 603
 Flatboats, 82, 83
 Florida, 207, 320-21, 375,
 750; ceded to U.S., 236-
 37; population growth,
 741
 Foch, Ferdinand, 561
 Following the Color Line
 (Baker), 529
 Food Administration (World
 War I), 562
 Foothall, 402, 583
 Ford, Henry, 582, 588, 627
 Ford Foundation, 739, 783
 Fordney-McCumber Tariff,
 578, 586, 597
 Foreign affairs, Civil War,
 360-62; Confederation
 period, 78-83; 1815-
 1825, 233-34; Johnson
 administration, 760-65;
 Kennedy administration,
 750, 751-55; McKinley
 administration, 462-66;
 Roosevelt (Theodore) ad-
 ministration, 490-502;
 Washington administra-
 tion, 169-71, 176-77
 Foreign aid, 736; American
 advantages in, 739-40
 Formosa, China and, 711,
 728-29; Japanese annexa-
 tion of (1895), 485
 Fort Duquesne, 34
 Fort McHenry, bombard-
 ment of, 211
 Fort Sumter, 344, 347, 348
 Fort Ticonderoga, 51, 54
 Fortune, Amos, 20
 Fourier, Charles, 290
 Four-Power Treaty, 575,
 576
 Fourteen Points (Wilson),
 564-65, 566-67; terms of,
 564
 France, 169, 688, 728;
 American Civil War and,
 362; appeasement policies,
 657-58; Berlin De-
 cree of 1806, 204; colonies,
 7-12, 36; Confed-
 eration period relations,
 83; Estates-General, 73-
 74; explorers, 3-4; Ger-
 man occupation (World
 War II), 664; imperi-
 alism, 475, 485, 551;
 oceanography research,
 767-68; Paris university
 riot (1968), 774; Revo-
 lutionary War aid, 55,
 65, 68, 70, 73; rivalry
 with England, 33; unde-
 clared wars, 121, 170,
 184; Washington Naval
 Conference, 575-76;
 World War I, 551-52,
 553, 555, 561; World
 War II, 661-63; 664,
 668, 671-72, 685
 Franco, Francisco, 656
 Franco-Prussian War, 358,
 551
 Franklin, Benjamin, 27-29,
 32, 33, 36, 45, 47, 52,
 58, 65, 70, 71, 73, 83,
 99, 136, 137; on Ameri-
 can Revolution, 62; back-
 ground of, 28; at Consti-
 tutional Convention, 92-
 93, 95; death of, 74;
 inventions of, 28, 29; in
 Paris, 68
 Franklin, State of, 84, 85
 Frazier, E. Franklin, 590
 Frazier-Lemke Farm Bank-
 ruptcy Act, 623

- Free silver controversy, 488; election of 1896 on, 460-61; gold and, 459-60; Greenbacks and, 431
- Free Soil Party, 317
- Freedmen's Bureau, 369, 370, 374
- Freedom, meaning of, 780; system of values, 782-83
- Freedom rides of 1961, 769
- Freeport Doctrine, 340
- Frémont, John C., 338
- French colonies, 7-12; end of, 36; government, 10-12; obstacles to, 10; Indian policy, 11, 21; industry, 10; Roman Catholic Church in, 10; trade, 10; West Indies, 10
- French and Indian War, 33-34, 35, 36
- French Revolution, 108, 169-70, 180, 188, 199, 375, 462, 608; beginning of, 74; Jefferson's attitude toward, 180
- French West Indies, 33, 83
- Frick, Henry C., 395
- Friends of Universal Reform, 292
- Frost, Robert, 3, 588, 749
- Fuel Administration (World War I), 562
- Fugitive Slave Law, 317, 318, 336, 339
- Fulbright, J. William, 764, 777
- Full Employment Act, 701
- Fulton, Robert, 229
- Fulton, Missouri, 702
- Funding Act, 195
- Funding bill of 1790, 160, 162
- Fur trade, 4, 10, 11, 16, 27, 79, 84, 90, 235; beaver pelt, 304; Indians, 79, 304; mountain men, 304-5; sea otter, 304
- Gadsden, Christopher, 42
- Gadsden Purchase, 313, 410; cost of, 334
- Gage, Thomas, 47, 50, 53
- Galbraith, John Kenneth, 765
- Gallatin, Albert, 173, 216, 261
- Gallup poll, 658-59, 777
- Gandhi, Mahatma, 746
- Gardoqui, Diego de, 83
- Garfield, James A., 463; assassination of, 449, 452; election of 1880, 452
- Garland, Hamlin, 420, 427
- Garment industry, 324, 526
- Garner-Wagner bill, 601
- Garrison, William Lloyd, 284, 285, 292
- Gary, Indiana, 770
- Gavin, James M., 764
- Caspée (boat), 45
- Gates, Horatio, 68
- Gemini 6, 767
- Gemini 7, 767
- General Motors Corporation, 393, 582, 640
- Genesee River, 228, 231
- Genesee Valley, 169
- Genêt, Edmond, 170-71, 173, 183
- Geneva, New York, 288
- Geneva Agreement, 728
- Geneva Conference, 604
- Genghis Khan, 60
- Gentlemen's Agreement, 499, 580
- George, Henry, 445, 457
- George I, King, 47
- George II, King, 47
- George III, King, 24, 32, 54, 72, 74, 125, 156, 233; American Petition to, 53; attitude toward colonies, 47-48; grievances against, 60
- Georgia, 342, 375, 522, 772; Civil War, 351-53; colonial period, 48; cotton plantations, 244; Indians in, 263; Revolutionary War, 69
- Germantown, Pennsylvania, 61, 67
- Germany, 204, 534, 551, 636, 706, 754, 760; annexes Czechoslovakia, 657-58, 659; depression, 604; end of monarchy in, 569; imperialism, 475, 485; nonaggression treaty with U.S.S.R., 661; unemployment rate (1931), 604; Venezuelan blockade of, 494; World War I, 551-58, 561, 661; World War II, 661-64, 672-80; *see also* East Germany; West Germany
- Gershwin, George, 589
- Gettysburg, Battle of, 353, 354, 452; casualties, 348
- Chana, 734
- Ghent, Treaty of, 224, 234; terms of, 216
- GI Bill of Rights, 742
- Gibbons v. Ogden, 119, 233
- Gibbs, Josiah Willard, 406
- Gila River Valley, 410
- Gilbert, William S., 179
- Gildersleeve, Virginia C., 688
- Gilman, Daniel, 404
- Gilman, Illinois, 429
- Gilpin, Charles, 590
- Ginger, Bay, 455-56
- Girl Scouts of America, 534
- Gladstone, William E., 108
- Glass, Carter, 547
- Glassboro, New Jersey, 765
- Glass-Steagall Act, 621
- Glenn, John, 767
- Goering, Hermann, 655
- Goethals, George W., 496, 497-98
- Gold, 3, 6; California strike of 1849, 317-18, 430
- Gold standard, 430-31, 455; abandonment of, 622; Bryan on, 460-61; free silver controversy and, 459-60; meaning of, 430
- Goldberg, Arthur, 764; as ambassador to the U.N., 766; as Secretary of Labor, 751
- Goldwater, Barry, 758, 770
- Gompers, Samuel, 437, 506, 536
- Gomulka, Wladyslaw, 732
- Good Neighbor policy, 650-52, 653; applied to Canada, 660-61
- Goodyear, Charles, 324
- Gorgas, William C., 483-84, 497-98; background of, 496
- Gould, Jay, 427, 436, 448
- Government, carpetbag, 370, 372; checks and balances system, 112-21; during Civil War, 358-59; cities, 531; French colonies, 10-12; industrial policies, 388; Jacksonian concept of, 260-63; Jeffersonian concept of, 164-65, 194-95, 260-63; Ordinance of 1787 and, 88; town meeting, 26; *see also* names of countries
- Grand Coulee Dam, 631, 645
- Grange, The, 427-29, 456, 527, 535; laws of, 428-29
- Grant, Ulysses S., 151, 300, 376, 452, 455, 470, 485, 701; administration, 372-73, 379-80, 386, 372, 448-49; at Appomattox Court House, 355; Civil War, 350, 354-55; election of 1868, 372; Mexican War, 312
- Gray, Asa, 280-81, 406
- Gray, Thomas, 34
- Great Britain, 5, 586, 622, 688, 728; Admiralty
- courts, 40; American railroad securities (1900), 409-10; appeasement policies, 657-58; Civil War and, 361-62; Confederation period relations, 79; Confederacy and, 361-62; explorers, 3-4; Glorious Revolution of 1688-58; government, 113, 117, 119; imperialism, 475, 485, 551; impressment policy, 205, 207, 208; Industrial Revolution, 241; Jay Treaty, 167; London Naval Conference, 603; Panama Canal toll dispute, 548; parliamentary privileges in, 117; rivalry with France, 33; rivalry with Spain, 12-13; Trent affair, 361; unions, 437; Venezuela boundary crisis (1895-1896), 463-66; Venezuelan blockade (1902), 494; Washington Naval Conference, 575-76; World War I, 551-52, 555, 558-59, 561; World War II, 661-63, 664, 668-71
- Great Eastern (steamship), 342
- Great Northern Railroad, 410-12, 438
- Great Plains, 417-20; agriculture, 417, 418, 419; dust storms of 1933-1935, 625; 1880's drought, 455; settlement of, 409-24, 417-18
- Great Republic (clipper), 326
- Great Society program, 758-65; domestic policies, 758-60; foreign affairs, 760-65
- Greece, 703, 732; communist aggression in, 696, 701, 706; Guerrilla warfare, 706; independence, 738; World War II, 671, 674
- Greeley, Horace, 290, 324, 373, 424, 455
- Green, William, 639
- Green Mountain Boys, 51
- Greenbacks (currency), 357, 431; Civil War, 430; free silver and, 431
- Greene, Nathaniel, 65
- Greenland, 12, 669, 671; World War II, 639
- Greenville, Treaty of, 166-67
- Grenville, George, 37, 38, 39

- Gresham's Law, 430
 Grierson, Francis, 326
 Griswold, Roger, 181
 Guadalcanal, Battle of, 680
 Guadalupe, 10
 Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of, 313, 316
 Guam, 474, 673; Spanish American War, 480
 Guatemala, 734-36
Guerrêre (frigate), 214
 Guerrilla warfare, 728; Greece, 706; Vietnam War, 761
 Guinea, Republic of, 734
 Gulf of Aqaba, 764
 Gulf of Tonkin incident, 761
 Gun control, 774
- Habeas corpus, writ of, 122, 123; Lincoln's suspension of, 359
 Hague Conference of 1907, 501
 Haiti, 10, 366; revolution of 1791, 199; U.S. marines in, 549, 651
 Hale, Nathan, 64-65
 Halifax, Lord Edward, 658
 Hamilton, Alexander, 94, 99, 136, 157-65, 169, 170, 173, 179, 183, 184, 188, 194, 225, 226, 457, 517, 524, 619; at Annapolis Convention, 90; background of, 159; birth of, 159; compared to Jefferson, 164-65; at Constitutional Convention, 93; death of, 202; duel with Burr, 201-2; financial program of, 160-62, 176; gunpowder tariff proposal, 162; opposition to policies of, 162-65; promotion of industrial growth, 161-62; as Secretary of the Treasury, 159-64
 Hamilton, Andrew, 25
 Hammerskjöld, Dag, 734
 Hancock, John, 97
 Hancock, Winfield S., 452
 Hand, Learned, 780
 Hangtown, California, 240
 Hanna, Mark, 460, 461, 477, 487, 504-6; death of, 508
 Hapsburg family, 569
 Hardin, Lil, 589
 Harding, Warren C., 592, 597, 604, 652, 701; administration, 573-80, 586, 587; death of, 573, 580; domestic policies, 578-80; election of 1920, 572-73, 574; foreign affairs, 573-78; front porch campaign, 572; Teapot Dome scandal, 580
 Harlem (New York City) Renaissance, 590
 Harper, William R., 404
 Harpers Ferry, Virginia, 340
 Harper's Weekly, 448, 449, 452, 777, 780
 Harris, Abram L., 590
 Harris, Joel Chandler, 374
 Harris poll, 777
 Harrison, Benjamin, 143, 471; administration, 454-55, 510; election, 454
 Harrison, Richard B., 590
 Harrison, William H., 297, 777; death of, 274; election of 1840, 272-73, 274; Indian treaties of, 203; at Tippecanoe, 203, 204, 272; War of 1812, 210
 Hartford, Connecticut, 14
 Hartford Convention, 213-17
 Hague Conferences, 501
 Harvard University, 404, 405, 528; founded, 24
 Havana, Cuba, 669
 Havemeyer, Henry O., 432
 Havre de Grace, Maryland, 212
 Hawaii, annexation of, 463, 480-82; industry, 482; statehood, 481, 726; World War II, 672, 673
 Hawley-Smoot Tariff, 600, 602, 652
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 280
 Hay, John, 485, 497, 498, 575; death of, 502; open door notes, 485-86
 Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, 497
 Hay-Herran Treaty, 497
 Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 497, 548
 Hayes, Roland, 590
 Hayes, Rutherford B., 451, 471; administration, 431, 436, 451-52; election of, 1876, 373-74
 Haymarket Square riot, 437, 442
 Hayne, Robert Y., 266; Webster debate, 264-65
 Hearst, William R., 477
 Helena, Montana, 417
 Helper, Hinton R., 341
 Hellingpauer, Ernest, 588
 Henry, Joseph, 281
 Henry, Patrick, 41, 45, 97, 172, 243
 Henry Street Settlement
- House, 442
 Hepburn Act, 509
 Hessians, 53, 63, 65, 67
 Hill, James J., 410-12, 438
 Hiroshima, bombing of, 681
 Hitler, Adolf, 604, 616, 646, 652, 655, 656-59, 661, 663-66, 669-72, 674, 676
 Ho Chi Minh, 727, 764
 Hoffman, Paul, 697, 709
 Holding companies, 433, 584
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr., 528-29, 563
 Home Owners' Loan Corporation, 629-30
 Homestead Act, 418-19, 455; terms of, 418
 Homestead lockout of 1892, 395, 434-35, 455, 457
 Homesteads, 414, 417, 420, 422-24
 Hooker, Joseph, 355
 Hoover, Herbert, 149, 183, 572, 574, 609, 610, 621, 632, 651, 652, 670, 720, 721, 734; administration, 594-608, 622; appointed Secretary of Commerce, 580, 586, 592; Belgium relief work, 562, 601, 602; Depression of 1929, 595-608; disarmament policy, 602-4; election of 1928, 592-93; political inexperience of, 598-600; political philosophy, 593-94; South America policy, 602; vetoes of, 601-2, 605
 Hoover Moratorium of 1931, 604, 652
 Hoover-Stimson Doctrine, 604-5
 Hopkins, Harry, 628, 636
 House of Burgesses, 14
 House of Representatives, committees, 115; Constitution on, 112; election of 1800, 187-88; election of 1824, 254; gag rule, 286; organization and rules, 115, 116, 286; presidential elections, 125; privileges and restraints, 116; qualifications, 112; size of, 115
 Housing and Urban Affairs, Department of, 759
 Houston, Sam, 307-8
 Howe, Sir William, 54, 67-68; troop strength of, 65
Huckleberry Finn (Twain), 326, 426
 Hudson's Bay Company, 304, 305, 316
 Huerta, Victoriano, 129, 548
- Hughes, Charles Evans, 530, 554, 555, 570, 572, 575, 639
 Hughes, Langston, 590
 Huguenots, 10, 14, 19
 Hukbalahaps, 709-10
 Hull, Cordell, 650, 651, 654, 660, 672
 Hull House, 442, 539
 Humphrey, Hubert H., 755, 775
 Hungary, 574; end of monarchy in, 569; revolution of 1956, 729, 730, 732-33; World War I, 551
 Hutchinson, Anne, 22
 Hutchinson, Thomas, 43-44
 Hydrogen bomb, 704
- Ibo tribe, 77
 Iceland, 671, 709
 Ickes, Harold, 620, 629
 Idaho, 442, 455
 Immigration, 222, 223, 329-31; colonial period, 19; 1820-1850, 297; 1840-1860, 329; 1870-1900, 389; employment and, 579, 759; growth of, 471; and labor, 388, 389; quota system, 759; restrictions on, 439, 579-80
 Immigration Act of 1924, 550, 761
 Immigration Act of 1965, 759
 Impeachment, Constitution on, 112, 114, 115, 128; meaning of, 129; as a political weapon, 196
 Imperialism, 475-88, 549; in the Caribbean, 478; in China, 484-86; Constitution and, 483; in the Pacific, 479-80; as a political issue, 487; problems of overseas empire, 481-84
 Impressment, British policy of, 205, 207, 208
 Income tax, 123, 131, 513, 520; Constitution on, 146; declared unconstitutional (1895), 533
 Indentured servants, 17, 20; 132, 133
 Independent Treasury Act, 272
 Independent Treasury System, 310, 311
 India, 100, 704, 728
 Indian Intercourse Act, 301-2
 Indians, acreage taken from (1887-1934), 414; buffalo slaughtering and,

- 412-14; colonial period, 7, 11, 13, 21, 38; denied right to vote, 73; Jacksonian democracy and, 263; Jefferson's policy toward, 203; raids (1789-1795), 165-67; reservations, 263, 414; in revolutionary war, 68, 168-69; white man's diseases and, 305
- Indochina**, 671-72, 703, 727-28
- Indonesia**, Republic of, 704, 728, 729
- Industrial Revolution**, 417, 418; early effects of, 242-43
- Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)**, 536-38, 569
- Industry**, automation in, 770; colonial period, 4, 7, 10, 16-17; development of, 241-45; growth of, 324, 325, 376-78, 387-407; Hamilton and, 161-62; World War I, 562; New Deal on, 625-26; overproduction, 597; production capacity (1932), 606; War of 1812, 225-26; *see also* Big Business
- Inflation**, Civil War, 433-34; upward spiral of, 697; war prosperity and, 697-98; World War II control, 683
- Initiative**, referendum, and recall, 530
- Inouye**, Daniel K., 775
- Insular Cases** (U.S. Supreme Court), 483
- Inter-American Economic and Social Council**, 752
- Intermediate Credits Act**, 587
- Internal Revenue Service**, 701
- International Brotherhood of Teamsters**, 723-24
- International Court of Justice**, 688, 703
- International Economic Conference of 1933**, 652-54
- International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (I.L.G.W.U.)**, 722, 723
- International Red Cross**, 358
- Interstate Commerce Act**, 432, 433, 505, 509; terms of, 429-30
- Interstate Commerce Commission**, 429, 433, 578, 745; jurisdiction of, 509, 513, 637; power of, 513, 568
- Interventionists** (World War II), 665-66, 670
- Intolerable Acts**, 39, 47, 48
- Iowa**, 419, 741
- Iraq**, 730
- Ireland**, 70, 330
- Iron industry**, 247, 324, 377-78
- Iroquois Indians**, 11, 16, 21, 168-69
- Irving**, Washington, 280
- Isolationism**, 568, 658-59, 665-66, 670, 687
- Israel**, 704, 729, 765
- Italy**, 551; annexes Albania, 656, 657; fascism in, 656; imperialism, 475; London Naval Conference, 603; Washington Naval Conference, 575-76; World War I, 551, 555; World War II, 664, 672, 676
- Two Jima**, Battle of, 680
- Jackson**, Andrew, 127, 129, 233, 243, 255-73, 288, 297, 302, 307, 310, 450, 618; administration, 260-70, 271, 308; background of, 258-59; Calhoun and, 265, 266; democratic concepts of, 260-63; duels of, 259; on 1824 election, 255; election of 1828, 256-58; election of 1832, 268-69; inauguration, 260, 261; Indian policies, 263; Maysville Road veto, 266; at battle of New Orleans, 210-13, 256; nullification theory and, 265, 266-67; opposition to Bank of United States, 268, 269; Peggy Eaton affair, 266; in Revolutionary War, 260; pursues Seminoles in Florida, 236-37; Specie circular, 271; vetoes of, 262-63, 266, 268; in War of 1812, 259, 260
- Jackson**, Helen Hunt, 414
- Jackson**, Thomas J. "Stonewall", 353
- Jackson**, Mississippi, 351
- Jaffrey**, New Hampshire, 20
- James**, Henry, 426
- James**, Jesse, 417
- James**, William, 406, 528
- James**, H. King, 58
- Jamestown**, Virginia, 6, 14
- Japan**, aggression against China, 658-59; emergence as world power, 484; London Naval Conference, 603; Manchuria seizure (1931), 603, 604; opposition to Eisenhower visit, 738; Perry's expeditions to, 336; U. S. occupation of (1945-1951), 710; Washington Conference, 574-77; World War II, 671-74, 680-81; Yap Island dispute, 574
- Japanese-Americans**, 683-84, 699
- Jay**, John, 71, 91, 171-72; background of, 172
- Jay Treaty**, 167, 171, 183; opposition to, 173; ratification of, 173, 181; terms of, 172-73
- Jay-Gardoqui Treaty**, 83, 84, 172, 173
- Jazz music**, 546, 589
- Jefferson**, Thomas, 57, 58-60, 72, 73, 87, 108, 121, 133, 137-39, 143, 151, 163, 169, 170, 173, 176, 185, 210, 224, 225, 231-32, 238, 243, 259, 262, 264, 278, 296, 325, 450, 457, 517, 552, 567; administration, 195, 198-207; attitude toward French Revolution, 180; compared to Hamilton, 164-65; democratic government concepts of, 164-65, 194-95, 260-63; election of 1796, 181-82; election of 1800, 185-88; election of 1804, 196; inaugural address, 193-94, 210, 239; Indian policy, 203; as minister to France, 83; scientific achievements, 191-93; on slavery, 72
- Jellicoe**, John, 558
- Jesuit missionaries**, 5, 11
- Jews**, 99, 581, 702; colonial period, 22, 23; World War II, 656
- Job Corps**, 758-59, 783
- John Birch Society**, 758
- John Brown's Body** (Re-nét), 606
- Johns Hopkins University**, 404, 406, 528
- Johnson**, Andrew, 151, 378, 470; administration, 326-71; impeached, 113, 371; reconstruction policies, 366-67
- Johnson**, Eastman, 392
- Johnson**, Hugh S., 626, 628
- Johnson**, Lyndon B., 129, 196, 748, 765, 755-74; administration, 758-74; consensus beliefs, 750-60; domestic policies, 758-60; Dominican crisis, 760; election of 1964, 755-78; foreign affairs, 760-65; Great Society program, 758-65; immigration policy, 759; legislative skills, 775; Negro votes for, 770; Nixon and, 777
- Johnson Act of 1934**, 652
- Johnston**, Albert Sidney, 350
- Johnston**, Joseph, 355
- Joint Committee on Reconstruction**, 367
- Jordan**, 730, 764-65
- Joseph**, Chief, 414
- Juárez**, Benito, 378
- Judicial review**, 131, 137; Marshall and, 196
- Judicial system**, 128-33
- Judiciary Act of 1789**, 129, 135, 196
- Judiciary Act of 1801**, 195-96
- Jungle**, *The* (Sinclair), 529
- Kamikaze pilots**, 680
- Kansas**, 419-20; population growth, 421; settlement of, 336-38
- Kansas-Nebraska Act**, 336-38
- Kaskaskia**, Illinois, 70
- Katanga**, province of, 734
- Kearny**, Stephen, 312, 313
- Keating-Owen Child Labor Act**, 524
- Kefauver**, Estes, 750
- Kellogg-Briand Treaty**, 577, 604, 672
- Kennedy**, John F., 3, 129, 748-55, 758, 780; administration, 749-55; assassination of, 115, 755-59; background of, 748; civil rights legislation, 750; Cuban missile crisis, 753; domestic policies, 749-51; on Cold War, 754; election of 1960, 748-49; foreign affairs, 750, 751-55; New Frontier program, 748-54; Vienna meeting, 754
- Kennedy**, Mrs. John F., 749
- Kennedy**, Joseph P., 622
- Kennedy**, Robert, 769, 773, assassination of, 774
- Kentucky**, 84, 167; in Civil War, 350
- Kentucky resolutions**, 185, 194, 264

- Key, Francis Scott, 211
 Keynes, John Maynard, 594, 624
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 733, 734, 738, 752, 755, 760;
 Cuban missile crisis, 753;
 state visit to U.S., 738;
 Vienna meeting, 754
 King, Martin Luther, Jr.,
 746, 770, 771; assassination
 of, 773
 Knights of the Golden
 Circle, 359
 Knights of Labor, 436-37,
 441, 457
 Know Nothings, 330-31,
 341, 442, 581
 Knox, Frank, 670, 672
 Knox, Philander C., 498
 Korea, 498, 685, 696, 761;
 division of, 712-13;
 Eisenhower in, 719
 Korean War, 121, 712-14,
 718, 720; beginning of,
 701, 713; end of, 714,
 727-28
 Kosciuszko, Thaddeus, 65
 Kosygin, Alexsei, 765
 Ku Klux Klan, 373, 570,
 580, 592, 699, 772;
 aims of, 581
 Kuomintang, 711
 La Follette, Robert, 509,
 510, 581, 700
 Labor movement, 286-88,
 584-86; advances in,
 638-39, 723; collapse of,
 288; difficulties, 723-24;
 federal regulation of,
 430; first women's strike,
 287; immigration and,
 388, 389; mobility, 388,
 434; mobilization of
 (World War I), 562;
 New Deal legislation on,
 625-28; 1920's, 584-86,
 599; in 1933, 624; op-
 position to Taft-Hartley
 Act, 698-99; Populist
 party and, 457-59; right
 to organize, 627-28; see
 also names of unions;
 Unions
 Ladd, William, 290
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 65
 LaGuardia, Fiorello H.,
 641, 647, 648
 Laisssez-faire, 398, 428,
 451, 457, 536, 578, 581,
 645, 720
 Lake Champlain, 210
 Lake Erie, canals to, 230-
 31, 326, 328, 427;
 Perry's victory on, 210,
 212, 216
 Lake Michigan, 210
 Lake Ontario, 234
 Lake Superior, Jesuit map
 of (1670-1671), 5
 Land Ordinance of 1785,
 86, 87, 405
 Landon, Alfred M., 641-42
 Laos, 728; Communist in-
 filtration of, 750-51
 Las Casas, Bartolomeo de, 6-
 7
 Lazarus, Emma, 386
 League of Armed Neutral-
 ity, 68
 League of Nations, 567,
 570, 572, 581, 688; as
 campaign issue in 1920,
 572-73; charter, 604;
 Geneva Conference, 603-
 4; members, 604; world
 court, 574
 Lease, Mary E., 459
 LeClerc, Charles, 199
 Lee, Richard Henry, 55, 57,
 90, 97
 Lee, Robert E., 300, 366,
 373; at Appomattox
 Court House, 355; at-
 tempts to invade the
 North, 353-54; Civil
 War, 350, 353-55, 362;
 Mexican War, 312
 Lemke, William, 642
 Lend Lease, 668-71, 685
 L'Enfant, Pierre, 190
 Lenin, Nikolai, 654
 Lesseps, Ferdinand de, 496
*Letters from an American
 Farmer* (Crèvecoeur), 19
 Lever Act, 564
 Lewis, John L., 568, 639,
 698, 699
 Lewis, Meriwether, 200-1
 Lewis, Sinclair, 583, 588
 Lexington, Battle of, 39, 50,
 62, 63
 Lexington, Kentucky, 84
Liberator, *The* (newspaper),
 284, 285, 292
 Liberia, 243
 Liberty Bonds, 563
 Liberty Loans, 563
 Liberty Party, 284, 317,
 309
 Library of Congress, 192
 Liuloukalani, Queen, 463,
 481
 Lima, Peru, 659-60
 Lincoln, Abraham, 84, 127,
 143, 149, 249, 283, 289,
 300, 311, 322, 339-40,
 400, 450, 470, 475, 485,
 563; administration, 342-
 65; Africa, colonization
 idea, 366; assassination
 of, 360, 365; on Civil
 War, 347; Douglas de-
 bates, 339-40; election
 of 1860, 341-42; elec-
 tion of 1864, 363-64;
 Inaugural Address, 343,
 344, 364-65, 366; pocket
 veto, 366; power of, 358-
 60; reconstruction pol-
 icy, 365-66; on slavery,
 364-65; suspends right of
 habeas corpus, 359
 Lindbergh, Charles A., 666
 Lindsay, Vachel, 440, 461
 Lippmann, Walter, 502,
 572, 617, 764
Literary Digest poll, 642
 Literature, 280; anti-New
 Deal, 632; dime novels,
 404, 417; Muckrakers,
 529-30; 1920's, 588;
 paperback books, 740;
 Sod House frontier, 420
 Lithuania, 663
 Little Big Horn, Battle of,
 414
 Little Rock, Arkansas, 745
 Litvinov, Maxim, 655
 Livingston, Robert, 199-
 200
 Livingston, William, 136
 Lloyd, Henry D., 432
 Lloyd George, David, 565,
 566
Lochner v. New York, 145
 Locke, John, 25, 58, 72, 94
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 442,
 462, 568
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr.,
 748
 London, Jack, 535
 London, Treaty of, 656
 London Naval Conference
 (1930), 603
 Long, Crawford W., 281
 Long, Huey, 607, 635, 640
 Long, John D., 479
Looking Backward (Bel-
 lamy), 445, 535
 Lopez, Narciso, 334
 Los Angeles, California,
 772
 Louis XIV, King, 10
 Louis XI, King, 73-74
 Louisburg, Fort of, 34
 Louisiana, 342, 375; cotton
 plantations, 334; state
 constitution, 151
 Louisiana Purchase, 133,
 151, 196, 199-200;
 northern boundary, 235,
 236
 Louisville, Kentucky, 229,
 247
 Lowell, James Russell, 280,
 311
 Lowell, Massachusetts, 242
 Loyalists (Revolutionary
 War), 54, 63, 69, 73, 79,
 180; number of, 70
 Ludlow Resolution, 659
 Luna, J. 767
 Lundy, Benjamin, 284
Lusitania (ship), 205, 553
 Lutheran Church, 21
 Lyceum movement, 279
 Lynn, Massachusetts, 287
 Lyon, Mathew, 181, 185
 Lyons, Lord Richard Bick-
 erton, 360
 McAdoo, William G., 581
 MacArthur, Douglas, 678,
 680, 710; removed from
 command, 713; World
 War II, 673
 McCarthy, Eugene, 773,
 774, 775
 McCarthy, Joseph R., 716;
 Communist investiga-
 tions, 724-25
 McClellan, George, 355,
 363
 McClellan, John L., 723-24
 McCormick reaper, 325
 McCosh, James, 404
McCulloch v. Maryland,
 232, 262
 MacDonald, Ramsay, 602-3
 Macdonough, Thomas, 210
 McGovern, George, 777
 McKay, Claude, 590
 McKinley, William, 476,
 491, 501, 504, 505, 554,
 572; administration, 462,
 476-81; assassination of,
 488; election of 1896,
 460-61
 McKinley Tariff, 454-55,
 459, 462, 463
 Macmillan, Harold, 754
 McNary-Haugen Bill, 587,
 623
 Macomb, Alexander, 210
 Macdon's Bill (1810), 207
 Madero, Francisco, 548
 Madison, James, 94, 99,
 151, 157, 173, 185, 238,
 243, 261, 264, 266, 642;
 administration, 203, 207,
 225-27; opposition to
 Bank of United States,
 162-63
 Magna Carta, 14, 42
 Mahan, Alfred T., 466, 476
 Maine, 303-4; prohibition
 law (1851), 289
Maine incident, 477
 Malaya, 703, 728
 Manchuria, 498, 500, 603,
 604
 Manifest Destiny, 301-3,
 309, 334
 Manila Bay, Battle of, 477,
 479, 482
 Mann, Horace, 277, 292
 Mann, Mary, 279

- Mann-Elkins Act, 513
Mansfield, Mike, 764
Nao Tse-tung, 708, 711, 728
Mapmaking, development of, 5
Marbury v. Madison, 135, 196
March of Dimes, xii, 744
March of Time, The, 647
March on Washington of 1932, 607
March on Washington of 1963, 769-70, 772, 773, 774
Marietta, Ohio, 168
Marin, John, 589
Mariner 4, 767
Marion, Francis, 57
Markham, Edwin, 520
Marsh, Othniel C., 406
Marshall, George C., 678-79, 705, 708, 711
Marshall, John, 202, 223, 258; criticism of, 233; Jackson and, 262-63; judicial decisions of, 231-33; judicial review and, 196
Marshall Plan, xii, 687, 752; appropriations for, 709; terms of, 706-9
Martin, Homer S., 639
Martineau, Harriet, 245
Martinique, 10
Marx, Karl, 444-45, 536
Maryand, 22, 85; Civil War, 359; colonial period, 14, 22
Mason, George, 57, 137
Mason, James, 361
Mason-Dixon line, 188, 255
Massachusetts, colonial period, 14, 22, 24, 40, 42, 43; Committee of Public Safety, 50; Confederation period, 89; xii, 23, 278; labor movement, 288; population growth, 246; Shay's Rebellion in, 89-90, 167
Massachusetts School of Law of 1647, xii
Mather, Cotton, 24
Matthew, Father Theobald, 292
Maumee River, 245
Maury, Matthew, 281
Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, 378-79
Mayflower Compact, 14, 306
Maxville Road veto, 266
Meade, George G., 312-13, 354
Meat Inspection Act, 530
Medicare, 750, 759
Medicine, 743-44; advances in, 766-67; education in, 405; first use of ether as anesthetic, 281; organ transplants, 767
Medina, Harold, 716
Mehan, Alfred, 494
Mellon, Andrew, 587, 579, 597, 638
Melville, Herman, 280
Memphis, Tennessee, 350, 773
Menckes, H. L., 546, 588
Mennonites, 20, 21
Mercantilism, 10, 26
Merchant Marine, 555; expansion of, 325-26
Meredith, James M., 769
Merimac (ironclad), 349
Mesitizos, 7
Methodists, 21, 290, 292
Metternich, Clemens von, 237
Mexican Cession, 320-21
Mexican War, 273, 280, 309-13, 316, 334
Mexico, 302, 309-13, 334, 558, 651, 705, 739; constitution of 1917, 577; France in, 362; World War I and, 558; gold in, 3, 6; independence, 237; mestizos in, 7; "moral imperialism" in, 548-49; Napoleon III's intervention in, 378-79; Spanish colonialism, 4, 6-7; Texas and, 307-8
Michigan, 421; education, 279
Middle Atlantic Colonies, 16, 27
Midway, Battle of, 680
Milan Decree (1807), 204
Minh, Ho Chi, 727
Minimum Wage Act (1949), 701
Minimum wage scale, 750
Minneapolis, Minnesota, 522
Minnesota, 419-20; iron ore, 395; Scandinavian settlements, 420
Missionaries, 4, 36, 305-6; Boxer Rebellion, 486; in China, 335, 186, 710; in Hawaii, 481; Jesuit, 5, 11; protection of Indians and Negroes, 6-7
Mississippi, 244, 375; Civil War, 350-51; Panic of 1837, 273
Mississippi River, 223-24, 326; steamboat traffic, 228-30, 243, 244
Missouri, 253, 350
Missouri (battleship), 681
Missouri Company, 304
Missouri Compromise, 286; status of slavery after, 255; terms of, 252-53
Missouri River, 223-24
Mitchell, John, 506-7
Mobile, Alabama, 349
Moby Dick (Melville), 280
Molasses Act of 1733, 27, 37
Monitor (ironclad), 349
Monmouth, Battle of, 69
Monopolies, 391-97, 523-24; attempted regulation of, 432-33; New Deal and, 644; railroad, 427; see also Big Business
Monroe, James, 196, 199, 297, 642; administration, 234-40, 266; election of 1816, 224
Monroe Doctrine, 234, 237-40, 311, 378, 463, 466, 494, 567, 659, 661, 669, 706; importance of, 239-40; principles of, 238-39; Roosevelt Corollary to, 494-96, 577, 602, 651
Montana, 413, 455; copper strike, 410, 416
Montcalm, Louis, 34, 36
Montesquieu, Charles de, 94
Montgomery, Richard, 53
Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955, 745, 746
Montgomery Ward & Company, 429
Montreal, Quebec, 53, 209-10
Moody, William Vaughn, 482
Morgan, Daniel, 65
Morgan, J. Pierpont, 505, 507, 523, 527; bond transaction of, 460
Mormons, 292, 409; westward migration, 306
Morocco, 198-99, 500-1, 551, 685; Barbary pirates in, 83; World War II, 676
Morrill, Justin, 405
Morrill Act of 1861, 352
Morrill Act of 1862, 405, 406, 422, 470
Morris, Robert, 65, 137
Morrow, Dwight, 577, 651
Morse, Samuel F. B., 281, 324; background of, 329
Morton, Dr. W. T. G., 281
Moses, Robert, 647
Motion picture industry, 582-83, 647, 740
Motor Carrier Act, 637
Mt. Holyoke College, 278
Muckrakers, 529-30, 538; meaning of, 529
Mugwumps, 452, 453, 491
Muller v. Oregon, 528
Mumford, Lewis, 366
Munich Conference of 1938, 657
Municipal government, types of, 531
Munn v. Illinois, 428-29
Muñoz-Marín, Luis, 737
Murray, Philip, 639, 699
Muskie, Edmund, 775, 777
Muskingum River project, 646-47
Mussolini, Benito, 646, 655, 664; fascism and, 656; overthrow, 676
Mutiny Act of 1765, 40-41
Nagasaki, bombing of, 681
Nantucket, Massachusetts, 16, 17
Napoleon I, 36, 199-200, 203-4, 207, 214, 216, 224; defeat of, 237; in exile, 210; naval blockade decrees of, 204-5
Napoleon III, 362; intervention in Mexico, 378-79
Napoleonic Wars, 222, 462, 552, 696; U.S. casualties in, 205
Nashville, Tennessee, 247
Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 730
Nast, Thomas, 448, 449
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 537, 539; founded, 540
National Bank Act of 1863, 357, 431-32, 457
National Conservation Commission, 510
National debt, 578-79
National Defense Advisory Commission, 665
National Defense Research Committee, 665
National Industry Recovery Act, 625; 627, 638
National Labor Relations Board, 627-28, 639, 642
National Monetary Commission, 520
National Recovery Administration (NRA), 624, 627, 628, 642, 652; difficulties of, 625-26
National Recovery Board, 628
National Union for Social Justice, 635
National War Labor Board, 683
National Youth Administration (NYA), 636

- Nationalism**, 223-26; as cause of World War I, 549-51; Declaration of Independence and, 224; Marshall's judicial decisions and, 231-33; sectionalism and, 241
- Nationalist China**, 708, 711-12, 728-29; corruption, 711; see also China
- Naturalization Act**, 184-85
- Nazi Party**, 604, 650, 655, 702; final solution program, 656; South American activities, 659-60
- Nebraska**, 419, 741; settlement of, 336-38; statehood, 413
- Negroes**, artistic achievements, 589-90; Baldwin on, 772-73; Black power militancy, 770-71; civil rights movement, 746, 769-73; in Civil War, 355; colonial period, 20-21; Congressional Medal of Honor winners, 355; in the Continental Army, 63-64; denied right to vote, 73; discrimination against, 539-40, 699; during Progressive Movement, 539-40; education, 742, 744-45; employment, 682, 770, 774; first college to admit, 278; first in Presidential cabinet, 759; intellectual achievements, 590; Jacksonian democracy and, 263; Lincoln's Africa colonization idea, 366; migration to cities, 585; missionary protection of, 6-7; New Deal and, 6-42; in the North (pre-Civil War), 331; political participation (1964), 770; Reconstruction period, 365-69, 370, 374, 376; in Revolutionary War, 45, 63-64; race riots, 771-72; riots against (1919), 570; segregation, 366-67, 539-40, 699, 742, 744, 745; slave population, 337; Spanish colonies, 6-7; suffrage, 145, 146, 147; voter registration, 159, 772; in World War I, 589; during World War II, 744
- Nehru**, Jawaharlal, 729
- Nelson**, Donald, 682
- Nelson**, Horatio, 203
- Netherlands**, 3-5, 375-76; World War II, 664, 671
- Neutrality Acts (1935-1937)**, 657
- Neutrality Proclamation of 1793**, 170, 183, 239
- Neutrality Proclamation (World War I)**, 551-52
- Nevada**, 410, 413
- New Deal**, 514, 546, 608, 617-46, 700, 749, 782; aid to agriculture, 623-25; anti-monopoly legislation, 644; on banking, 621-22; on currency, 621-22; employment relief, 629, 631, 635-36; first phase, 617-32; help for home owners, 629-30; on labor, 625-28; and Negroes, 642; opposition to, 631-32, 640, 670; origins of, 621; pump priming, 622-23; radical critics of, 634-35; shortcomings of, 646; success of, 646; Supreme Court and, 628, 642-43; unemployment, 670
- New England**, colonial period, 16-17; early manufacturing in, 241-43; secession movement, 213-16, 224; slave trade, 17; townships, 26
- New Freedom**, 504, 515-24
- New Frontier**, 749-55
- New Hampshire**, 88, 773
- New Harmony**, Indiana, 290, 291
- New Jersey**, 421; Confederation period, 88; early manufacturing in, 242; Revolutionary War, 65-68
- New Jersey Plan**, 95
- New Mexico**, 313; atom bomb testing, 680-81; Civil War, 348; Mexican War, 313
- New Orleans**, Louisiana, Civil War, 349-50; jazz bands, 589; War of 1812, 210-13, 216
- New Orleans**, Battle of, 210-13, 215, 216, 256
- New York**, 85, 88-89, 98; colonial period, 15, 23, 47; Confederation period, 88-89; legislature suspended (1767), 40
- New York City**, 401, 424, 443, 444, 522, 579, 605, 641; concentration of bank capital in, 521; Croton Aqueduct, 398; cultural life, 402, 590; draft riots (1836), 355; early manufacturing in, 242; machine politics, 448, 450; population growth, 242; Puerto Ricans in, 737; racial clashes, 771; Revolutionary War, 65, 68, 70; tenement buildings, 533; Tweed Ring, 370; 1929 crash, 595-96; speculations, 597
- New York Times**, The, 448, 544, 753, 764
- New York Tribune**, 290, 363, 324
- New York University**, 329
- New York World**, 403, 477, 495, 588
- New York World's Fair of 1939-1940**, 648
- New Zealand**, 534, 575, 636, 728, 761
- Newark**, race riot of 1967, 772
- Newburyport**, Massachusetts, 42
- Newlands Act**, 510
- Newport**, Rhode Island, 69; colonial period, 18, 23; Revolutionary War, 63
- Newspapers**, abolitionist, 284-85, 286; colonial period, 25, 28; first cartoon in, 29; foreign-language, 331; rotary press and, 324; sports writing, 402-4; yellow press journalism, 403-4, 477
- Newton**, Isaac, 24, 25, 92, 93
- Nez Percé Indians**, 414
- Nicaragua**, 334, 494, 497-98, 549, 577
- Nigeria**, 76-77, 100
- Nine-Power Treaty**, 575-76, 604, 672
- Nixon**, Richard M., 725, 736, 748; campaign of 1960, 748-49; election of 1968, 775-77
- Nobel Prize for Peace**, 539
- Nonintercourse Act**, 207
- Normalcy**, 572-90; meaning of, 572-73; regulation of business and, 578
- Norris**, Frank, 529
- Norris**, George, 578
- Norris Bill**, 601-2
- Norris-La Guardia Act**, 627, 641, 698
- North**, Lord Frederick, 46, 48, 74
- North**, Simon, 324
- North**, Negroes (pre Civil War) in, 331; population growth, 246
- North American Conserva-**
- tion Conference**, 510
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, 687; members, 709; weakening of, 760
- North Carolina**, 245, 342, 344, 375, 750; Confederation period, 89; education, 278-79; Revolutionary War, 54, 55, 63, 68
- North Dakota**, 419, 491; statehood, 413, 455
- Northwest Ordinance**, 167, 243; terms of, 86-88
- Northwest Territory**, 168, 245-47
- Northwestern Alliance**, 456, 457
- Nuclear testing**, 754-55
- Nullification**, theory of, 185, 274; Calhoun and, 263-64; crisis (1832-1833), 266-67; Jackson's attitude on, 265, 266-67
- Nye**, Gerald P., 657
- Oakley**, Annie, 417, 418
- Oberlin College**, 278
- Oceanography**, 767-68, 770
- Odets**, Clifford, 648
- Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO)**, 759
- Office of Price Administration (OPA)**, 698
- Office of Scientific Research**, 683
- Office of War Mobilization**, 682
- Ohio**, 168, 245, 419, 646-47; canals, 231; Indian treaty (1795), 166-67; population growth, 246
- Oil industry**, 391-93, 432
- Okinawa**, 710
- Oklahoma**, 263, 413
- Olmstead**, Frederick L., 443
- Olney**, Richard, 429, 463
- Omaha**, Nebraska, 398, 457
- Oneida Community**, 292
- O'Neill**, Eugene, 588
- Open Door Policy**, 485-86, 498, 500, 710
- Open shop**, 586, 639
- Operation Sea Lion (World War II)**, 669
- Opium**, 574
- Opium War**, 335
- Orders in Council (Great Britain)**, 171, 173, 204, 207, 208; revoked, 208
- Ordinance of Nullification (South Carolina)**, 267
- Oregon**, 301, 304-6, 316,

- 528; boundary of, 235, 236, 316; British-American rivalry over, 304; Ku Klux Klan in, 581; Russian settlements, 239-40; and slavery controversy, 309
- Oregon Trail, 33, 306
- Organization of American States (OAS), 705, 752, 753, 760; charter, 705
- Orlando, Vittorio, 566
- Orozco, José Clemente, 652
- Ostend Manifesto, 334
- Ottoman Empire, 551
- Overman Act, 564
- Owen, Robert, 290
- Oxford University, 657, 716
- Packers and Stockyards Act, 587
- Page, Walter H., 552
- Paine, Thomas, 52, 53-54, 78
- Pakistan, 728, 739; Kashmir dispute, 704; Peace Corps volunteers in, 752
- Palmer, A. Mitchell, 569-70
- Pan-American Conference of 1933, 650-51, 652
- Pan-American Conference of 1936, 651, 652
- Pan-American Conference of 1938, 659-60
- Pan-American Congress of 1940, 669
- Pan-American Union, 463
- Pan-Americanism, 651, 659
- Pan-Germanism, 552
- Panama, 494, 497, 651
- Panama Canal, 548, 659; construction of, 496, 497-98
- Panama Canal Zone, 496-97, 760
- Panay, 658-59
- Panic of 1836, 271-72
- Panic of 1837, 269, 271, 273, 288, 303, 433
- Panic of 1873, 451
- Panic of 1893, 438
- Panic of 1907, 521
- Paris, France, 774; Franklin in, 68; German occupation (1940), 662
- Paris, Peace of (1763), 36-37, 70
- Paris, Treaty of (1783), 70, 76, 79, 303, 480
- Parker, Alton B., 508, 511
- Parkman, Francis, 33, 491
- Parks, Rosa, 745-46
- Parrington, Vernon, 356, 390
- Parties, political, 447-52; balancing the ticket, 181; civil service reforms, 452; development (1800-1850), 296-97; formation of, 179-81; honesty as campaign issue, 452; machine politics, 187, 448, 450; organization effectiveness, 273-74
- Parton, James, 258
- Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 287
- Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 511-12
- Peabody, Elizabeth, 279
- Peabody, George, 376
- Peace Conference (World War I), 565-66
- Peace Corps, 750, 751-52
- Peaceful coexistence, policy of, 738-39
- Peale, Charles Willson, 58, 164
- Pearl Harbor, bombing of, 672, 673
- Pearson, Lester, 754
- Pendleton Act, 452
- Penn, William, 15, 21, 23; treaty with Indians, 13
- Pennsylvania, 19, 242, 448; boundary disputes, 88; canals, 231; Civil War, 348, 353-54; coal strike of 1902, 505-7; colonial period, 16, 22, 25; education movement, 277
- Pensacola, fort at, 237
- Peoria, Illinois, 429
- Perdicaris, 500
- Perkins, Frances, 442-43; background, 620
- Perry, Matthew C., 336, 498
- Perry, Oliver H., 210, 212, 216
- Pershing, John J., 549, 556, 561
- Pernu, 3, 6, 602, 736
- Pétain, Henri Philippe, 664
- Peter I, Czar, 569
- Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 67, 242, 522; colonial period, 15, 16, 23, 24, 47; Constitutional Convention in, 91-96; cultural life, 402; Revolutionary War, 63, 65, 66
- Philippines, 7, 574, 605, 703, 728; American colonial administration, 482; independence, 59, 709-10; Hukbalahap terrorist movement, 709-10; insurrection (1899-1902), 482; Spanish-American War, 479-80; World War II, 672, 673, 680
- Phillips, Wendell, 441
- Pickering, Edward, 406
- Pickering, John, 196
- Pickett, George E., 354
- Pierce, Franklin, 336, 470; inauguration, 334
- Pike, Zebulon M., 201
- Pilgrims, 14
- Pinchot, Gifford, 510, 512-13
- Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, 136, 183-84, 186-87, 206
- Pinckney, Thomas, 173, 181-82
- Pinckney Treaty, 167; terms of, 173-76
- Pine, Robert Edge, 57
- Pinkerton detectives, 435, 457
- Pitt, William, 34, 48, 109
- Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 84, 229, 247, 395, 768; radio station KDKA, 582; railroad strike of 1877, 436
- Plains Indians, 302, 412-14
- Plantation system, agriculture, 15-16; breakdown of, 364, 376; employment, 333; slavery and, 20, 72, 244-45, 250, 331-34
- Platt Amendment, 496, 651
- Plessy v. Ferguson, 540, 745
- Plymouth colony, 14
- Pocket vetoes, 119, 262
- Poe, Edgar Allan, 238, 280
- Poland, 688, 701, 732; World War II, 661-63, 668
- *Politics, wide participation in, xi-xii, 14, 25-26, 41-45, 59, 86-88, 111, 123-24, 147-49, 194-96, 249, 258, 260-62, 276-77, 445, 514-15, 530-32, 708, 782
- Polk, James K., 273, 297; administration, 309-16
- Pontiac, Chief, 38, 302
- Poor People's March, 771
- Poor Richard's Almanack, 28, 29
- Pope, John, 355
- Popocrats, 459, 460, 509
- Popular sovereignty, 316, 317, 336, 339
- *Population, xi, 84, 322; agriculture (1800-1850), 297; 1800-1840, 246; 1860-1900, 421; employment (1800-1850), 297; English colonies (1750), 12; foreign born (1850), 337; free Negro (1850), 337; growth, 246, 421, 741; immigration and, 471; mobility, 782; prison (1910-1928), 599; Puerto Rican, 737
- Populist Party, 514, 527, 455-61, 532, 535; compared to progressive movement, 527-28
- Port Arthur, 498
- Port of New York Authority, 135
- Portugal, 4-5, 575-76
- Potato blight of 1845 (Ireland), 330
- Potsdam Conference, 708
- Powderly, Terence V., 436
- Powell, H. M. T., 240
- Pragmatism, 528-29
- Prague, Czechoslovakia, 774
- Prasad, 719
- Pre-emption Act (1841), 274, 324
- Presbyterians, 21
- Presidency, the, 125-29; Constitutional election requirements for, 124, 142; duties of, 128; first dark horse candidate for, 309; impeachment of, 128; influence of, 127-29; powers of, 125-27, 262-63, 491-92, 563-64; term of office, 124, 150, 151; wartime powers, 563-64
- Preston, Captain, 182, 184
- Princeton University, 24, 42, 92, 93, 404, 535
- Princeton, New Jersey, 65-67
- Proclamation of 1763 (Great Britain), 38, 41
- Progressive movement, 526-40; in agriculture, 535; compared to populism, 527-28; control of private enterprise, 532-34; in education, 534-35; equalization of taxation 532-33; failures of, 538-40; at local government level, 530-32; muckrakers, 529-30, 538; public utility regulation, 533; socialism during, 535-38; temperance movement and, 535; treatment of immigrants, 538; wage earner protection, 533-34; women's suffrage, 531-32
- Progressive Party, 527; formation of, 514-15
- Prohibition, 147-49, 441, 535, 562, 570, 586; bathtub gin, 588; early movements for, 288-89,

- 291; end of, 150, 620; enforcement of, 594; failure of, 494, 588; first state law on, 289
- Promontory Point, Utah**, 410, 411
- Protest movements**, 426-45; attempted monopoly regulation, 432-33; cheap money demands, 430-32; farmer, 427-32; labor, 433-40; on railway abuses, 427-30; social reform, 440-44; socialist, 444-45; tax, 445
- Prussia**, 292
- Public opinion polls**, on McCarthy (Joseph), 725; on 1948 election, 700; on 1960 election, 748
- Public utilities**, 533, 637
- Public Works Administration (PWA)**, 629, 636, 645
- Publishing industry**, 740
- Puerto Rico**, 482, 483, 494, 736-37; Spanish-American War, 78
- Pulaski, Casimir**, 65
- Pulitzer, Joseph**, 403, 477
- Pullman strike**, 438-39, 440, 444, 459, 524
- Pump-priming**, 622-23, 644
- Purdue University**, 404
- Pure Food and Drug Act**, 509, 529
- Puritans**, 22, 23
- Putnam, Rufus**, 168
- Quadruple Alliance**, 237, 238, 239
- Quaker Blues**, 48
- Quakers**, 21-22, 24, 48, 292, 602; opposition to slavery, 20, 284
- Quebec, Canada**; Arnold in, 34-36, 53
- Quebec Act**, 43, 47
- Quebec Conference**, 685, 708
- Quemoy, island of**, 729
- Quiet Crisis, The** (Udall), 769
- Quintillana, Luis**, 651
- Quirling, Vidkun**, 664
- Race riots**, 570, 771-72, 773, 774; causes of, 772
- Radical Republicans**, 367-76; carpetbag governments, 370; impeach Johnson, 371
- Radio industry**, 595, 646, 740; commentators, 648; development of, 616
- Radioactive fallout**, 704
- Railroad Administration** (World War I), 562
- Railroad industry**, 296, 326, 238-29, 409; British owned securities (1900), 409-10; buffalo exterminations, 412-14; consolidations, 409-10, 412; early difficulties, 327, 28; expansion of, 328-29, 388; federal grants to, 409, 413; first transcontinental, 410; land-grants, 419; mileage, 328, 376; monopolistic practices, 427; passenger losses, 582; protest movement against, 427-30; rates, 429; rebates, 391, 392; regulation of, 429-30, 509, 568
- Railroad strike of 1877**, 435, 436, 442
- Railroad strike of 1922**, 586
- Railroad Valuation Act**, 513
- Railway Managers Association**, 439
- Raisuli (bandit)**, 500
- Raleigh, Sir Walter**, 14
- Ralls, Colonel**, 65-66
- Randall, J. G.**, 360
- Randolph, Edmund**, 92, 163, 173
- Rapidan, Virginia**, 603
- Rauschenbusch, Walter**, 536
- Rawlings, Marjorie Kinnan**, 606
- Rayburn, Sam**, 726
- Read, George**, 136, 137
- Reagan, Ronald**, 775
- Recession of 1937-1938**, 643-44
- Recession of 1957-1959**, 721
- Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act**, 654, 661
- Reconstruction Act**, 369, 371
- Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC)**, 601, 622, 636, 701; end of, 720; established, 621
- Reconstruction period**, 145, 147, 365-76, 387; foreign affairs, 378-80; (Andrew) Johnson's policy on, 366-67; Lincoln's policy on, 365-66; Negroes during, 365-69, 370, 374, 376; radicalism, 367-76
- Reed, Thomas B.**, 480, 482
- Reed, Dr. Walter**, 483, 496
- Reform movements**, 276-92; to abolish war, 289-90; antisavery, 283-86; cultural, 280; in education, 277-79; labor, 286-88; lor mentally ill, 289; religious, 290-92; scientific, 280-81; temperance, 288-89, 291; women's rights, 282-83
- *Reform versus revolution**, xii, 94, 172, 440, 506, 641, 782
- Religion, colonial period**, 21-23; education, 23, 24, 290; freedom of, 72; reform movement, 290-92; social reforms of, 528; *see also names of religions*
- Remington, Frederic**, 414
- Republican Party**, beginning of, 338-39; eastern wing, 450; formation of, 450; founded, 180; Mugwumps, 452, 453, 491; split of 1912, 514-15, 517; Stalwarts, 452; western wing, 450
- Republicans (Jeffersonian)**, 177, 180, 254, 261, 296-97; Federalists and, 179-96, 297; political split-up, 297
- Reservations (Indian)**, 414
- Resettlement Administration (RA)**, 636, 644
- Reuther, Walter**, 699, 721
- Revenue Act of 1935**, 638
- Revere, Paul**, 40, 45, 50, 54
- Revolution of 1917**, 375, 559, 569, 608
- Revolutionary War**, 32-74, 108, 260, 303; (John) Adams on, 32, 37; attack from Canada, 67-68; beginning of, 50-51; casualties, 51, 65-66; end of, 70; events leading to, 32-48; foreign troop aid, 62, 68, 69; Franklin on, 62; French aid to, 55, 65, 68, 70, 73; Indians in, 68, 168-69; loans, 159; Loyalists, 54, 63, 69, 70-71, 73, 79, 180; mobilization, 50-51; Negroes in, 45, 63-64; Quebec campaign, 53
- Rhode Island**, 18, 241; charter government, 72; colonial period, 22, 23; Confederation period, 89; paper money laws, 89, 95; Revolutionary War, 70
- Richardson, Henry**, 444
- Richmond, Virginia**, 367, 522
- Right-to-work laws**, 760
- *Rights of the individual**, respect for, xii, 22, 204, 329, 601, 783
- Riis, Jacob A.**, 442, 537
- Rio Grande**, 311
- Rittenhouse, David**, 24, 92, 93
- Roads**, 226-27
- Roanoke Island Colony**, 14
- Robinson, Bill**, 590
- Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste**, 70
- Rochester, New York**, 230
- Rockefeller, John D.**, 391-93, 406
- Rockefeller, Nelson A.**, 562, 775
- Rockefeller Foundation**, 534, 739
- Roebling, John Augustus**, 443, 444
- Roebling, Washington Augustus**, 443, 444
- Rogers, Will**, 581, 592, 617, 637, 653
- Rolvaag, O. E.**, 420
- Roman Catholic Church**, 6-7, 307, 581, 592, 732; charitable organizations, 290; colonial period, 10, 21, 47; in French colonies, 10; on slavery, 7
- Rumanov family**, 569
- Rome, Italy**, 676, 774
- Rome, New York**, 230
- Rome-Berlin Axis**, 656
- Rommel, Erwin**, 353, 672-73
- Roosevelt, Franklin D.**, 149, 151, 196, 206, 407, 546, 573, 574, 719, 721, 734, 744, 750, 758; administration, 608-88; advisers of, 619, 622, 628; Charlottesville speech, 684, 668; death of, 115, 686-87, 695; fireside chats of, 616, 617, 618, 632; First Inaugural address, 606-10, 616, 618, 650; Good Neighbor policy, 650-52; isolationist sentiment and, 658-59; Lippmann on, 617; neutrality legislation (1935-1937), 657; New Deal program, 617-45; 1932 election, 608-9; 1936 election, 641-42; 1940 election, 669-70; 1944 election, 684; polio attack, 618; Second Inaugural Address, 642; Supreme Court packing scheme, 642-43; "try something" philosophy, 619-21; wartime conferences, 685-86; World War II, 668-88
- Roosevelt, Mrs. Franklin D.**, 619, 640, 695

- Roosevelt, Theodore, 129, 151, 276, 442, 476, 487, 488, 527, 528, 532, 553, 554, 565, 573, 620, 621, 629, 650, 651, 660, 700; administration, 490-510; attempted assassination of, 517; awarded Nobel Peace Prize, 499; background of, 490-91; Big Stick policy, 494-98, 549; at Bull Moose convention, 514-15; on capitalism, 505; civil service reforms, 502; coal strike arbitration, 507; compared to Wilson, 516-17; conservation program, 510; diplomatic corps reforms, 502; election of 1904, 507-9; failures, 509-10; Lippmann on, 502; new nationalism politics, 513-14, 515, 516, 524; progressive legislation, 509; Square Deal program, 504-10, 511, Spanish-American War, 478, 479; trust buster reputation, 505, 507
- Roosevelt Corollary, 494-96, 577, 602; end of, 651
- Root, Elihu, 501-2, 507, 514, 531, 572, 574
- Rosecrans, William S., 351
- Rossiter, Clinton, 158
- Rostow, W. W., 387
- Rotterdam, 664
- Rough Riders, 478, 479, 490
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 73
- Rural Electrification Administration (REA), 636
- Rural Free Delivery Mail, 535
- Rush, Benjamin, 47
- Rush, Richard, 238
- Rush-Bagot Agreement, 234-35, 236, 576
- Rusk, Dean, 760
- Russell, Charles Marion, 417
- Russell, Lord John, 362
- Russia, end of monarchy in, 569; imperialism, 483; Revolution of 1917, 375, 449, 569, 608; World War I, 551, 557, 559; see also Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (after 1917)
- Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), 498-99, 551
- Ruth, Babe, 583
- St. Clair, Arthur, 165-66
- St. Lawrence River, 234-35
- St. Lawrence Seaway, 721
- St. Leger, Barry, 67, 68
- St. Louis, Missouri, 522
- St. Mihiel, Battle of, 561
- Salisbury, Lord, 464
- Salk vaccine, 744
- Salomon, Haym, 65
- Salt Lake City, Utah, 306; founding of, 292
- Salvation Army, 528, 783
- Sampson, William T., 478
- San Antonio, Texas, 415
- San Francisco, California, 522, 687, 688
- San Martin, José de, 237
- Sandburg, Carl, 387, 588
- Santa Anna, Antonio, 307-8
- Santa Fe, New Mexico, 313
- Sapta Maria Institute, 442
- Santiago Bay, Battle of, 478, 493
- Sarajevo, Serbia, 551
- Saratoga, Battle of, 51, 68
- Sauk Indians, 169, 245
- Savage, Edward, 57
- Savannah, Georgia, 63
- Schecter Poultry Corporation v. United States*, 628
- Schlesinger, Arthur M., 328-29
- Schurz, Carl, 451, 454
- Science, advances in, 281, 406-7; colonial period, 24; World War II research, 683
- Scott, Dred, 338-39
- Scott, Howard, 607
- Scott, Winfield, 310, 312, 336, 343
- Seranton, Pennsylvania, 436
- Sears, Roebuck & Company, 433
- Seaway Treaty, 661
- Secession, 84, 139; in 1861, 342-45; Federalists plan for, 201; New England movement (1814), 213-16, 224
- Second Constitutional Congress, 51-53, 108
- Sectionalism, 240-50; on cheap money proposal, 431; overlapping of interests, 253-54; points of conflict, 249-50; slavery compromise, 252-53; tariff controversy and, 249-50; on Texas annexation, 307, 308
- Securities Exchange Commission (SEC), 637, 748; established, 621-22
- Sedition Act, 184-85
- Segregation, 549-40, 742; in armed forces, 699; ex-
- tent of, 539-40; Reconstruction period, 366-67; Supreme Court on, 147; in transportation system, 745
- Selective Service Act of 1917, 560
- Selective Service Act of 1940, 665, 671
- Seminole Indians, 236, 263
- Senate, Constitution on, 114; doves, 764; elections, 146, 513, 532; filibustering in, 115, 760; hawks, 764; organization and rules, 116; qualifications, 114; size of, 115
- Seneca Falls, New York, 222
- Seneca Falls Convention (1848), 283
- Separation of powers, system of, 117-19
- Seven Years' War, 33, 36, 37, 55
- Sewall, Samuel, 20, 22
- Seward, William H., 341, 343, 360-61, 378, 379
- Seymour, Horatio, 372
- Shakers, 292
- Shantung, province of, 576
- Share Our Wealth clubs, 635
- Sharecropping, 376
- Shaw, George Bernard, 535
- Shawnee Indians, 203, 204
- Shays's Rebellion, 89-90, 95, 111, 167
- Sheldon, Charles M., 528
- Sherman, Roger, 136, 137
- Sherman, William T., 363-64; march to the sea (1864), 351-53
- Sherman Antitrust Act, 129, 393, 439, 492, 507, 586, 644; early failure of, 432-33; (Theodore) Roosevelt and, 505
- Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 454, 459
- Sherwood, Robert, 618
- Shiloh, Battle of, 358
- Sidell, John, 311
- Siegfried, André, 584
- Simon, Sir John, 658
- Sinclair, Upton, 529, 535, 540, 634
- Singapore, 673
- Single tax movement, 445
- Sinox Indians, 33, 414
- Sit-ins, 746, 769
- Skyscrapers, 399
- Slater, Samuel, 241
- Slave trade, 17, 20, 243, 317, 318, 332
- Slavery, XIII, 6-7, 20-21, 72, 80, 244-45, 280, 285, 331-34; abolished, 133, 144, 145, 363; abolition movement and, 283-86, 333; British abolition of, 283, 292; Civil War and, 362; colonial opposition to, 20-21, 22; Confederate Constitution on, 332; Constitutional Convention and, 95, 96; cotton industry and, 244, 331-33; defense of, 333-34; extent of (1820), 255; Jefferson on, 72; Lincoln on, 364-65, 487; Manifest Destiny and, 316-17, 318; Northwest Ordinance on, 87-88; Oregon territory and, 309; plantation system and, 20, 72, 244-45, 250, 331-34; population (1850), 337; South America, 283; southern attitude toward, 243-44, 245; Spanish colonies, 6-7, 20; territorial expansion and, 250, 252-53, 316-17, 318; Virginia insurrection (1831), 284; Washington on, 157-58
- Slidell, John, 361
- Slum clearance programs, 750, 755
- Slums, 400, 442
- Smallpox epidemics, 19, 21, 24
- Smith, Alfred E., 570, 581, 592-93, 608, 620, 632, 642
- Smith, Jeremiah, Jr., 574
- Smith, Captain John, 15
- Smith, Sydney, 280, 303
- Smith College, 441
- Smithson, James, 281
- Smithsonian Institution, 281
- Snake River, 721
- Social Security Act of 1935, 636-37, 646
- Socialism, 290, 459, 536; Christian community, 290-92; during progressive movement, 535-38; protect movements, 444-45; in unions, 434
- Socialist Party, 535-38, 609, 642; extremism, 536-38; split, 536
- Society, English colonial, 11, 13, 17; French colonial, 10-12; Great Plains, 419-20; Southern plantation, 245; Spanish colonial, 7
- Society of the Cincinnati, 179

- Sod house frontier, 420-24
 Sons of Liberty, 43, 44, 46, 180
 South, anti-slavery societies, 244; colonial period, 15-16; cotton industry (pre-Civil War), 243-45, 331-33; cotton mills in, 378; industrial growth, 376-78; reaction to abolitionists, 284-86; Reconstruction period, 145, 147, 365-76, 387; slave population, 20
 South America, A.B.C. powers, 548; anti-United States riots in, 752; (Milton) Eisenhower reports on, 736; Good Neighbor policy on, 650-52, 653; independence movements, 237; Nazi influence in, 659-60; slavery, 283
 South Carolina, 342, 353, 375; American Revolution, 54, 68; colonial period, 18; cotton plantations, 244; slave population, 20
 "South Carolina Exposition," 263-64
 South Dakota, 413, 419, 455
 South End House (Boston), 442
 South Hadley, Massachusetts, 278
 Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 728
 Southern Alliance, 456, 457
 Southern Pacific Railroad, 410
 Space race, 738-39, 767
 Spain, 4-5; Confederation period relations, 79-83; Pinckney Treaty, 167; and England, 12-13
 Spanish-American War, 479, 476-81, 482, 483, 493, 494, 497, 501; casualties, 478, 479; origins of, 476-77
 Spanish Armada, 7, 12-13
 Spanish Civil War, 656, 657
 Spanish colonies, 4, 6-7, 12, 20
 Spanish West Indies, 83
 Spargo, John, 533
 Specie Circular, 271
 Spoils system, 449, 453; Lincoln administration, 360; meaning of, 262; reforms, 452
 Sports, 401, 402-4, 583, 770
 Spratley Islands, 659
 Sputnik (satellite), 738-79, 742, 743, 767
 Square Deal, 504-10, 511, 514
 Squatters, 325
 Stagecoach transportation, 227
 Stalin, Joseph, 654, 685, 702, 711; death of, 738; wartime conferences, 685-86
 Stalingrad, Battle of, 675, 676
 Stalwarts, 452
 Stamp Act of 1765, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 205; repealed, 38
 Stamp Act Congress, 42
 Standard Oil Company, 391, 432, 440, 448
 Standard Oil Trust, 391-93
 Stanford, Leland, 406
 Stanford University, 406
 Stanton, Edwin M., 371, 449
 Stark, John, 68
 Stassen, Harold E., 688
 State banks, 269
 States' rights, theory of, 343, 345
 Steamboat transportation, 227-31, 243, 244; hours to travel 100 miles, 296
 Steamships, 323, 326
 Steel industry, 377, 462, 505, 639, 721; Bessemer process, 393, 409; Carnegie and, 393-97; growth of, 393-97; open-hearth process, 393; in 1932, 605; price rise (1962), 751; production (1866-1876), 394; strike of 1919, 568; strike of 1952, 129; unionization, 639
 Steelworkers Union, 766
 Steffens, Lincoln, 529
 Steinbeck, John, 648
 Steinmetz, Charles, 585
 Steuben, Karl von, 65, 69
 Stevens, Thaddeus, 277
 Stevenson, Adlai, 143, 619, 718, 725-26, 766
 Stieglitz, Alfred, 589
 Stimson, Henry L., 577, 686, 670
 Stimson Doctrine, 672
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 336
 Strong, Josiah, 476
 Stuart, Gilbert, 93, 183, 234
 Studebaker, Clement, 240
 Studebaker Company, 697
 Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 770
 Student riots, 773
 Submarine warfare, World War I, 552, 553, 554, 555, 557, 561, 668; World War II, 668-69; 671
 Sudan, 551
 Suez crisis of 1956, 764
 Suffrage, Colonial period, 26; Negroes, 145, 146, 147; qualifications, 72-73; white male, 72-73, 262; women, 148, 149, 441-42, 531-32, 570
 Suffragettes, 531-32, 570
 Sugar Act of 1764, 37, 39
 Sugar industry, 482, 484
 Sullivan, John L., 402
 Sullivan, Louis, 44, 588
 Sullivan, Mark, 529
 Sumner, Charles, 379
 Supreme Court, *see* United States Supreme Court
 Surveyor I, 767
 Sussex pledge, 553-54
 Sutton, Massachusetts, 73
 Switzerland, 530, 738
 Syracuse, New York, 320
 Syria, 764-65
 Taft, William Howard, 482, 496, 514, 517, 518, 562, 670, 716, 718; administration, 498, 500, 511, 512-13, 526; appointed to Supreme Court, 580; background of, 510-11; dollar diplomacy, 498, 500; election of 1908, 510-11, 513; popularity loss, 512-13; progressive legislation, 513
 Taft-Hartley Act, 698-99, 760; terms of, 698
 Talleyrand, Charles Maurice de, 183-84, 199
 Tallmadge, James, 252
 Tammany Hall, 450
 Taney, Roger, 338-39
 Tarbell, Ida, 529
 Tariff Commission, 578, 600
 Tariff of 1789, 158-59
 Tariff of 1816, 226, 263, 264
 Tariff of 1833, 267
 Tariff of 1842, 274
 Tariffs, Civil War, 454; Cleveland and, 453-54; Confederation period, 88; controversies, 263-65, 267; on Cuban sugar, 484; proposed gunpowder, 162; sectionalism and, 249-50; Wilson's reform of, 518-20
 Tarkington, Booth, 529
 Taxes, Civil War, 357; Colonial period, 37-40, 41-42, 46, 47; Constitution on, 122, 123; corporation, 638; for education, 278; English colonies, 37-40, 41-42, 46, 47; equalization of, 532-33; excise, 167, 579, 759; on income, 122, 131-33, 146, 513, 520, 533; protest movements, 445; Puerto Rico concessions, 737; single tax movement, 445
 Taylor, Myron C., 639
 Taylor, Zachary, 470; death of, 318; election of 1848, 216-17; Mexican War, 311, 313
 Teahavsky, Peter Ilich, 402-3
 Teapot Dome scandal, 550
 Tecumseh, Chief, 203, 245, 302; background of, 204
 Tehran Conference, 685, 686, 708
 Telephone, invention of, 406-7, 442
 Television, 774; broadcasting stations, 740; federal regulation of, 430; impact of, 740; 1960 campaign debates, 748
 Teller Amendment, 478
 Temperance Movement, 288-89, 291, 535
 Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC), 644
 Tenant farming, 376, 422, 587
 Tennessee, 167, 342, 344, 375; Civil War, 350-51; population growth, 246; Tennessee River, 630, 631
 Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), 640, 646, 720-21; established, 630-31
 Tenure-of-Office Act, 151, 371
 Test-ban treaty, 754-55
 Tet offensive (Vietnam War), 773
 Texas, 301, 342, 375, 750; annexation of, 307, 308, 309; cattle industry, 415; cotton plantations, 334; Mexican rule of, 307-8
 Texas, Republic of, 307-8, 309, 318
 Textile industry, 332; development of, 241-42
 Thailand, 728, 751, 761; World War II, 673
 Thames, Battle of, 210
 Thant, U, 764-65

- Third International (organization), 569, 654
 Thomas, Lowell, 648
 Thomas, Norman, 640
 Thoreau, Henry, 227, 280
 Thurmond, J. Strom, 700
 Tilden, Samuel J., 373-74, 451
 Tillman, Benjamin R., 509
 Tippecanoe, Battle of, 203, 204, 272
 Titusville, Pennsylvania, 393
 Tobacco industry, 245, 331
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 76, 100, 252, 290
 Tolerance Act of 1649, 22
 **Tolerance of differences*, xii, 190, 456, 585, 783; immigration and, 761-62; political, 194, 745; racial, 73, 145-47, 369, 744-46, 761, 773, 776; religious, 14, 22, 72, 141
 Tolstoy, Leo, 536
 Torro, Alfonso, 313
 Toscanini, Arturo, 647, 648
 Toussaint L'Ouverture, Pierre, 199
 Towns, growth of, 247-48
 Townsend, Dr. Francis, 634, 642
 Townshend Act, 38, 39, 40, 42, 205
 Townships, 26, 86
 Toynbee Hall, 443, 539
 Trade, 302, 303; clipper ship, 325-26; colonial, 4, 7, 10, 45; Confederation period, 79, 83; English colonies, 17, 21, 26-27, 45; in furs, 4, 10, 11, 16, 79, 84, 90, 235, 304-5; Hawaii (1928), 482; monopolies, 5; Napoleonic decrees and, 203-4; pump-priming, 622-23; Washington administration, 170; Trade Expansion Act of 1962, 750, 751; Trade and Navigation Acts, 26-27
 Trafalgar, Battle of, 203
 Transcontinental treaty, 301
 Transportation system, 229, 409, 778; city, 399; Colonial period, 15, 16; development of, 470; 1800-1850, 296; English colonies, 15; expansion of, 325-29; inland navigation, 326-27; pre-Civil War, 226-31; segregation in, 745
 Treason, 130, 131
 Trenchard Works, 333
 Trench warfare, 347, 351
 Trenton, New Jersey, 65-67
 Triple Alliance, 551
 Tripoli, 83, 198-99
 Tripolitan War, 121, 196, 213; causes of, 198-99
 Troy, New York, 278
 Trujillo, Rafael, 752
 Truman, Harry S., 115, 129, 687, 721, 744, 750, 758; administration, 660, 695-705; civil rights and, 699; containment of Communism policy, 706; election of 1948, 699-700; evaluation of, 716; Fair Deal program, 700-1, 716; fires MacArthur, 713; Korean War, 713-14
 Truman Doctrine, 706
 Trumbull, John, 164
 Trusts, attempted regulation of, 432-33; methods of control, 584; (Theodore) Roosevelt and, 505, 507; Wilson and, 523-24
 Tubman, Harriet, 284, 285
 Tucker, Josiah, 77
 Tumulty, Joseph P., 572
 Tunis, 83, 198-99, 551
 Tunisia, 676
 Turkey, 551, 701, 706, 732
 Turner, Nat, 284, 770-71
 Turnpikes, 225, 226
 Tuskegee Institute, 540
 Twain, Mark, 326, 386, 426
 Tweed Ring, 370, 386; corruption of, 448
 Tyler, John, 297, 308; administration, 274; election of 1840, 272-74
 U-boats, 552, 553, 558-59, 561, 668
 U-2 plane incident, 738
 Udall, Steward L., 769
 Uncle Tom's Cabin (Stowe), 336, 341
 Underground railroads, 284, 285, 318
 Underwood-Simmons Tariff, 520
 Unemployment insurance, 534, 765-66
 Unemployment rate; automation and, 768; Depression of 1929, 605-6; New Deal and, 670; 1932, 627; 1935, 634; technological improvements and, 585
 Union League, 370
 Union Pacific Railroad, 410, 411, 412, 427, 448
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 607, 654-55, 661, 663, 685, 688; aid to Africa, 734; invasion of Czechoslovakia by, 774; nuclear testing, 754; Revolution of 1917, 375, 559, 569, 608; space race, 738, 739; World War II, 661, 663, 671, 674-76; *see also Russia (before 1917)*
 United Nations, 395, 434-39, 638-40, 698; beginning of, 287; communists in, 699; during 1920's, 584-86; growth of, 433-40; lockouts, 395, 434-35; membership, 599, 640; opposition to Taft-Hartley Act, 698-99; revival of, 627-28; trade societies, 287; in World War II, 683
 Unitarian Church, 290, 292
 United Mine Workers, 506, 568, 639, 698, 723
 United Nations, 660, 703-5; 766, 783; Africa operations, 734; agencies, 688, 704; beginning of, 687-88; blocs in, 707; China and, 713, 728; Economic and Social Council, 688; Korean policy, 713; members, 687; Middle East operations, 730; veto power in, 703
 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA), 706-8
 United States Budget Bureau, 578
 United States Chamber of Commerce, 625
 United States Civil Service Commission, 491
 United States Congress, election and meeting of, 114; organization of, 113-17; powers, 112, 118-20; *see also* House of Representatives; Senate
 United States Constitution, *see* Constitution
 United States Department of Agriculture, 625
 United States Department of Commerce and Labor, 505
 United States Department of Defense, 760
 United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 123
 United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, 123, 759
 United States Department of the Interior, 451
 United States Department of Justice, 644, 701, 769
 United States Department of Labor, 534, 620
 United States Sanitary Commission, 357-58, 442
 United States Supreme Court, 359, 505, 513, 528-29, 540, 586; first Chief Justice of, 172; on Granger laws, 428-29; injunctions, 131; insular cases, 483; on New Deal and, 628, 642-43; power of, 129, 131, 196; on segregation, 147
 United States Temperance Union, 289
United States v. Butler, 642
 University of California, 406
 University of Chicago, 406
 University of Michigan, 279
 University of Mississippi, 769, 772
 University of Virginia, 206, 278
 Utah, 306, 410, 413, 442
 Utica, New York, 230
 Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, 69
 Van Buren, Martin, 260, 297, 308; administration, 271-72, 288, 303; birth of, 270; election of 1836, 270-71; election of 1840, 272-73; Indian policies, 263
 Vandalia, Illinois, 226
 Vandenberg, Arthur, 666, 706; background of, 687
 Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 412, 429
 Vassar College, 441
 Venezuela, 736, 752; crisis of 1895-1896, 463-66; crisis of 1902, 494
 Vera Cruz, 548
 Vergennes, Charles Gravier de, 172
 Vermont, 51, 68, 88, 167, 750
 Verrazano, Giovanni da, 7
 Versailles Treaty, Hitler's disregard of, 656; opposition to, 565; peace terms of, 573; results of, 569; Senate defeat of, 567-68
 Veterans Bureau, 580
 Veterans of Future Wars, 657

- Vice Presidency, Constitutional election requirements for, 124, 142; powers of, 115
- Vicksburg, Battle of, 300, 350-51, 354
- Victoria, Queen, 379, 418
- Victory Bonds (World War I), 563
- Viet Cong, 761, 764, 773
- Vietminh, 727, 728
- Vietnam, 727-28
- Vietnam War, 121, 701, 761-64, 774; bombing halt, 777; bombing of North, 766, 773; debate on, 775; opposition to, 764, 773
- Villa, Pancho, 549
- Vincennes, Illinois, 70
- Virgin Islands, 549
- Virginia, 246, 342, 344, 374; architecture, 281; Bill of Rights, 57; Civil War, 355; Colonial period, 14, 17, 18, 22, 25, 41, 43; 45; Revolutionary War, 54, 68, 70; slave revolt (1831), 284; tobacco crops, 245; western land claims, 77
- Virginia (ironclad), 349-50
- Virginia Bill of Religious Freedom, 206
- Virginia City, Nevada, 414
- Virginia Plan, 92, 93, 95, 96
- Virginia resolutions, 185, 194, 264
- Volstead Act, 149, 588, 592, 620
- Wabash Railroad, 429; 1885 strike, 436
- Wade-Davis Manifesto, 366
- Wage Scale, 526-27; in 1929, 597; in 1933, 624
- Wagner Act, 638-39, 642, 698
- Wake Island, 673
- Walker, Robert J., 273
- Walker, William, 334
- Walker Tariff, 311
- Wallace, George C., 775, 777
- Wallace, Henry A., 651, 695, 700
- Walpole, Horace, 36
- War of 1812, 199, 204, 207-16, 235, 246, 259, 260, 265, 279, 303, 450, 657; beginning of, 207-8; casualties, 212; events leading to, 207-8; results of, 216, 226; as stimulus to industry, 225-26
- War Industries Board, 562, 626
- War Labor Board (WLB), 562
- War Production Board, 682
- Warm Springs, Georgia, 686
- Warren, Earl, 769
- Warsaw, Poland, 661, 774
- Warsaw Pact, 732
- Washington, Booker T., 540
- Washington, George, 34, 65, 74, 90, 99, 108, 136, 151, 191, 196, 243, 262, 567; administration, 129, 156-77; at Constitutional Convention, 91, 92, 93; death of, 184; Farewell Address, 176-77, 179, 182, 187, 239; journey to West, 84; neutrality proclamation, 170, 239; retirement of, 176; in Revolutionary War, 51, 52, 54, 64, 65-70; on slavery, 157-58
- Washington, 413, 455
- Washington, D. C., 188-91; British burning of, 210; racial clashes, 773; slave trade in, 317, 318, 363
- Washington, Treaty of, 379-80, 656
- Washington Conference (1921-1922), 574-78, 580, 708
- Waters, Ethel, 590
- Waterways, 227-31
- Watt, James, 241
- Watts riot of 1965, 772
- Wayne, Anthony, 166-67
- Weaver, James B., 457
- Weaver, Robert C., 759
- Webb, Walter P., 412
- Webster, Daniel, 111, 260, 267, 270, 274, 318, 344; Hayne debate, 264-65; as Secretary of State, 303-4
- Webster, Noah, 278
- Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 303-4
- Wellcs, Gideon, 348
- Wellesley College, 441
- Wells, H. G., 535
- West, Articles of Confederation, 84-88; colonial period, 38; settlement of, 167-69, 415-24
- West Point, New York, 69-70
- West Virginia, 350
- Westchester County, New York, 70
- Westinghouse air brakes, 409, 412
- Westmoreland, General, 773
- Wethersfield, Connecticut, 14
- Whaling industry, 16, 17
- Wheeler, Burton A., 670-71
- Wheeling, Virginia, 226
- Whig Party, 254, 297, 300, 338, 470, 505; end of, 470; Log Cabin campaign (1840), 272-73; rise of, 270; split, 274
- Whiskey Rebellion, 167, 176
- White, Andrew, 404
- White, Henry, 501, 565
- White, Walter, 590
- White, William Allen, 419, 509, 609, 665-66
- White House Conference on Education (1955), 742
- Whitman, Narcissa, 305, 306
- Whitman, Walt, 223, 409
- Whitney, Eli, 243, 324
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, 280
- Wickersham Commission, 594
- Wilder, Thornton, 648
- Wilhelm II, Kaiser, 418, 466, 500, 522, 565
- William and Mary College, 24
- William, Roger, 21, 22
- Williamsburg, Virginia, 11
- Williamson, H., 136
- Willkie, Wendell L., 670, 684
- Wilmington, Delaware, 63
- Wilmot Proviso, 316
- Wilson, James, 136, 137
- Wilson, Woodrow, 127, 129, 143, 375, 504, 528, 535, 538, 572, 573, 609, 619-21, 650, 654, 660, 688, 760, 778; administration, 518-24, 526; background of, 517; bank reforms, 522-23; compared to (Theodore) Roosevelt, 516-17; election of 1912, 515, 517; election of 1916, 554; First Inaugural Address, 517, 518, 547; foreign policy, 517-49; Fourteen points, 564-65, 566-67; neutrality policy, 551-54; New Freedom program, 504, 515-24; at Paris Peace Conference, 565, 566-67; reforms of, 518-24; trust busting of, 523-24; wartime powers, 563-64; vetoes of, 580; World War I, 547-70
- Wilson-Gorman Tariff, 459
- Windsor, Connecticut, 14
- Wisconsin, 530, 535
- Witchcraft, 22
- Wolfe, James, 34-36
- Wolfe, Thomas, 648
- °Women, changing status of, 590; in Civil War, 357-58; colonial period, 17-19; education, 278, 441; employment, 283, 418, 441, 744; first colleges for, 278; first labor strike, 287; first in presidential cabinet, 442-43; flappers, 588, 590; as pioneers, 222, 283, 305, 418; rights movement, 282-83, 441-42; Seneca Falls Convention (1848), 283; suffrage, 148, 149, 441-42, 531-32, 570
- Women's Christian Temperance Union, 441, 535
- Wood, Fernando, 359
- Wood, Grant, 648
- Wood, Jethro, 325
- Wood, Leonard, 483
- Woodside, John A., 225
- Workingmen's Party, 287
- Workmen's compensation laws, 534
- Works Progress Administration (WPA), 635-36, 643; art projects, 648
- World Court, 574, 652
- World Health Organization, 704
- World War I, 500, 502, 523, 540, 547-70, 588, 590, 657, 661, 696; American entry, 554-55; anti-German hysteria, 563, 580; armistice, 561, 565; beginning of, 549-51; British blockade, 552, 553, 559; causes of, 549-51; concentration camps, 566; conscription, 560; demobilization, 568-69; Depression of 1929 and, 596-97; effects of, 596-97; financing, 563; home front, 561-64; military activities, 556-57; Negro troops, 589; neutrality, 551-54; Peace Conference, 565-66; reparations, 567, 573, 574, 604, 652; results of, 568-70; submarine warfare, 552, 554, 555, 557, 561, 668; sucker theory, 657; Sussex pledge, 553-54; troop

- strength (U.S.), 560; war debts, 573-74, 576, 596-97, 652
- World War II**, 661-88; in Africa, 673-74; allied drives (1942-1945) 679; Axis victories, 673-74; beginning of, 661-63; blitzkrieg, 661-63, 664; civil liberties, 683-84; Civil War and, 353; collaborationists, 664; concentration camps, 656, 676; conscientious objectors, 683; convoys, 671; D-Day, 676, 679; detention camps (U.S.), 684, 699; end of, 676, 681, 696; home front, 681-84; inflation control, 683; interventionists, 665-66, 670; isolationists, 665-66, 670, 687; Japanese-American troops, 684, 699; Jews in, 656; kamikaze pilots, 680; lend lease, 668-71, 685, 729; Monroe Doctrine and, 239; Negroes during, 744; refugees, 661; rocket bombs, 676; scientific research, 683; submarine warfare, 668-69, 671
- World-wide responsibility, xii-xiii, 559, 660, 687, 783
- Wright, Frank Lloyd, 444, 588-89
- Wyoming, 413, 422, 455
- XYZ affair, 183-84, 198
- Yale University, 404, 406
- Yalta Conference, 685-86, 701, 708
- Yap, island of, 574
- Yellow-dog contracts, 627
- Yellow fever epidemics, 19, 375
- Yellow press journalism, 477
- Yellowstone Park, 510
- York, Canada, 210
- York, Pennsylvania, 67
- Yorktown, Battle of, 66, 70, 73, 74
- Young, Brigham, 306
- Young, Owen D., 574
- Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), 563
- Yugoslavia, 774; World War II, 671, 674
- Zapata, Emiliano, 549
- Zenger, Peter, 25
- Zhukov, Georgi, 738
- Zimmerman, Arthur, 558

PHOTOGRAPH ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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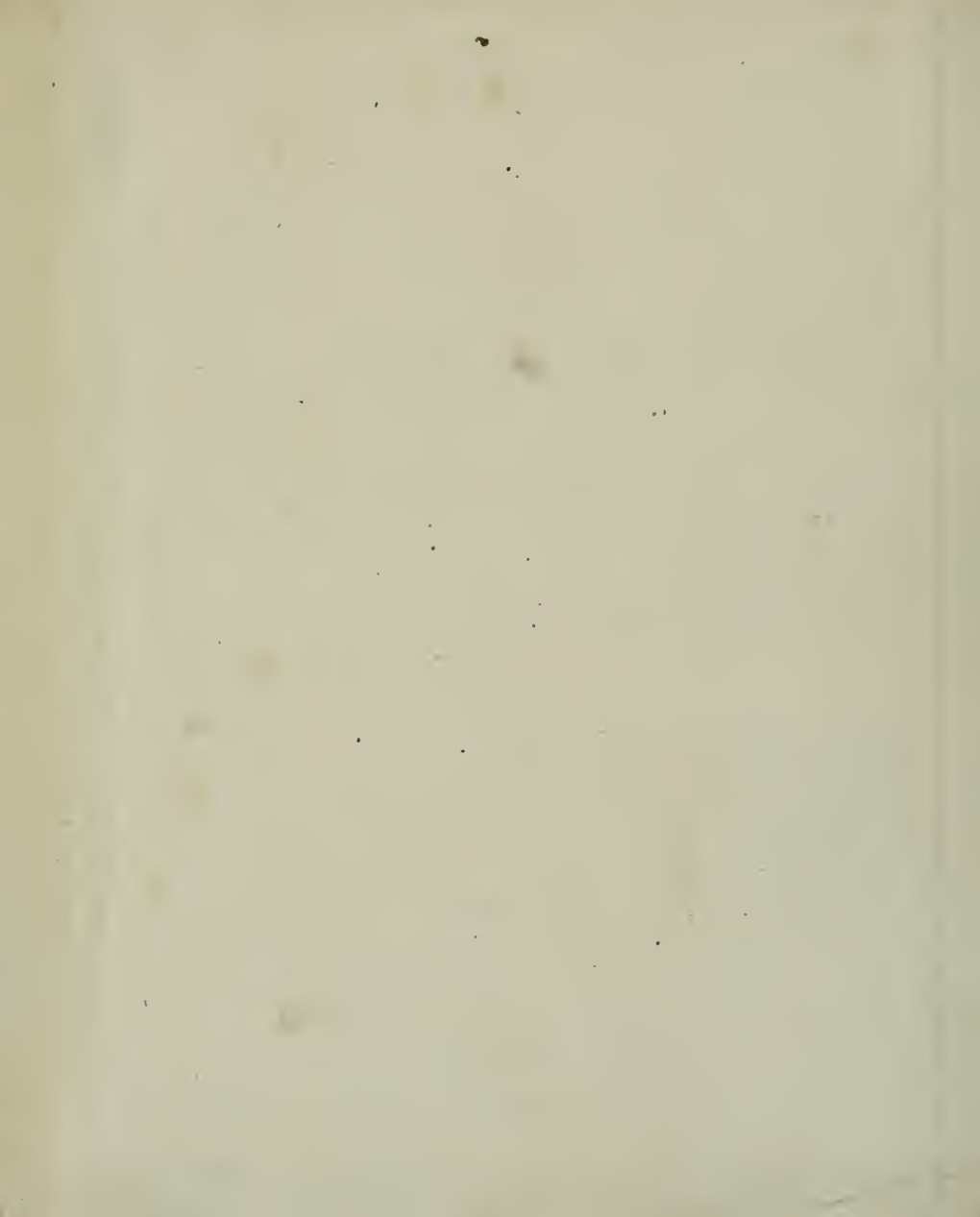
Aero Surveys Corp., 106, 191(b). American Telephone and Telegraph Co., 441. Alexander Anderson, 206. Association of American Railroads, 326, 388. Joseph Boggs Beale, Modern Enterprises, 36, 339. Burton Berinsky from ILGWU, 722(a). Bethlehem Steel Corp., 394(b). The Bettmann Archive, 181(a), 288, 314(c), 537(a). David Bragdon, 712(b). British Official Photo, 662(b). Brown Brothers, 82(a), 107, 438, 521, 536, 579, 583. Robert W. Carle, 13. Mrs. E. C. Chadbourne, 228. *Chicago News*, 565. *Chicago Tribune*, 495, 508. Colonial Williamsburg, 11. Ted Cowell from Black Star, 773. Culver Pictures, 82(b), 181(b), 256, 291(b), 349, 360(b), 364, 372, 377(a), 384-385, 521, 529, 544-545, 596, 618, 647, 665. *Daily Graphic*, 428. Charles Deas, 307. *Detroit Free Press* from Black Star, 771(b). Eastfoto, 711. George Eastman House, Lewis Wickes Hines (1874-1940), 537(c). Economic Development Administration, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, 737. Elderman in *Washington Post*, 643. Photo from European, 553. Franklin Institute, 29. Erving Galloway, 84. Col. & Mrs. Garbisch, 171. Gift of Edgar Williams and Bernice Cryslar Garbisch, 1962, 214. Thomas Gilcrease Foundation, 328. Col. Richard Gimbel, 29. Gottschoschleisner, Inc., 605. Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Grabhorn, 240(b). The Granger Collection, 62(a), 285(c), 360(a). L. C. Handy Studio, 368, 369. Harper's Weekly, 89, 261, 371, 435, 449, 455, 477. Harris and Ewing, 354(b), 453. Historic American Building Survey, 282(b). George Hoefer, 589. © John T. Hopf, 18(b). Robert Houston from Black Star, 771(a). International Business Machines, 767 (Robert Isear). International Harvester Co., 423(a). James in the *St. Louis Star*, 603. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., 384-385. Keppler, 1895, 484. Keystone View Co., 566. Knott in *Dallas News*, 573. M. Laterer, "The Modern Builder's Guide," 282(a). Photography by Dorothea Lange, 629, 682. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News*, 363, 379, 401, 424. J. W. McManigal Agricultural Photos, Horton, Kansas, 423(b). Marian Bridge Maurice, 52. Francis G. Mayer, 11, 13, 18(c), 52, 55, 58, 64(b), 163, 164, 166, 171, 211, 212(a), 220-221, 225, 228, 234, 240 (b, c), 314(a), 315, 326, 327(a), 328. Einars J. Mengis, 16. Mr. William Middendorf, 332(a). NAACP Photo, 537(b). *New York Journal*, 476. Office of Secretary of Defense, 712(a). Pach Bros., 511. Harry T. Peters, 225. Public Roads Administration, 414. Pughe in *Puck*, 460. *The Quest for Social Justice*, 532. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 433. Shostal, 4 (Otto Done), 15 (G. Brinkman), 18(a) (T. Hatcher), 754 (F. Vinning). Smithsonian Institution, Title Page. Southern Pacific Photo, 411. Sovfoto, 675(b). Victor Spark, 326. Underwood and Underwood, 483, 500, 516. UN Photo, 692-693, 705(a). United Press International, 610, 655, 669, 675(a), 702, 753, 755, 761 (Kyoichi Sawada). U.S. Army Photograph, 353, 530, 673, 678, 686. U.S. Army Signal Corps, 485. U.S. Bureau of Reclamation and National Archives, 614-615, 645. U.S. Navy Photo, 673, 677. U.S. Steel Corporation, 394. WHO Photo by Paul Almasy, 705(b). Wide World Photos, 662(a), 696, 699, 719, 720, 721(b), 728, 731, 733, 739, 745, 750.

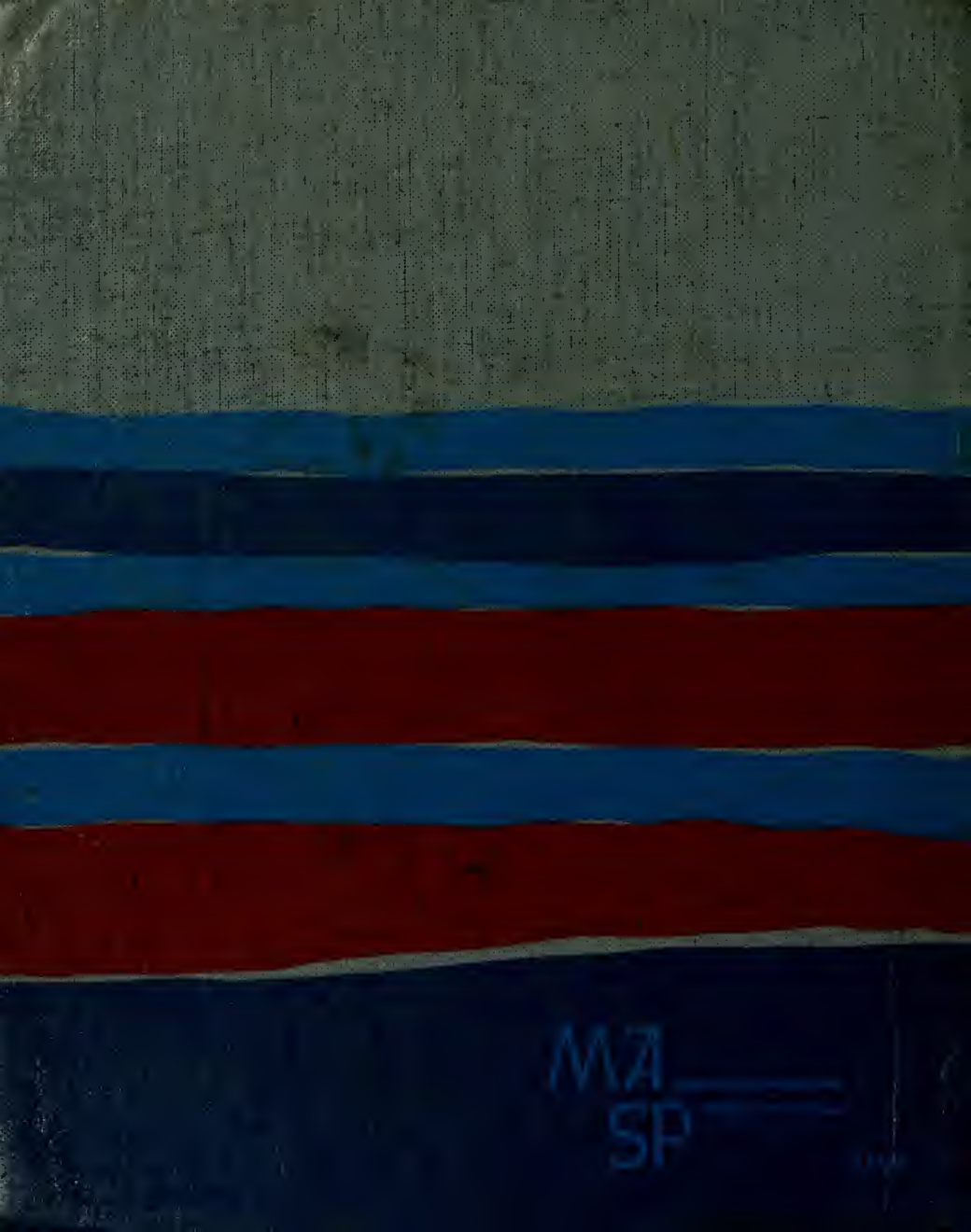
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